VOL. IX-No. 25

THE MODELITANT

# AUTO CONFERENCE URGES STRIKE VOTE

FIRST-HAND REPORT

## Class Conflicts In Italy Today

Editor's Note: This report is dated Rome, June 8 and was therefore written just before the fall of the Bonomi cabinet. A new coalition cabinet headed by Prof. Ferruccio Parri, a leader of the northern Partisans, has taken office.

The history of the Bonomi Government since its inception has been that of crisis following crisis. Each crisis has been more deepgoing than its predecessor, each has revealed more sharply the class

Composed of six parties representing divergent social classes and divergent groups within those classes, completely dependent for its source of power on the Anglo-American military occupation forces, the record of the Bonomi Government has been one of miserable compromise and complete failure even to commence tackling the acute problems confronting them. There are no representatives of the S. P. and Action Party in the last Bonomi cabine but through the N.L.C. they support it with reservation.

Economically the country is on the verge of bankruptcy. Inflation is rife, produced, in the first place, by the rate of exchange imposed by the victorious Allies on vanquished Italy. The Black Market aggravates the situation to an unbelievable extent and on top of this the country is flooded with hundreds of millions of counterfeit currency. This was the record of the Bonomi Government when the Italian campaign ended and for the first time it had to account not only to the people of Italy south of the Po, but to newly-awakened politically conscious industrial workers of the north.

#### Workers Want to Break With Capitalists

The current crisis had its origin directly in the "liberation" of Milan, Genoa, Bologna, Turin and the other cities and towns in Italy's industrial heartland. The workers made it unmistakeably clear that they had no confidence in Signor Bonomi or his government and that they did not take to arms to drive out the Fascists and their Nazi backers in order to be subjected to the stooges of Wall Street and the London City. In Milan the mood was definitely for a complete break with the capitalist parties and the formation of a Socialist-Communist government. Unfortunately, through the treachery of their leaders, the Partisans, who had done the bulk of the fighting in the North, had surrendered their arms to the Allies.

so that they could not back up their demands effectively. Meanwhile, Messrs Togliatti and Nermi, leaders of the Stalinist and Socialist Parties, respectively, hastened to Milan to check their impetuous followers. A meeting of the six parties who form the Committee of National Liberation was convened and a compromise

(Continued on page 6)

**NEW YORK SWP ISSUES** STATEMENT ON ELECTION

is running two candidates in the forthcoming New York City during the period of fighting part of their preparation for the municipal elections, this week issued a statement defining the against the British troops and broad issues around which the party's official campaign platform will be built. The SWP is running Farrell Dobbs, editor vantage of the situation to round in his testimony June 15: "We of The Militant, for mayor, and Louise Simpson, militant Negro up and murder a hundred Trothage uniquist for City Council Following is the text of the skyists. trade unionist, for City Council. Following is the text of the

TEXT OF STATEMENT

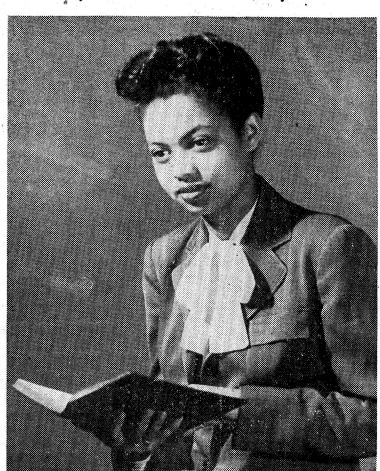
are equally responsible for plung- and the Prussianization of Amer ing the United States into the ican youth. catastrophe of the Second World War. In the postwar period now the Liberal Party are simpl before us, they have no perspective but continued warfare and

unending bloodshed. That is why both Republicans and Democrats Wall Street's political parties support peacetime conscription

The American Labor Party and

(Continued on page 3)

Trotskyist Candidate for N. Y. City Council



LOUISE SIMPSON

#### **European Peoples** Ready for Socialism

"All of depressed and discouraged Europe is ripe for Communism," declared Representative W. Sterling Cole of New York, to an AP correspondent in Washington on June 13. "The only remaining bulwark against the Russian philosophy in the Eastern Hemisphere is England."

He further stated that "France is particularly susceptible to the idea of Communism because its peoples, with their long history of modern wars, are now more interested in peace and security" than in their "traditional governmental concept of 'Liberty, Equality and Fratern-

## **Reaction Hounds** The Trotskyists **Thruout Europe**

Capitalist reaction in Europe, aided and abetted by the Stalinists, has unleashed a campaign of persecution and represfollowing information has arrived in this country:

1. The Trotskyist newspaper La Voie de Lenine (The Road of Lenin), organ of the Parti Communiste Revolutionnaire (Revolutionary Communist Party), has been suppressed by the Belgian

ARRESTS IN FRANCE

2. Confirmation has been recoived of widespread arrests of members of Parti Communiste Internationaliste (Internationalist Communist Party), in France and the suppression of its organ, La Verite. Censorship still veils the details, but a letter from Paris warns of the danger that the Stalinists may succeed, under government, in staging a framewill be made to link the Trotskyists with the Nazis.

The most terrible news comes from Greece. Stalinist their Greek puppets, took ad-

behave within certain limits toward working-class opponents

(Continued on page 5)

## **Housing Project Bars Negro Vets**

One more proof of the fact tha Negro soldiers returning from the war which was supposed to spread the "Four Freedoms" al over the world, will find very litthe revelations about the Federal Housing program.

PM's reporter, W. H. Baldinger, in a story in the June 15 issue, tells of an interview with FHA authorities in Washington as follows: D. C. in which he was told very frankly that the new government project at Paisley Woods, near Arlington, Va. would be restricted to whites. Negro veterans, offering the necessary be obtained by white veterans through the provisions of the GI Bill of Rights would simply be turned down, the FHA officials

told Baldinger. In the FHA Underwriting Manual distributed to all FHA officials, this provision stands out: "Prohibition of the occupancy of properties except by the race for which they are intended."

Inquiry at the Washington NAACP office brought forth the nformation that "there are no known projects, FHA-financed or Washington's Negro citizens live. and

## Wall Street's "Peace" Plan



## sion against the partisans of the Fourth International. The Brass Hats Push Legislation To Militarize American Youth

By Joseph Hansen

Wall Street's spokesmen continued this week to press for peacetime conscription in their drive to Prussianize American youth. The real purpose of the proposed legislation was apparent in the testimony of a number of the militarists who appeared before the House Committee on Post-War Military Policy.

trainee should be put in a re- of the alternative necessary serve corps for five years" after standing army and navy of sevcompleting his year of training, eral million men. Thus out of a six-year stretch, a youth would spend only one

WAR UNENDING

spective but unending war. They murder gangs in that country, want peacetime conscription as fits from the viewpoint of Wall Third World War. Secretary of dual's chances of survival in War Stimson admitted as much hope that our country for the 4. In Italy, until recently, even third time will have even the the Stalinist hooligans had to little breathing space she has through a citizen military trainhad in the last two wars."

> sory military service for America's young men would be good

The capitalists want huge 5 The Chamber of Comworking class revolutions and merce, looking at the practical side of waging war, believes that colonial rebellions. Maj. Gen. the annual cost of "maintaning William F. Tompkins, for in- say 1,000,000 young men trainstance, advocated that "the ing would be far less than that

> military training to a soldier naturally, explained these bene-Street in addition to the "indivi-

ARMY PATTERN

"The great forces necessary in war," he said, "must be produced ing system in time of peace... The ultra-reactionary Chamber | Pay must be nominal. There must of Commerce backed up the war- | be no attempt to compete with mongers with the declaration industry in the matter of wages... June 14 that "a year of compul- | Psychological indoctrination and

(Continued on page 4)

## Text Of Detroit UAW Conference Resolution

The full text of the resolutle freedom at home, comes in tion on strike action to smash maintenance workers have had the Little Steel formula, adopted by the June 14 regional conference of over 400 UAW-CIO local officers, in Detroit, reads finally denied them, and

WHEREAS: Congress made provision guaranteeing the Corporations social security during tial increases in pay as proven ing up government production the reconversion period by under- by their last negotiations, writing their profits and the Office of Price Administration has cash down payment, which can granted price increases to all consumer and food industries to in favor of the 30-hour week at Times). guarantee profits, and

WHEREAS: The thousands of and UAW-CIO members have been thrown out of work and weekly ED: That we call upon the Interearnings of additional thousands national Executive Board of the have been drastically cut as a UAW-CIO to take the first pracresult of the reduced work week, tical steps in this direction by while the cost of living continues instructing all Local Unions and to sky-rocket, forcing real wages | Corporation Departments to imof the workers lower and lower, mediately initiate negotiations

conference that the hated "Lit- and tle Steel Formula" is to be mainotherwise for the development of tained, while at the same confer-

legitimate demands of industrywide wage stabilization at increased rate of pay kicked around for over two years and WHEREAS: The United Mine

it is possible to obtain substan-THEREFORE BE IT RE-

SOLVED: That we go on record no reduction in take-home pay

BE IT FURTHER RESOLV for instituting the 40-hour week WHEREAS: President Tru- at 48 hours of pay, that is, with man announced at the June 7th a 30% hourly rate pay increase,

FINALLY BE IT RESOLVED: That we call upon the Internaany new housing restricted to ence he announced that he was in tional Executive Board to guar-Negro heroes of the war." Bald- favor of immediate salary in- antee success of their negotianger points out that Negro vet- creases to Congressmen of 150%, tions by petitioning the NLRB to erans are free to return to the which will come out of the work- conduct a strike vote in all UAW be owned and occupied exclusive- drivers get overtime only after restricted" slums, in which ers pay checks as hidden taxes, plants under the terms of the ly by those of the "white or Cau- 51 hours, instead of the stand-Smith-Connally Act.

## IN THE NEWS

For 'Fair' Price-Gouging Speaking before a Senate hearng on price control Senator Taft of Ohio recently stated he was for "the prevention only of un-1air price inflation."

The Two Big Questions

All edicts to the contrary, frarnization between Allied troops In a letter to the House Com- and German civilians is "widemittee, June 15, General Eisen- spread and increasing," reports cow type in which the attempt "source" but five years hower marshalled arguments in Daniel De Luce, AP correspondsupport of the legislation along ent, from Germany, June 12. "I two lines. One is the benefit of have yet to meet a soldier, wheth- 3 to 1 in favor of strike action ference, covering a nearby Micher he comes from London, the Wall Street has no other per- thrown into battle. The General, Mississippi Valley or the Alberta wheatfields, who wants the ban (on fraternization) continued... With Americans, Britons and are the same: When do we go home? When can we fraternizelegally?"

'Let's Have It In'

Senator McKellar, president of the Senate, who draws \$15,000 annual salary for his post, voted tional \$2,500 "expense account" of the Senate, with \$15,000 addi- threatened the workers with tional for "office help." When fines and imprisonment under this item was read off for final the vicious Smith-Connally antivote in committee, without hesi-strike law. tation McKellar said: "I think

Between Wars

would be no economic collapse strikers pointed out, were largely trucks the next day." during the reconversion period ... empty. Workers have demonstrated that Throughout the period between JOIN WALKOUT wars, the emphasis will be eascontrol to let the forces of free enterprise and competition get back to work." (Indianapolis

Chamber of Commerce and Civic Association is a sponsor of the Teamsters local leaders, Mayor's Community Council on fitting reply to AFL Teamsters dents of Beverly Hills to advise them that the "original deed restrictions" or the strictions of the striction of this union who refused to break a picket line was "yellow." been formed to renew the original restrictions," said the letter, for a 48-hour week. The WLB advising the recipients to sign a statement saying that they hours, which the union voted wanted their residential areas to down last week. These Chicago

## **Detroit Local Leaders Demand Action Program**

400 Heads of UAW Locals Call for Militant Policy to Fight Wage Cuts, Unemployment

By John Saunders

DETROIT, June 14 — More than 400 top local officers, representing over 400,000 CIO auto workers of Regions 1 and 1A, Detroit, at a conference held this afternoon at the Local 157 UAW-CIO hall, voted overwhelmingly to take industry-wide strike action to break the wage-freezing Little Steel form-

## **20,000 Goodyear Rubber Workers** Strike in Akron

By JOSEPH ANDREWS

Special to THE MILITANT AKRON, O., June 18 (By Wire) - Some 20,000 Goodyear Tire and Rubber Workers early yesterday walked out on a strike officially called by the United Rubber Workers.

The strike was solid as a rock from the start. Pickets covered all gates of the five Goodyear plants here. Departmental committee men worked their regular shifts on the picket line. With these union men as the backbone of their battle lines, the misterts guarded the plant gates 24 hours shops are clamoring for action.

SOLID ACTION For the third time since 1935 the huge furnace of the Goodunlike the events in all previous Goodyear strikes, there were no battles on the picket lines. There were no cops attempting to smash ly strong and militant.

This walkout followed NLRB strike vote on May 28,

(Continued on page 2)

With only 20 dissenting votes this meeting called upon the UAW International Executive Board to petition the NLRB to conduct a strike vote in all UAW plants under the terms of the Smith-Connally Act in order to

"guarantee success of their negotiations" for a "30% hourly pay increase." This conference is one of a series of regional meetings called by the UAW International at the insistence of the local union presidents who a month ago demanded this opportunity to discuss executive board of Local 2, CIO and change the present do-nothing policy of the leadership.

Roused by the drastic cutbacks, smaller pay checks as the result of the reduced work week, growing mass unemployment in the face of price increases readily granted by the OPA, and huge profits guaranteed to the bigbusiness hogs, the workers in the

RESIST COWARDLY ADVICE

Although the local officers meeting was but a pale reflection of the militancy that would year Rubber plant was down. But have prevailed in a representative delegated conference, nevertheless the pressure from below was sufficient to drive the top UAW leadership to cover and force Walter Reuther, UAW vice president, to talk of "reevaluating the basic policy of the union." Nor is this sentiment confined when the Goodyear workers voted to Detroit. The Region 1-B con-

(Continued on page 2)

## With Americans, Britons and Canadians the two big questions are the same: When do we go **Defy Army Strikebreaking**

ing government attempts to whip long strike, the independent unthem back to work with the use ion drivers returned to work on of 5,000 troops, some 13,000 May 23 after the government in committee against an addi- truck drivers today continued first "seized" the struck lines their militant strike begun Sat- and when the WLB intimated it for Congressmen. The same bill urday after the government would reconsider and grant the provided McKellar, as president "seized" all trucking lines and union's demands.

smash the morale of the strik- said:

Thousands of members of Local 705, AFL Teamsters, have joined in the walkout initiated by the 6,000 members of the grown from 6,000 to 13,000 since Chicago Truck Drivers' Union, independent. Their action of solidarity with the independent un-No Discrimination --- But ion drivers has been taken in ON THE INSIDE The Beverly Hills (Hollywood) direct defiance of the condemnation of the strike by the AFL Buffalo Layoffs ........... 2

Anti-Racial Discrimination. A committee of the chamber, head-said that any member of his said that any member of h

restrictions" on their property test against a WLB decision rehad expired. "Our committee has jecting the independent union's demands for a \$5 wage increase granted a \$4.08 increase for 51 ard 48 fixed by the government.

A vicious campaign of govern-

ment strikebreaking is under way. Government officials, army Ellis T. Longenecker, Office of you'd better leave that in. I won't brass hats and big hauling firms Defense Transportation official in use it unless I have to, but let's are working hand in glove to charge of the "seizure," today "The Army will break ers. Several hundred troops were the strike." He stated further put on to drive trucks today, that he has proposed the draftbut between 12,000 and 13,000 ing of strikers under 38 to be "Administration leaders assur- trucks are admitted to be tied "put in the Army tomorrow and ed the nation today that there up. Army-driven trucks, as be put behind the wheels of

Strikers are militantly resisting attempts to operate scab trucks. Some ten strikers were arrested and have been held without charge since Saturday. But the number of strikers has Saturday.

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International Notes ...... &

# Akron Goodyear Workers Strike Rubber Plants As Grievances Pile Up

after attempting unsuccessfully to negotiate grievances with the company. Local 2 President C. V. Wheeler, backed by his executive board, officially called the strike, stating the local union would ignore any orders from the WLB to return to work.

The company has declared it will not negotiate while the strike is on. URW-CIO President Sherman Dalrymple encouraged the company's attitude by saying the union's international union "will not give its approval to any strike when we are bound by our no-strike pledge."

The major issues which precipitated the strike were wages; piece work rates, the socalled merit system of pitting worker against worker and the back-log of unsettled grievances.

#### FIRESTONE BALLOTS

Meanwhile, 15,000 Firestone Rubber Company workers today were balloting in an NLRB-su- DANGEROUS WORK pervised strike vote. The company has stubbornly refused to agree to the new contract proposed by Firestone Local 7, and has continually violated the old agreement on such basic issues

A wave of militancy is sweeping Akron unionists, reminiscent of the 1936-37 days. The threat has been made to move troops against the Goodyear strikers. But the rubber workers are showing new determination to defend

#### Goodrich Men Show Militant Attitude

AKRON, June 5 - Twelve hundred Goodrich workers dealt and their safety was jeopardized. a stiff blow to attempts to stifle the militancy of Local 5, CIO United Rubber Workers, when at a mass meeting yesterday they hands and were sent home by the voted overwhelmingly to reinstate two tire division committeemen who had been removed agreed to train men for the job by the local union executive But when the tire builders learnpledge."

The mass meeting was called after the tire division had been out on strike for three days. When attempts by John Saylor, TEN TO ONE VOTE "Local 5 president, and the local union executive board to get the men back to work had failed, the two leading committeemen in the division were removed from their posts by Saylor.

## MEETING CALLED

tire builders, who backed up the vote was taken. The mili- in its ranks their committeemen by demand- | tant spirit of the meeting preving their reinstatement before ented him from speaking as he the division went back to work. usually does. He did not men- SOLVED: That Local 5 support The problem had been satisfac- tion the no-strike pledge, plead- President C. V. Wheeler, the torily settled with the company ing only "For God's sake, let majority of the executive board To get the men to return to work there be no departmental walk- and the membership of Local 2 Saylor was forced to call the outs. If you must have a fight, in repudiating and condemning mass meeting. The meeting witnessed a rousing display of milias a whole." He of course urged
Boyer and his group, and
as a first step in obtaining the
BE IT FURTHER RESOLV30 hour week. The defeated mapecially by the tire division made no threats, and stated he

Saylor led off with a report of the meeting.

on the dispute, explaining that although the tire builders had been fighting the problem for a year, they still had no right to year, they still had no right to strike, and that according to the Call Stalinists "constitution and the law of the land" he could not do otherwise but suspend the two committeebut suspend the two committeemen, C. Webster, and S. Belcher for "making a motion at a meeting of the tire builders that they do not return to work, and for

meeting.' The tire builders at the mass Committeeman Nichols, of the tire division, gave a sober factual report of the grievance which resulted in the walkout. He explained that the company had attempted to force tire builders working on a big tire to aced helpers, just hired off the Sunday, June 4. street, 16 or 17-year-old boys.

Nichols clearly explained that this job is a highly dangerous one, even for experienced builders. He told of a man who had had his skull fractured, and, of another who had his arm torn from its socket on just this job. With inexperienced help, the job

would be doubly dangerous. Another tire builder of 20 years standing explained that the use of these boys in the job meant that the tire builder had to make out for two men, since the green worker could not make out on his end on the job. Thus, the tire builders were doubly attacked by this company attempt their wage standards were endangered by a speed-up device.

The tire builders refused to work with the inexperienced foremen. The company finally agreed that it was wrong, and ed that their committeemen had been removed they knew they had another battle to win — a battle for decent unionism.

When they heard the full story, the 1200 Goodrich workers at the meeting voted by over ten to one to reinstate the committeemen. Saylor agreed to abide by the decision of the body.

was satisfied with the decision

DETROIT Socialist Workers Party

JUNE JIVE

**DANCING** 

ENTERTAINMENT

SATURDAY, JUNE 30 - 8 P. M.

3513 WOODWARD, Room 21 corner Elliot-Stimson

# Rubber Workers

AKRON, June 5 — The flagrant anti-union campaign begun by the Stalinists in the United Rubber Workers Goodaccepting such a motion at a year Local 2, when they attempted two weeks ago to preneeting gave Saylor a fitting vent an NLRB strike vote from being taken after it had been voted for by a huge majority at a mass meeting of the local was answered in fitting terms by the meeting of 1,200 Goodrich Local 5 URWA workers cept inexperienced and untrain- who jammed the Akron Armory

Following is a resolution in troduced at this meeting by George Bass, executive secretary of the Akron Industrial Union Council, and passed unanimous

WHEREAS: Every member of the United Rubber Workers of American must be, on guard against attempts to undermine the democratic control of the membership and to wreck the

WHEREAS: The disruption their will. They disregarded the campaign initiated by George F. cowardly advice of UAW Presi-Boyer, executive board member of dent R. J. Thomas not to be Goodyear Local 2 and 20 local "rabble-roused into a strike at union members, by means of a newspaper ad and radio talk sprung on the very eve of an NLRB strike vote to be taken by the membership, played directly into the hands of the Good- attempted to declare the minority year corporation and weakened the union in its attempts to put action out of order. pressure on the company to cease wage cuts and anti-union prac-

WHEREAS: This attempt to the union ranks at the 11th hour minority of the conference resolviolation of the will of the membership of Local 2 which had picked by Leonard. voted in a huge mass meeting o endorse the holding of a strike

THEREFORE BE IT RE-

these union-busting elements who are trying to weaken the URWA in its attempts to defend itself against company inroads on union standards, that we will not tolerate their methods or their kind. We believe in union solidarity in the face of company attacks, and we will not sit idly by while Boyer and his type try to confuse, weaken or split the ranks of unionism in this critical per-

BE IT FINALLY RESOLVED: That copies of this resolution be sent to the Goodyear Local 2, Firestone Local 7, General Local 9, to International President Sherman Dalrymple, to the Akron Industrial Union Council, and to the public and labor press.

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## THE MILITANT

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#### Pleads With Plutocrat



CIO Auto Workers President R. J. Thomas, left, in Oakland, Cal., talking to shipyard tycoon Henry J. Kaiser. The UAW leader pleaded with Kaiser to obtain the government-owned Willow Run bomber plant in order to "give" 21,000 fired war workers jobs. The UAW program calls for government operation of closed plants. Federated Pictures.

## DETROIT AUTO PARLEY **DEMANDS STRIKE VOTE**

(Continued from page 1) igan area, likewise voted to re- Steelworkers Hit scind the no-strike pledge.

A MILITANT TONE

The Detroit conference was a business-like affair from start to finish. The local officers knew exactly what they wanted and had no difficulty seeing thru all attempts of the UAW leadership to keep them from expressing this time," lest such action "smash this union." And they overruled chairman Richard Leonard, co-director of the Detroit West Side Region, when he resolution calling for mass strike

This resolution, originally sub mitted by the Dodge Local 140 lelegation, was introduced b Mike Novak, Dodge Local sow confusion and uncertainty in president, in his report for the before a strike vote was in direct utions committee. The resolutions committee had been hand-Following the lead given in

resolution passed a week ago by the Briggs Local 212 Execut. Board, the delegates were deter WHEREAS: The sinister and mined to implement their detreacherous methods of Boyer | mands by the use of their most and his group is typical of the potent weapon. Even the resoluparty-line followers of Earl tions committee majority resoludecision of the body.

MEETING CALLED

This action further aroused the builders, who backed in the vote was taken. The mili
The builders, who backed up the vote was taken. The mili
Tons committee majority resolution. "We shind the minority resolution. "We hind the minority resolution. "We shind the minority resolution. "We hind the minority resolution. "We can't do anything unless we give ourselves the necessary power with the vote was taken. The mili
Tons committee majority resolution. "We hind the minority resolution. "We can't do anything unless we give ourselves the necessary power with the old boys yet? The call for can't do anything unless we give ourselves the necessary power with the old boys yet? The call for can't do anything unless we give ourselves the necessary power with the old boys yet? The call for can't do anything unless we give ourselves the necessary power with the old boys yet? The call for can't do anything unless we give ourselves the necessary power with the old boys yet? The call for can't do anything unless we give ourselves the necessary power with the old boys yet? The call for can't do anything unless we give ourselves the necessary power with the old boys yet? The call for can't do anything unless we give ourselves the necessary power with t is possible to obtain substan tial increases in pay."

#### STORM BREAKS LOOSE There was no difference be-

tween the majority and minority resolutions for a 30% increase in pay and for immediate reduction ED: That we serve notice on gority resolution, however, omit-

are still leaders who are hample in the plants.'

tains all the good things except future." for one item. It does not show the delegates gave a fitting maintenance workers, preferences has been done. The delegates gave a fitting maintenance workers, preferences has been done. The does not show to obtain them. Yet it has been done. The miners did betrayal as well as to the coward-in plants under contract with the it twice. Did they do it as Thom-ly cringing of the top leader-UAW, and initiation of a comington? Was their union smashed pressed by Thomas's plea that because they used their most po- "You are striking against the solution is very good," said Irvtent weapon? The demagogic government. You cannot in time ing Capilowish of Fleetwood Lo appeal by Thomas was not borne of war strike against the governout by the truth. Unless we ment." This group of local of ring it to the WLB? We are implement this resolution with ficers has come to realize that wasting our time unless we imstrike action and thereby give the government is nothing but an plement this resolution by decid "urgency," it is not worth agency of the employers. the paper it is written on. What other method has the leadership to offer? No other method has Leen suggested."

dent after president echoed these sentiments. Bill Jenkins, president of Chrysler Local 490, took cal procedure. another dig at Thomas when he assured the conference: "I have heard too much about irrespon-

## Double Standard

PITTSBURG, Pa., June 14 down \$10,000 annually can vote themselves a taxexempt pay increase of \$2,500, then the steel workers should not be bound by the wage-freezing Little Steel formula, declares a resolution issued today by District 19, CIO Steelworkers, representing over 50,000 members in the Allegheny Valley region here.

Calling on Truman to grant immediately the demand for 17 cents an hour general wage increase, recently submitted by CIO and United Steel Workers President Philip Murray, District 19's resolution declares:

"Failure to adjust the formula constitutes a breach of faith to the workers of this nation. The Congress has by its action this week voted to itself a tax-free increase in wages in excess of the formula, and such action has been approved and additional increases suggested by the Pres-

night at the president's meeting. What good is a fine-reading resolution if we have no power?"

#### STALINISTS AGAINST

Michael Lacey, president of must speak a language that they as a first step in obtaining the surprise that the handpicked re- to a press conference held by ted any reference to strike ac- action in view of the overwhelm- 1944, during the Montgomery tion to back up this demand. A ing support the minority resolu- Ward strike, wherein Davis adveritable storm broke loose when tion had received at the presi- mitted that the Detroit strike the two resolutions hit the floor. dent's meeting the night before. "gave urgency" in forcing the Art Hughes, president of "Are we going to continue to WLB to take action. "We too Dodge Truck Local 140, who spon- retreat, retreat?" he asked the must find a way to develop ur-"Are we going to continue to WLB to take action. sored the minority resolution at the conference and who success- to retreat." Mike Novak, Dodge But the local officers and fully appealed the ruling of the Local 3 president, and Hill of the ranks are through with glib chair to declare the minority re- same local both showed that the talk and are demanding action. solution out of order, called for only way to get results was to They were not impressed with

stringing rank and file workers speak against the minority reso- strike pledge two weeks ago at on the equality of sacrifice pro- lution. John Anderson, Stalinist the Chicago Board meeting. They gram. It is high time that we president of Local 155, pleaded are now asking themselves get up on our hind legs and de- with the delegates that the re- whether Reuther will join them mand what we want for our peo- ferendum vote taken before Hit- in their struggle to put their ler was defeated was still bind- resolution into action or whether Erwin Baur of Budd Local 306 ing. He also stated that this he will be satisfied with fine howed the bankruptcy of the was not the time to strike. Show- speeches in the future as in the International leadership when he ing his confusion due to a pos- past. lashed out at Thomas and held sible shift in the Stalinist line, his arguments up to ridicule: he assured the meeting that he arousing discussion by the con The majority resolution con- was "not a prophet as to the ference revolved around the ques

it twice. Did they do it as Thom- ly cringing of the top leaderas suggests by running to Wash- ship. They remained unim-

They did take for good coin POLITICAL ACTION Thomas's statement that "not a single individual on all the Washington boards could give us a This speech set the tone for single answer to any one of the discussion and local presi- these pressing problems." They of Executive Order 9240 which therefore saw no need to go hat in hand through the same farci-

#### REUTHER'S DEMAGOGY

Matt Hammond, president of derstands and yields to. We too brother.

## **Bell Aircraft Fires Unionists** For Sit-In Protest

BUFFALO, N. Y., June 9-Continuing its attack on Local 501 UAW-CIO, Bell Aircraft Corporation last Wednesday fired eighteen men and women all of whom, except two, are union committeemen or stewards. Included in this number is one of the two vice-presidents of the union, Anthony Marino.

Those fired were part of a sitn protest involving over one thousand workers in the Buffalo and Niagara Falls plants on May 28. The protest took place when the company fiagrantly violated the seniority clauses of the contract. The sit-in compelled the company to notify within twentyfour hours the eight thousand being laid off. The company's criginal intention was to let these workers wait a week while the plant was closed down for inventory before they would know whether or not they still had

BLOW AFTER BLOW

the workers returned to work Wednesday morning. It is reported that the company plans additional firings in the near fu-

Another blow was struck at the local, already hard hit by the mass layoffs and firings of its most militant members, through WLB panel decision handed down yesterday. This recommends that supervisors be given full seniority rights from the day they enter the company's service. If the WLB adopts the recommendation of the panel and it no doubt will - the company will have scored another victory over the union.

Many of the 2,600 foremen in a possibility raised in The Militant articles several weeks ago. At best, Bell will continue to operate on a greatly reduced basis cal 12, UAW-CIO, comments: with the work being done mainly by ex-foremen.

#### SPEAK FOR STRIKE

A stewards' meeting was held the day the firings took place. A number of those present spoke for strike action as the only possible means of halting the union

for the minority resolution last of the firings go to arbitration, union pledging support to the After considerable discussion the displaced workers of Willow Run, government acts to crush workworkers voted without enthus- demonstrations of solidarity with iasm to send the matter to arbitration.

a program of fight, would place ings of the WLB! How slowly

Chevrolet Local 235, expressed understand." Reuther referred solutions committee should omit William H. Davis, former head the last resolve calling for strike of the WLB, on December 28,

action by the delegates. "There get rid of the no-strike pledge. the manner Reuther sidetracked Only one local officer dared to the question of revoking the no-

> The only other resolution tion of increased wages for prehensive upgrading program "The descriptive part of this re-"But what good is refering to take effective action.'

Resolutions calling for a UAW convention this fall, for the immediate removal of all manpower controls, and for the revocation prohibits premium pay for Saturdays, Sundays, and holidays, were among those unanimously passed by the conference.

The entire delegation, including The mood of the local offi- those opposed to his trade union sible people who are out to wreck cers forced Walter Reuther to policies, gave UAW vice-presithe union. But the fact is that "rabble-rouse" the conference. He dent Richard Frankensteen who the NLRB will not act until it is spoke of two standards in Wash- is running for mayor of Detroit pressured, till 'urgency' arises. ington, one for the workers and this fall, a rousing ovation. The We need teeth in the resolution one for big business. "Why is auto workers are tired of having so that our officers can get what this?" he asked. "Because the their union support a "friend of they need when they argue with powers that be are exerting labor" and are looking forward the boss."

# TRADE UNION

By Joseph Keller

#### **Open-Shop Victory**

One of the most dangerous assaults against the trade unions is the campaign throughout the state legislatures for laws banning closed shop contracts Two states, South Dakota and Florida, already have such measures

Last week, on June 12, a threeman federal court in Tampa Florida, dismissed a temporary injunction secured by the AFL and 56 of its affiliates against enforcement of the closed shop ban. The court ruled that such an anti-labor restriction was "constitutional.'

The big business interests are pushing laws banning the closed shop under the misleading title of "right to work" bills. They don't mean the right of the worker to be protected from arbitrary dismissal by the employer. They mean the "right" of the bosses The firings took place when to tear up existing closed shop contracts and hire non-union men to bust the unions.

The federal court decision in the Florida case is being immediately appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court by the AFL. This latest court ruling is already inspiring new and greater efforts by the open-shop corporations and their political agents to use reactionary state legislatures to impose the open shop by law.

#### Scandal of Willow Run

There is growing resentment in the ranks of the CIO Automobile Workers against the con- Truman's Plant duct of President R. J. Thomas the plant will take over the jobs and other top officials following Seizures union members who have less the closing of the Willow Run seniority. From all accounts it bombing plant and the firing of appears that Bell's last army 21,000 workers. Thomas has put four plant "seizures." contract for target planes has forward as his "solution" an ap- case, the immediate issue was been cancelled. This means ad- peal to the war profiteer, Henry long-standing company non-comditional layoffs. It is likely that J. Kaiser, to secure the governthe plant will shut down entirely, ment-owned plant for a song and in each instance, the "seizure" "give" the workers jobs. An article in Spicer Unit News,

organ of Spicer Unit, Toledo Lo-"One of the planks in the pro-

gram of the UAW Veterans Ad-

ministration calls for the government ownership and operawar plants. Why is not this solutake action. The scandal of Willow Run and its thousands of cast-aside workers should be

## Only Make 'Peace'

### With Labor-Haters

Although it was not revealed at the time, when the AFL Executive Council last month formally adopted the capitallabor "peace charter" signed by William Green, Philip Murray and Eric Johnston, Chamber of Commerce head, one "condition" was attached to the endorsement.

William L. Hutcheson, head of the AFL Carpenters, discloses in the current issue of The Carpenter that the executive council adopted the "peace pact" only in "principle." At the same time, it instructed Green "to notify the United States Chamber of Commerce that AFL representatives would not attend meetings called for the purpose of implementing provisions of the charter if representatives" of "dual" organizations (meaning the CIO) were invited.

The AFL craft union moguls don't have any qualms in sitting down with anti-labor big business spokesmen in a conspiracy to bind labor's hands with a "truce" while the employers launch new assaults on the workers rights. Their objections are to giving recognition, in any forms to the representatives of CIO unions speaking for millions of industrial workers.

Since President Truman as-

sumed office, he has ordered pliance with WLB directives. And was ordered only when workers went on strike because the goverment took no effective action over months, and even years, to enforce its own orders against powerful employers.

There is no evidence that these 'seizures" have had any effect tion of these government owned other than strikebreaking, as was the case with Montgomery Ward, tion brought forward by the In- which has successfully defied ternational Board today? Or was WLB rulings for years. What is that plank put in the program equally significant is the admis-Resolutions Committee, threw the weight of his powerful local be-An international representative few people that there was fight ployer non-compliance with its

ers on strike against unjust rullongs. The government in spite and cautiously it moves against of the pressure of its business employers who defy the 'advisers' would be forced to government by refusing to concede even the meager gains for workers that the WLB in a few broadcast till it scandalizes the instances has yielded under pres-

## 10 Years Ago In The Militant

JUNE 15,-1935

NEW YORK, N. Y. - After three weeks of militant picketing, marked by yiolent clashes with company thugs and arrests of pickets, the Gottfried Baking Co. strike ended. Local 50 of the Bakery and Confectionery Workers International Union won a substantial increase in wages and partial recognition of the

MINNEAPOLIS. Minn. - Representatives from the Communist Party and the Trotskyist party met on the platform of the Labor Lyceum on May 29 and debated the municipal election policy of the two parties, under the sponsorship of the District Executive Committee of the Workmen's Circle.

Vincent R. Dunne, upholding the Trotskyist position, posed the tasks of a revolutionary party in municipal elections. He declared: "The Communist Party today is no more the party of Lenin than the Republican Party is the party of Lincoln." EW YORK, N. Y. - Leon Trotsky, writing under the pen name

of Alpha, denounced the falsification of the history of the Red Army by Stalin who declared that Trotsky had introduced "nests of white guards" into the Red Army at the Eastern front. "Why did he (Stalin) not pose before the Central Committee and before the Party the question of the insidious work of Trotsky in the Red Army at the time of the civil war?" he asked. Trotsky was organizer and head of the Red Army for 7 years; from 1918 to 1925.

NEW YORK, N. Y. — The Nazis re-established compulsory military service; the second stage in Hitler's program for war. The first stage was the destruction of the workingclass movement and the enslavement of the entire German proletariat. With the successful institution of fascism in Germany in 1933, the Nazi rulers by 1935 were able to concentrate attention upon military preparations.

The St. Paul Local of the

#### SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY

Invites you to its NINTH ANNUAL FESTIVAL July 4, 2 p. m. on 1023 Topping Avenue

## TROTSKY'S PREDICTION **ON STALINIST SHIFTS**

Editorial note: When Hitler invaded the Soviet Union, the American Stalinists joined the ranks of the most rabid supporters of Wall Street's war program. Now they are attempting to pass off their outright betrayal of the working class as an "opportunist" deviation which has been called to their attention by the French Stalinist leader, Jacques Duclos, But Browder's and Foster's support of the imperialist war is not just simple "opportunism." The Browder-Foster clique openly deserted the socialist struggle of the working-class and went over to the camp of capitalism, thereby branding themselves as renegades and traitors. Leon Trotsky long ago pointed out the direction in which the Stalinists were travelling. Below we reprint part of an article by Trotsky, in which he discussed the "Communo-Chauvinism" of the Stalinists. This article, entitled "A Fresh Lesson On the Character of the Coming War," appeared in the New International magazine for December, 1938 - more than two and a half years before the American Stalinists began waving the flag for Wall Street's war.

The monstrous and rapid development of Soviet opportunism finds its explanation in causes analogous to those which, in the previous generation, led to the flowering of opportunism in capitalist countries, namely, the parasitism of the labor bureaucracy which has successfully solved its "social question" on the basis of a rise of the productive forces in the USSR. But since the Soviet bureaucracy is incomparably more powerful than the labor bureaucracy in capitalist countries, and since the feeding-trough at its disposal is distinguished by its almost unlimited capacity, there is nothing astonishing in the fact that the Soviet variety of opportunism immediately assumed an especially perfidious and vile character.



LEON TROTSKY

As regards the ex-Comintern. its social basis, properly speaking, is of a twofold nature: on the one hand, it lives on the subsidies of the Kremlin, submits to the latter's commands, and, in this respect. every ex-communist bureaucrat is the younger brother and subordinate of the Soviet bureaucrat. On the other hand, the various machines of the ex-Comintern feed from the same sources as the social democracy, that is, the superprofits of imperialism. The growth of the communist parties in recent years, their infiltration into the ranks of the petty bourgeoisie, their installation in the state machinery, the trade unions, parliaments, municipalities, etc. have

strengthened in the extreme their dependence on national imperialism at the expense of their traditional dependence on the Kremlin.

#### The Roots of Degeneration

Ten years ago it was predicted that the theory of socialism in one country must inevitably lead to the growth of nationalist tendencies in the sections of the Comintern. This prediction has become an obvious fact. But until recently, the chauvinism of the French, British, Belgian, Czechoslovak, American and other communist parties seemed to be, and, to a certain extent, was a refracted image of the interests of Soviet diplomacy ("the defense of the USSR"). Today, we can predict with assurance the inception of a new stage. The growth of imperialist antagonisms, the obvious proximity of the war danger and the equally obvious isolation of the USSR must unavoidably strengthen the centrifugal nationalist tendencies within the Comintern. Each one of its sections will begin to evolve a patriotic policy on its own account. Stalin has reconciled the communist parties of imperialist democracies with their national bourgecisies. This stage has now been passed. The Bonapartist procurer has played his role. Henceforth the communo-chauvinists erry about their own hides, whose interests by n means always coincide with the "defense of the USSR."

When the American Browder deemed it possible to declare before the Senatorial committee that in case of a war between the United States and the Soviet Union his party would be found on the side of its passionately beloved Fatherland, he himself might have possibly considered this statement as a simple strategem. But in reality. Browder's answer is an unmistakable symptom of a change from a "Moscow" to a "national" orientation. The "strategem" arose out of the necessity of adaptation to imperialist "patriotism." The cynical grossness of this strategem (the turn from the "Fatherland of the toilers" to the Republic of the Dollar) reveals the profound extent of degeneration that has occurred and the full extent of the dependence of the sections of the Comintern on the public opinion of the bourgeoisie.

#### The Downward Course of Stalinism

Fifteen years of uninterrupted purges, degradation and corruption have brought the bureaucracy of the ex-Comintern to such a degree of demoralization that it has become able and anxious to openly take into its hands the banner of social-patriotism. The Stalinists (we shall soon have to say, the ex-Stalinists) have not of course, set the Thames on fire. They have simply picked up the well-known banalities of petty-bourgeois opportunism. But in propagating them, they have injected into them the frenzy of "revolutionary" parvenus, who have turned totalitarian slander, blackmail and murder into normal methods of "defending democracy." As for the old classic reformists, washing their hands in innocence after every embarrassing situation, they have known how to use the support of the new recruits to chauvinism.

In that imperialist country which happens to be in the same camp with the USSR during the war (if any such is found), the section of the ex-Comintern will, naturally, "defend" Moscow. This defense, however, will be of no great value, for in such a country all parties will "defend" the USSR. (In order not to compromise itself with its imperialist ally, Moscow would probably order the communist party not to shout too loudly, and might possibly try to dissolve it altogether).

On the contrary in countries of the hostile camp, i.e., precisely where Moscow will be in greatest need of defenders, the ex-communist parties will be found completely on the side of their imperialist Fatherland: this course will be infinitely less dangerous and far more profitable. The ruling Moscow clique will reap the just fruits of fifteen years' prostitution of the Comintern.

#### SAN FRANCISCO

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July 1, 8:00 p. m.

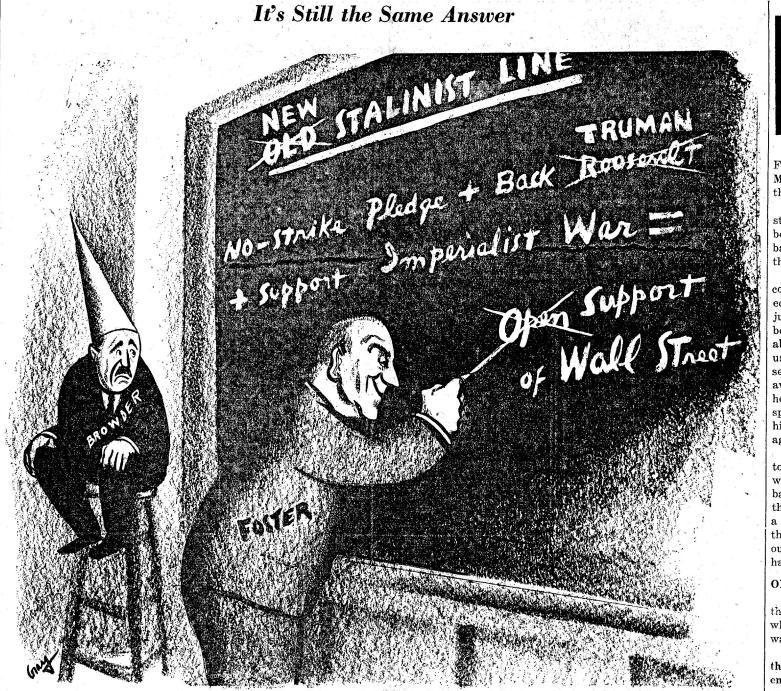
LAYOFFS -- HOW TO FIGHT THEM

Speaker: ROBERT CHESTER 305 GRANT AVENUE, 4th FLOOR

Discussion

Refreshments

It's Still the Same Answer



## New York SWP Statement On Elections Outlines Fundamental Campaign Issues

(Continued from page 1)

talist candidates.

Street.

action!

The modern battles of labor more on the political field. To support any of the boss politipor's fight into the hal's of the egislatures and Congress! Establish a workers' and farmers' government!

government-built plants!

War production expanded industry enormously. Now the Wall Street politicians are turning government-built plants over to capitalists or closing them down indefinitely. These plants could produce peace-time goods in vast quantities. Let them continue to operate! To protect them from the predatory capitalists who want to continue the economy of scarcity, place them under control of the work-

During conversion to peaceprotects the profits of the bosses must be insured during this critical period! Keep every worker on the payroll at his full rate

growing by leaps and bounds. To the labor-endorsed aldermen are far as labor relations are con- the campaign. Spread the work by reducing the ists, without a semblance of a across the conference table and was revealed during the course fail to respond, "certification of tion in take-home pay!

stitute fair employment prac- tical committee officially spon- table, but in the streets — the neapolis employers from the be- men. The NMU is demanding Jim Crow system. Defend the years ago, with the backing of ployers would heed their de-Negroes' right to decent jobs the AFL Central Labor Union, mands. at decent wages! Unite the la- Humphrey ran a close second to

workers' standard of living!

shadows of the Democrats and the working class family of more has rolled up the most phenom- to capitalist militarism! Republicans. They have taken as and more food. Meat is rapidly enal profits in all history. Yet Under the pretext of providing their major task the collection becoming a luxury available only the staggering burden of taxa- military training for the citi of working class votes for capi- to those rich enough to afford tion to pay for the war has been zenry, Wall Street wants to private locker refrigerators in the placed on the backs of the poor, Prussianize the United States. To solve the burning problems country or to eat in swank res- Confiscate all war profits! An end Give them a working class anof the postwar period, labor must taurants. Smash the black mar- to all taxes on incomes under swer! Let military training be begin by opposing these reaction- ket system fostered by the Wall \$5,000 a year! ary and perfidious political ma- Street politicians! Organize con- 7. Make New York 100 perthines in the service of Wall sumers' committees to check cent union! Street.

1. For working class political goods into the black market!

are being fought out more and it has since steadily worsened, out the no-strike pledge the boss-Arrogant landlords cut down on services and chisel on rent con- wage freeze. Rescind the noto growing population needs. Re- represent the workers in labor place the slums and firetraps with modern low-rent apart-2. Continue to operate the ments! Make work for the building trades! Build homes instead of bombers!

> Transportation facilities have gone from bad to worse. The unprecedented number of train wrecks is only one indication of wrecks from spreading to New 6. Tax the rich, not the poor! rights a union fight!

The black market is depriving | During the war, Big Business | 9. A working class

was at the beginning of the war, alyzed the labor movement. With- union wages for all workers in es cou'd not have maintained the disputes! Free the trade unions from the shackles forged by Big itely. Business!

8. Organization of the war veterans by the trade unions! The forces of native fascism

are lying in wait for the veter-They want to turn them against racial minorities, poison wartime deterioration. Prevent them against the labor movement, organize them into fighting York's subways! The safety of detachments and establish fasthe public requires immediate re- cism in America. The trade unplacement of all wornout equip- ions must act in time to save ment! Expand transportation to the people from this fate. Make eliminate dangerous congestion! the struggle for the veterans'

of the trade unions Counteract Government bureaucrats and rooming military caste through the housing shortage as the housing shortage into the black market!

Bad as the housing shortage the no-strike pledge have partary education. Provide trade the hate propaganda of the mush-

> the armed forces! 10. Hands off the European and colonial peoples!

why they want to continue policing countries overseas indefin-Withdraw the Allied oc cupation troops! Support the revolutionary struggles of the workers in other lands!

11. For 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!

### CIO and Railroad union central time production, the government Unions Unite To Elect starve. The worker's income New Minneapolis Mayor

By Barbara Bruce

3. Full employment and job 13— Demonstrating a new and election. security for all workers and vet- widespread interest in political provide jobs for everyone, insti- almost without exception self- cerned... We have been able to tute a sliding scale of hours! seeking opportunists and career- settle such matters as have arisen ward Minneapolis union workers 8, which said that if the operators negotiating committee, "emphnumber of hours each man spends labor program, their victory rev- not in the streets..." on the job — but with no reduc- eas a political awareness on the

Safeguard the American margin of over 31,000 votes.

prison on framed-up charges, of- hoiders, hand-picked by AFL, program of labor demands.

and national minorities! Down days of the Farmer-Labor party. which the courageous unionists vote, because "we don't want any In a wire to AMMI President For the first time since the of Local 544, led by Carl Skog- strikes in this city." He is not Frank J. Taylor, the NMU negocians hope to divide the workers disbanded Farmer-Labor Party, Dunne, Farrell Dobbs and other bor. On the contrary, he is a to the fact that the Maritime by setting nationalities and col- all sections of the labor move- well-known union militants, won member of the Junior Associa- War Emergency Board will meet tices, they continue the vicious sored by the three groups. Two only place where Minneapolis emginning of the campaign.

bor movement by fighting seg- Marvin Kline, incumbent Repub- of the combined labor organiza- women, particularly union memdiscrimination lican mayor. This year Humph- tions who made up the united bers, of the need for organizarey defeated Kline by a wide political committee gave their tion on the political field, the endorsement to Humphrey, this methods employed in the recent Still paying off for help AFL endorsement did not represent a campaign to elect "abor candi-The Washington bureaucrats Teamsters President Tobin re- democratic selection by the rank dates" are a poor substitute for promised to keep down the cost ceived from the Kline adminis- and file unionists of Minneapolis. the kind needed by workers to of living. But prices have sky-tration in the fight against Instead of electing candidates at rocketed beyond reach of the av-Truck Drivers Local 544-CIO, a democratically-called union reality. That means an inde-ary seamen for all ratings. erage family. To preserve the when leaders of the local drivers' convention to run on a program pendent labor party, with full standard of living, institute a union and members of the So- of labor's own choosing, Humph- democracy for the rank and file urdays and double time for Sun-

publican opponent. While the union's wage demands. ficials of three AFL drivers' un- Minneapolis Labor Review, offiions publicly supported Kline's cial organ of the Minneapolis mittee countered with a proposal MINNEAPOLIS, Minn., June unsuccessful campaign for re- CLU, publicized a "Great Chart- that the operators meet with er of New Freedom for the Peo-In a joint statement, these ple of Minneapolis," including prepared "to state positively membership that the wage inaction, Minneapolis workers swept AFL drivers' officials said: full employment and training for whether or not they will serious crease can be won within the Wall Street politicians prom- into office a labor-endorsed may- "We are supporting Mayor Kline jobs at union rates of pay, and ly negotiate with the NMU on frame-work of existing governised 60,000,000 jobs after the or and 14 out of 26 city aldermen for re-election because he has a shorter work week with no re- its proposals." But even before the re- in the municipal elections here given us the finest kind of co- duction in wages, Humphrey lowed by the threat that unless turn of millions of men in the last Monday. Although Hubert operation in maintaining peace-never once mentioned these the operators give a flat 'yes' or meaning of their "wage policy." armed forces, unemployment is Humphrey, mayor-elect, and ful and friendly relations.... so points during all the weeks of 'no' answer, a second step wil

of the campaign when he urged the case to the National War La- to insist to the MWED in Wash-Thousands of truck drivers we'l a meeting of the Street Car Men's bor Board must follow swiftly." the job — but with no reduction in take-home pay!

part of the Minneapolis labor remember the victorious strike and union, Local 1005, AFL, not to struggles of a few years ago, in go through with a justified strike way a meeting of the Sirect Cal Meta Sol Board mass 10.

WAGE DEMANDS

sliding scale of wages! Increase cialist Workers Party were per- rey was named by a committee of the union movement to choose days. wages to meet the increased cost secuted and eventually sent to of a group of trade union office their own candidates to run on a This proposed wage demand,

# Diary of a STEEL WORKER

By Theodore Kovalesky.

Slim's story of how he was picked up and sent to a County Farm in Arkansas to ease the farm labor shortage (last week's Militant) got me thinking of other cases of returned veterans; and the first one I thought of was Jerry.

Jerry was the first of the boys to come back to the gate of the steel mill and try to get in again to work on his old job, which had been promised to him. Yes, Jerry was the first to try to come back . . . and the first to be sent away from the gate, told that there was no longer any place inside for him.

He had worked over in the coke oven before he had been drafted into the army. I don't know just what kind of job he had there, because I don't know anything about the coke oven, but I think he used to do some kind of skilled or emi-skilled work. Then Jerry went away. They took him like a steer headed for the slaughterhouse, inspected him, graded and classified him, and sent him out to fight against the Germans.

But when Jerry left, he was told that his old job would be waiting for him when he came back home again. And I suppose that made him feel a little safer.

a little more secure in his worried thoughts of unemployment after the war. Some guys wouldn't have anything; they'd be broke and out of a job. But it was in the bag for Jerry. They'd promised him, hadn't they?

#### ONE OF WAR'S HUMAN WRECKS

So Jerry came back again . . . but it wasn't the same Jerry that had gone away. The guy that came back was a wreck of a man who walked unsteadily, who shook and trembled, and whose voice was broken and twisted into queer, gutteral and indistinct sounds.

He'd always been a pretty good union man, so perhaps that's the reason why he came to the union office before he even tried the employment office over at the plant. Or maybe it was his consciousness of his condition that made him doubt that he'd have a chance of being hired without the support of the union. Whichever it was, that's what Jerry did.

Gus Miller and I were in the office getting some leaflets advertising a departmental meeting, when Terry O'Day walked in with Jerry. That is, Terry walked in, but Jerry didn't exactly walk: he imped, wobbled, quivered, and jerked his way across the floor. I could hear his voice as he spoke to Terry. It was a quavering mumble. Terry said, "O.K., kid," and went to the phone to tell Bill Huntley over in the personnel office that a returned veteran was coming over in a few minutes to see about his old job.

Jerry wobbled out again, and Terry turned ruefully to us. "I don't know what the hell they can do for the kid. He can't work in there," he said to us. And sure enough, within half an hour Huntley had Terry on the phone telling him that Jerry couldn't possibly work on his old job, that if he did, he'd be sure to kill himself and placed under the strict control probably everybody else over there as well.

#### THE BOSS HAS NO USE FOR HIM

"Well, hell, Bill," Terry was persisting, "can't you find anything over there for him? Yeah, sure, I know it's a steel plant, but the guy was in the army. Sure ... but ... yeah, I suppose so, Bill, but it sure is a hell of a break," and then he hung up. "They won't take him back," he said to us.

Pretty soon Jerry was back. His body shook even worse than cians or boss parties is to stablabor in the back. Build an independent labor party! Take labor's fight into the hal's of the

Terry put his hand on Jerry's shoulder, spoke to him per suasively, tried to convince him to go back to the Veteran's Bureau for hospitalization or at least to get into one of those veterans' schools. But Jerry shook off the hand and began to swear brokenly and thickly. Then as he turned and ran out of the room in a limping, lopsided manner, Gus and I could see tears glistening in his

The door slammed behind Jerry, and we haven't seen him since.

## Shift Foreseen In Wage **Policy Of NMU Leaders**

NEW YORK, June 18 - The | time bonuses, amounts to a 100% first step in the "wage policy" of increase in the pre-war base

The union negotiating com- pecially those them on Tuesday, June 19, and be. be taken. This second step was June 7 meeting of the union, Humphrey's real attitude to- described in the NMU Pilot, June John Rogan, speaking for the

The bosses and their politi- unions were united in the now- lund, Vincent, Miles and Grant a representative of organized la- tiating committee called attention the operators and government for the seamen and their famors against each other. Despite ment - AFL, CIO and Railroad union wages, hours and condition of Commerce and had the shortly to consider elimination of illes." all their election promises to in- Brotherhoods - joined in a poli- tions, not across the conference support of a large group of Min- the Atlantic war bonus for seathat before bonuses are cut out While the Minneapolis elections in Atlantic waters wages for represent a growing conscious- merchant seamen be brought up Despite the fact that officials ness among working men and to the level of other industrial no-strike pledge stands until the workers. This demand includes:

> (1) The 55 cent hourly minimum wage for the lowest rating aboard ship, ordinary seamen. (2) The 40-hour week for all ratings.

(3) Wage increases, based on

(4) Time and a half for Sat-

designed to equal the loss of war-

the Stalinist leadership of pay for merchant seamen. Notothe National Maritime Union riously underpaid before the war, (CIO) appeared near an end last able seamen worked a 56-hour week as the American Merchant week at sea for \$72.50 a month. Humphrey campaigned on his Marine Institute (ship operators' Wartime wage increases brought own program which offered no association) announced that more this base pay up to \$100. The more to labor than did his Re- time is needed to "study" the war-risk bonus of 100 per cent dcubled this in certain zones, esdesignated as "dangerous." The Stalinist leaders of the

NMU are trying to convince the

This was fol- ment arbitration machinery and wage formulas. This is the real asized that wires should continue ington that the bonus cut be postponed while the negotiations with the operators are in progress. and declared that we must stress the responsibility which bear to guarantee a living wage

> The same meeting heard NMU President Joseph Curran re-state the union's no-strike pledge. He said: "Let's be very clear, our last Japanese soldier is defeated. Revising his position on the postwar no-strike pledge, Curran shifted in accordance with the latest zig-zag of the Communist Political Association, declaring that the NMU has not adopted a 'perpetual no-strike policy."

> > Ask Your Shopmate to Subscribe to The Militant

# Peacetime Draft

(Continued from page 1)

moral training requires the longest time — but fortunately it is never completely forgotten." The indoctrination forced on the trainees by the military caste has a reactionary character. Race prejudice, hatred of labor, training in strike-breaking, blind, unthinking acceptance of the ideology of predatory capitalism is one of the greatest dangers in peacetime conscription.

Eisenhower's second line of argument concerns the need for large numbers of troops in 'peacetime." "There would no longer seem to be any reason for arguing the need for numbers in war. In a serious war the quicker the maximum potential can be converted into tactical power the surer the victory and the less the cost. The whole purpose of military preparation. . is to develop this maximum, properly balanced and fully efficient, at the earliest possible moment." Thus does the general underline Wall Street's perspective of a Third World

#### WEAK ANSWER

The opposition of the AFL and CIO to peacetime conscription failed completely to answer Wall Streets arguments. Lewis G. Hines, speaking for the AFL, attion. If, he said, the objective is preparedness, "may we not in all fairness ask: Preparedness for he called for a program of medical care for "the children of the nation, in order that they may be fit to serve their nation's need upon reaching the age of matu-

interests of the labor movement when he conceded in principle the | mand that military training demands of Wall Street. He ad- at government expense - be vocated the maintenance of an placed under control of the trade unions. "Psychological indoctri- response to main force and navy placed under control of the trade unions. "Psychological indoctri- response to main force and navy placed under control of the trade unions. "Psychological indoctri- response to main force and navy placed under control of the trade unions. "Psychological indoctri- response to main force and navy placed under control of the trade unions. "Psychological indoctri- response to main force and navy placed under control of the trade unions. "Psychological indoctri- response to main force and navy placed under control of the trade unions." adequate to make our views on nation," etc. cannot be left to lanational and international pol-bor-hating Jim Crow Wall St. icies respected, to safeguard our servants. The unions need control possessions and to perform our to make sure military training responsibilities as a member of does not become training against any world-wide organization that unionism. is dedicated to peace." This is

than E. Cowan for the CIO was just as weak. He worried over the fact that peacetime conscription would be a "confession" the United States does not "believe it is possible to create a world free from war." Such a confession does not bother the militarists in the least. The most outspoken of them have openly declared this to be their belief and from this deduce the necessity

of the legislation. Cowan further pointed to the cost of conscription, saying it would run from "one and onehalf billion dollars to four billion dollars a year." The militarists answer succinctly that this method of war is cheaper than any other.

#### UTOPIAN DEMAND

"reduction in world armament." He asserted "we cannot have both collective security and overwhelming national armaments." This Utopian demand has been exploded a thousand times by events. The worst militarists normally begin preparations for war by calling for a reduction in ar-

The fat-headed proposals of the nothing but condemnation by class-conscious workers. The militacked the purpose of the legisla- Utopian proposals to reduce arms, give up military training. ists is first of all ruthless ex-In place of conscription posure of their real purposes. They want armies to put down revolutions. They want armies to cannon fodder for its next war! maintain Wall Street's plunder and profits.

In order to achieve emancipation the working class needs mili-Hines, however, betrayed the tary training. But it is the duty of labor's representatives to de-

There is no other effective anprecisely what the militarists swer to the Wall Street militar-

crowding in veterans' hospitals.

Rankin was forced to change his

these "best of all" veterans' hos-

pitals. The race issue was in-

troduced. Each witness from the

veterans' organizations and each

Veterans Administration official

was questioned by Rankin as to

When Colonel Verdel of the

Northport Hospital admitted that

patients there had been slapped,

choked and hit with knotted

towels, Rankin made very sure

that every one understood that 13

court - martialed in connection

sensational charges of brutality

had been made against white

attendants and officials at the

Lyons, N. Y. veterans hospitals

some months ago, but Rankin did

Maisel reports the fact that

Robert Hegler, a conscientious

objector, ran away from the Vet-

erans' Mental Hospital at Lyons

in October, 1944 to report the

terrible conditions there. His

diary, shown to New York report-

ers told of helpless patients being

"kicked in the head," "beaten up

in bed," "wrung out," i.e., being

choked with a towel around the

neck. Hegler's diary made it very

incident, that the brutality was

After Hegler's story broke

in the papers, Veterans Ad-

ministrator Frank Hines (Hines

was fired by President Truman on

June 8 because of the hospital

scandal) was forced to make an

investigation. However, when

Maisel went to the Lyons Hos-

pital in January, 1945 to find out

what changes had been made, he

learned from the Chief Medical

Officer, Colonel Lopez that "no

But Robert Hegler, the con-

scientious objector who had ex-

posed the shocking mistreatment

of sick and wounded servicemen Missoula,

at the Lyons Hospital was sent Plentywood,

dismissals had occurred.

not limited to attendants.

clear, by relating incident after Rochester,

not publicize them!

race relations in VA hospitals.

line that nothing was wrong in will have to start the whole pro

Negro soldier-attendants had been the help of their labor lieuten-

with these incidents. Even more tives Association, have brought

CITY

New York,

Newark.

Buffalo,

Pittsburgh,

Youngstown,

Cleveland.

Chicago,

Milwaukee,

Los Angeles,

San Francisco,

St. Louis.

Seattle.

Twin Cities.

cedure over again.

BOSSES DOING NICELY

The bosses' side of this picture

story. The Association of Amer-

ican Railroads reported a gain

stooges in Congress and with

ants in the Railway Labor Execu-

a bill into the House of Repres-

entatives which would give them

even more profits. This bill frees

the railroads from land-grant

restrictions and permits carriers

nauling government freight and

passengers to charge full rates.

**GRACE CARLSON'S** 

TOUR SCHEDULE

Philadelphia, Wednesday, June 20

DATE

Friday, June 22

Sunday, June 24

Tues. - Wed.

Fri. - Sat.

June 29, 30

Monday, July 2

Tuesday, July 3

Thurs., July 5

Sat., July

Sunday, July 8

Monday, July 9

Tues. - Wed.,

July 10, 11

Sat. to Mon.

July 14 to 16

Tuesday, July 17

Thurs. to Wed.,

Tues. to Thurs.,

Friday, Aug. 17

Sunday, Aug. 19

Aug. 2 to 8

Aug. 14 to 16

Fri. to Sun.

Aug. 10-12

August 22

Thursday, July 19

June 26, 27

## USE RACE SLANDER IN HOSPITAL PROBE

By Grace Carlson

Failing in his attempts to whitewash the responsible Vet- ting up of the workers into all erans' Administration officials, Representative John Rankin, kinds of craft unions which are chairman of the House Veterans Committee is now trying to in- once again split into individual ject the race issue into the investigation of conditions in veterans' roads. To make matters worse, hospitals. At the conclusion of the committee's hearing on June 14, at which Colonel Louis Verdel, manager of the Veterans Mental Hospital at Northport, N. Y. confirmed earlier revelations of brutal treatment of veteran patients there, the Jim ferees appointed by the Presi-Crower from Mississippi burst out with:

"It is a disgrace that the War Dept. should send nigger troops | the American Legion and the into our Veterans Administration | Veterans of Foreign Wars con-Hospitals to be mixed up with firmed the Maisel and Deutsch white nurses and with officers charges of brutality, inadequate who cannot enforce discipline." treatment, underfeeding and over-This was in reference to Col. Verdel's testimony that 130 Negro soldiers have been attached to the Northport Hospital as attendants and that 13 Negro soldiers have recently been courtmartialed for alleged mistreatment of veteranpatients there.

Attributing the Northport "trouble" to what he terms the Army's "non-segregation" policy, Rankin now thinks that the War Dept. should be investigated. "It seems to me that these cases (Northport) involved negligence on the part of the War Department rather than the Veterans Administration," he told reporters after the June 14 committee hear-

How the vicious Jim Crow treatment of hundreds of thousands of Negro troops in the U.S. Army could be considered as evidence of a "non-segregation" policy, only Rankin could say! However, this latest maneuver is proof that Rankin is continuing his efforts to divert public wrath from his friends in the Veterans Administration. Now, he is charging the Negro soldier-attendants, assigned to duty in veterans' hospitals, with responsibility for all of the evils of the veterans' hos-

For the first three months of the House Committee's present "investigation" into conditions in these institutions, Rankin refused to admit that anything was wrong with the veterans' hospitals. When Albert Deutsch of PM and Victor Maisel of Cosmopolitan magazine appeared before the Committee in May to testify as to the mistreatment of veteranpatients in VA hospitals, they were insulted by Chair'man Rankin. Maisel, an authoritative writer on military medicine, whose articles in Cosmopolitan magazine and Readers' Digest had been an important factor in forcing the House investigation, was told by Rankin: "You've done a great disservice to the greatest system of veterans' hospitals the

world has ever seen." Independent investigations by to federal prison!

# Brass Hats Pushing Will A "Baby Bonus" Safeguard Child Victims Of Profit System?

By Grace Carlson

ing for the payment of "baby bonuses." Under the terms of nis bill, parents of a first child would receive \$500, of a second child, \$750, and of a third child,

I don't know what became of this "baby bonus" bill. I never saw any other reference to it than the one-inch Associated Press report which appeared in the N. Y. Herald-Tribune. I expect that the silence about this proposal is due to a certain embarrassment over its resemblance to the "baby bonuses" paid by The CIO spokesman called for the late and unlamented Benito Mussolini in Italy,

#### BIRTHS DECLINING

Langer's proposal to reward parents for having large families s intended, no doubt, to deal with he fact that the birth rate in the United States is declining. The 1940 census showed that there were almost 3,000,000 fewer children under nine years of age AFL and CIO bureaucrats deserve in the country than there were in 1930. It is expected that the 1950 census will show a further tarists cannot be answered by decrease in the number of children, as well as a reduction in the number of youths, 10 to 19 The real answer to the militar- years. Like Mussolini in his time, Langer is probably beginning to worry about where American imperialism will get

> I would certainly not oppose the idea of giving parents some extra financial aid - but it should be much more than \$500. How far does that go in raising a child? If Senator Langer were

> > By Jack Pearson

workers on the American rail-

roads are wondering what has

happened to their standard of

iving. The pay raise that was

given them in 1943 was not even

up to the Little Steel formula

and has been wiped out long ago

by the increased cost of living.

The main reason for the fail

ure of the railroad workers to

make better gains is the split-

even these crafts and local un-

ions to long periods of bargain-

ing with different boards and re-

dure: and even then the President

On April 6 of this year, Sen- workers get higher wages, so tion. ator William Langer introduc- that working-class parents could ed a bill into the Senate provid- take proper care of the children they now have. Every year, But, according to the eminent thousands of the ill-fed, ill-ciothauthority on chronic disease, Dr. ed, ill-housed children of the poor Frnst Boas: "Rheumatic heart are driven into early graves in disease would largely disappear home of the brave."

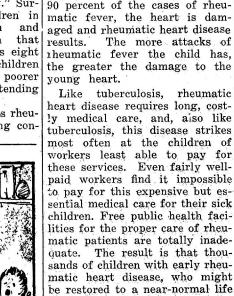
- rheumatic heart disease. At the ages of 10 to 14, it is the Philadelphia have shown that leading cause of death; between rheumatic heart disease is eight heart disease is 30,000 each year. private schools. Many other hundreds of thousands became cripples for life matic fever but poor living con-

ents, he would be trying to help rheumatic heart disease infec-sleeping quarters, inadequate

THE POOR SUFFER

Take just one childhood killer veys among school children in New York City, Boston and the ages of 15 and 25, it is sec- times more frequent in children ond only to tuberculosis. The an- attending school in the poorer young heart. nual death toll from rheumatic districts than in those attending

A germ or a virus causes rheu-





Wage Gains While Owners Reap Enormous War Profits

In the bill is a provision di Ohio to Texas. Under the pro-

the light of additional revenue gressman Joseph P. O'Hara

that will be received by the rail- (Rep.-Minn.) brought out that

cause, according to Senator "cleaned up" \$3,000,000,000 (bil-

This is meaningless be- since 1940 the carriers had

Congressman W. R. Poage (Dem.- | BOOSTING CHARGES

Tex.) declared: "It would cost

000,000 a year to cover addition-

al costs of carrying war mater-

Poage, "The carriers operate the

ly as they run their own trains." an all-time high.

ials and troops.'

ST. PAUL, Minn. — The the Army and the Navy \$350,

diet lack of sunshine, poor ventilation — are known to be predisposing factors. Many early But, according to the eminent cases of rheumatic fever go unrecognized because the main symptoms, pain and swelling of the joints, are often dismissed heumatic fever the child has,

> Like tuberculosis, rheumatic heart disease requires long, costly medical care, and, also like tuberculosis, this disease strikes most often at the children of workers least able to pay for these services. Even fairly wellpaid workers find it impossible to pay for this expensive but es- tion was revealed in the Team- Convention it adopted a resolusential medical care for their sick sters Union, Local 299, A F of L. tion recommending that all "CIO children. Free public health facilities for the proper care of rheu- REFUSED JOBS matic patients are totally inadequate. The result is that thou-sands of children with early rheu-five drivers — with from four to criminated against because of matic heart disease, who might ten years experience - charge race, creed, color or place of be restored to a near-normal life that they were refused jobs with by proper treatment, develop se- eleven different trucking comrious heart conditions and die prematurely.

> Hope for rheumatic heart sufsulfa drugs to prevent recurrences of the rheumatic fever attacks. Now if there were only fiatly that Negroes could not the social field, yet the commita drug to abolish the damp, dark, join and in other cases they were tee realizes that it is sheer folly rheumatic fever is born and barred in an indirect manner. flourishes! Millions of babies would be saved and grow up to 299, who has consistently refus- or ignore the rank branding of be strong and healthy men and ed to admit Negroes and has the Negro workers as inferior "baby bonuses" then.

We have here a picture which is striking in its contrast. While wan (Dem.-Ohio) said that the the railroad workers' standard of government is now paying a half living is steadily dropping, the Wall Street owners of American railroads are reaping tremendous profits. I say Wall Street be-

capitalist society. For example, at a recent interracial conference in Detroit, Gloster Current, executive secretary of the Detroit branch, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, accused the American Federation all its own departments, INCLUD of Labor of barring Negro union ING ITS ARMED FORCES IN members from the restaurant at A WAR FOR SO-CALLED he Labor Temple. Such actions DEMOCRACY? History says ndermine the faith of the Negro no! workers in the whole labor movement and play right into the lems. The progressive unions hands of the enemies of all la- must show the rank and file of

tion, but widening its scope.

#### 

## "Labor with a white skin The NEGRO

cannot emancipate itself where labor with a black skin is branded." -KARL MARX

#### The Bitter and the Sweet

Every Negro worker is well aware of a contradictory situation which exists in the labor movement today regarding the this "land of the free and the if decent housing and wages be- as "growing pains." In about official union attitude toward discrimination. While the UAWcame the order of the day." Sur- 90 percent of the cases of rheu- CIO and other progressive unions have been forging far ahead matic fever, the heart is dam- of the social stream in the matter of Negro equality, many backaged and rheumatic heart disease ward unions, mostly affiliated with the A F of L, have been atresults. The more attacks of tempting to hold back the tide of progress by either barring Negroes from membership or accepting them only in a Jim Crow uxiliary.

This type of discrimination has een practiced in many A F of L March 13, 1945 by the National locals on the east and west coast CIO Committee to Abolish Disas well as in the Railroad Broth- crimination, this organization reerhoods. As a result of testimony affirmed "its unwavering opposiof five Negro truck drivers be- tion to discrimination against fore the National Fair Employ- the Negro people or the ment Practices Committee in De- people of any other minority." troit on June 2, a similar situa- At its Seventh Constitutional

panies because they were not members of Local 299. They also charged that Local 299 had ferers is said to lie in the use of refused them membership solely political and social equality for because of their color. In some all groups." Although the roots cases the union heads told them of the CIO are not grounded in ever-crowded tenements in which given the run-around and thus to fight simply for equality on James Hoffa, head of Local and at the same time to accept

women. We wouldn't need any boasted that he wouldn't let newspapers or government agencies "tell him how to run his union," refused to appear to de- lic schools and other facilities fend his reactionary position after determining that the FEPC wholly or in part by public had no subpoena power. wholly or in part by public funds." Economic, political and

Not only do the Teamsters, social equality are inextricably Boilermakers and Steamfitters unions and the Railroad Brotherhoods openly discriminate against Negroes in the matter of membership, but an additional group of A F of L unions carry over into their social activities the same groundless myth of Negro inferiority that is fostered by

CIO not only maintaining the union must help another throw tight against racial discrimina- off reactionary leadership if eith-

According to a report adopted unions seek the incorporation into collective bargaining agreements The FEPC, acting in its in- of a provision that no person origin."

The Anti-discrimination Committee of the CIO states in plain language in the report that "our ultimate goal is full economic, the job and at the voting booth by discrimination in "housing, public transportation, public recreation, hotels, restaurants, pubused by the public and supported bound up together. So says the CIO. And the CIO is right.

Here is one segment of labor,

then, accepting discrimination and thus aiding the reactionary boss class, while another group is more strongly forging the links of working-class solidarity. What is to be done about it? Can we trust "anti-discrimin-

ation" agencies of the capitalist government to crush this tendency when that same government fosters discrimination in

Labor must solve its own probthe backward ones that this pol-On the other side of the ballicy stands to weaken and destroy ance sheet, however, we find the the entire labor movement. One er is to survive.

## Rail Worker Submits Union **Program For Discussion**

Congressman Michael J. Kir-

million dollars freight charges on

recting the Interstate Commerce posed bil, the charges would be cause, according to the report

Commission to review rates in boosted to a million dollars. Con- given by Truman to Congress

commission almost as successful- lions) above their fixed charges, Company, top Wall Street fin-

trainload of munitions from

A worker told me it takes two years to go through this procecan declare an emergency, take over the roads, and through a commission give the workers worker in Minneapolis. It is of union. what he thinks he can get by with. If they don't like it, they Brotherhood of Locomotive Fireprogressive lodge. This program reflects the growing sentiment be responsible to, and elected by, gives us an entirely different among railway workers for a the convention. progressive program leading to nore union democracy, unificain profits for March, 1945 over tion of the rail unions, more mili-March, 1944 of 16%. After detant policies and independent laducting all charges, there was bor political action). left \$62,800,000, a tremendous

sum for one month's business. The carriers, through their Dear Editor:

> Lodge 814 of the B. of L. F. and E. has submitted a condensed program to the other five lodges located on its particular railroad. The program consists of 10 proposals attached to a circular letter to the five locals in structing new members on the

#### IMPORTANT PROGRAM

The program appears to us to ce of general importance to all instead of craft unions and will rairoad workers and it is for this support any move in that direcreason that we submit it to The tion. Militant for publication. Here s the Program:

reduced to the union scale of Locomotive Engineers as a rival wages, plus all necessary item- union by amalgamation or abized traveling expenses when sorption. away from home on union busi-

(For the benefit of our many | leaders of labor should enjoy priv- | lodge elections is illegal. There is

4. We want section 9, article 20, page 264, of our constitution repealed at the next convention, and a free expression clause enacted in its place which will guarantee full freedom of expression to officers and members

#### END THE RITUAL!

5. We want all ritualistic mummery eliminated from our meetings and conventions. Instead of wasting our time insecret work, we should teach them why it is necessary for workers to have labor unions. 6. We favor industrial unions

7. We want support from all

cur union officials for the elim-1. We want officers' salaries ination of the Brotherhood of

8. We want no passing of con-We reject the theory that ventions. The passing of local

#### readers in the railroad industry, lileges and comforts denied to no constitutional provision for the we are publishing in full an in- those they are supposed to lead. | cancellation of a local lodge elecformative letter The Militant re- 2. We want more democracy tion. We want a convention held ceived this week from a railway and economy and less dues in our at least every two years. Most good and active unions hold a particular importance because it 3. We want our laws amended convention every year. We want contains the program recently and changed to remove all cen- representation at conventions reendorsed by St. Paul Lodge 814, sorship of our magazine by the duced to about 300 delegates. The men and Enginemen, a leading editor to have full charge and and unwieldy to function propsupervision of the magazine and erly and too expensive for a small union.

when he was chairman of the

Senate Investigating Committee,

95 per cent of the American rail-

roads are owned or controlled by

J. P. Morgan and Kuhn-Loeb and

anciers.

9. We want our labor leadership to launch the formation of a National Labor Party instead of keeping the workers politically impotent by the present nonpartisan political policy and worthless and expensive labor lobby. Democratic rule means majority rule. We can only have a majority rule if we have a workers' rule. The working masses have tolerated the misery and minority misrule of Big Business long enough.

### MINIMUM WAGE

10. We want a schedule provision which will guarantee a daily ored position in China and event- ly its power, dictate to it a vigorminimum wage for each 24 hours ually also in India, cannot be that men have to spend on the effectively resisted by the British extra list without being called forces alone, especially under for duty. Good wages and conlitions for those who toil at pro- the solidarity of all parts of the ductive labor should be the first British Empire in a war against charge on every industry. The Lodge 814 letter with the

above program ends with the following paragraph: "We ask you to study the

that Lodge 814 is in the very forefront of progressive thought and action. We need more such about 50 years closer to the twentieth century."

proposals in the program of class paper.

Minneapolis

## Proneer Paragraphs sorship of our magazine by the union officials. We want the present conventions are too big FOR MASTERY OF FAR EAST

The inter-imperialist struggle for the domination of China is important rival of American imat the same time a struggle for perialism in the East remains the mastery of the Pacific, in Great Britain, the most immediwhich the two principal contend- ate opponent of the United ers are Japan and the United States in that part of the world States. Given her involvements is now Japan. The question of on the European continent, the the war between Japan and the Mediterranean and the Near East, United States for the domination Great Britain is greatly handi- of the Pacific and the Far East capped in any attempt to defend single-handedly her position on order of the day ... Thus, the the Asiatic continent. The Pan-Asian movement fostered by Japanese imperialism and aimed at world-wide scope of its interests driving England out of her favconditions which render unlikely Japan. American imperialism, how-

ever, is not inclined to intervene directly in the Far East against Japan exclusively or even mainabove reply and program carefully, and if you do, you will find the domination of England on the the domination of England on the Asiatic continent. Quite the contrary, the conclusive mastery of lodges in the B. of L.F. & E. to the Pacific by the United States, help us move railroad unionism that is, a decisive defeat for Japan, signifies the beginning of the end of British rule and priv-Brother rail progressives, let liege in the East. That this is us have your reactions to the recognized even in the Empire, is demonstrated by the fact that a I odge 814 of the railroad engine- growing section of the Australmen. Use the columns of The ian bourgeoisie looks to the Unit-Militant for this purpose. Hundreds of railroad workers ed States rather than to England for the defense of its interests, throughout the country now read more specifically, for the joint The Militant and they can be struggle against Japan. In a reached with progressive ideas on remoter sense, the reorientation how to improve the union move- of sections of the British Emment on the railroads through pire may be discerned in the the pages of this good working- fact that Canada has been con tinually drawing away from London and toward New York and

While the biggest and most is therefore at the top of the very magnitude of the problems of American imperialism, the and the foundations which underous and relentless policy of expansion. Moreover, they make it the principal motive force in propelling the capitalist world towards another war and the firmest brake upon the revolutionary movement of the world proletariat and the liberation movement of the colonies and half-colonies. (From "The Founding Confer-

ence of the Fourth International" pp. 91-92. Pioneer Publishers.

#### LOS ANGELES

SOCIALIST YOUTH CLUB FORUM

Topic:

"Atrocities—Who Is Responsible;

The Nazis or the German People?"

Speaker: LEO FRUMKIN

232 S. Hill St., Rooms 200-202 8:30 p. m.

2 Discussion Refreshments

#### AN INVITATION

### The "Send-Off Social" for GRACE CARLSON

116 University Place, New York City

We invite all readers of THE MILITANT to attend

To Mark the Beginning of her National Speaking Tour

Surprise Features Dancing - Songs - Refreshments Saturday Evening, June 23

C. D.

# Two Points Of View On Deliberate Mass Slaughter Of Civilian Worker And Peasant Millions In Japan

subject of the bombing of Japanese cities appears in the Workers' Forum on page 7.

#### **FAVORS MASS KILLINGS**

Having read the past copy (June 9) of The Militant, I am utterly disgusted with the article on "Tokyo Bombings" and comments by The Militant. In my estimation, The Militant is assuming an ignorant and dangerous attitude on

Day by day as we draw nearer to the Japanese mainland, our bombings will become more intensive than ever. The more bombings will mean more strategic positions destroyed, and the more Japanese people killed. The more strategic positions destroyed, and the more Japanese people killed, will bring us closer to victory. When I say Japanese people, I mean civilians, military, and etc. By civilians I mean laborers, peasants, and farmers, as well as the capitalists.

I hold every Japanese person responsible for the war in the Pacific, just as every German was responsible for the European War. When I say every German and Japanese, I do not mean those persons that fought against their government's actions and were either killed or cast into concentration camps as political prisoners. Those are the only persons I do not blame for the War, as they openly defied their governments and did not remain quiet as did the many millions of the German and Japanese populations. The common masses in Japan are just as much to blame for the war as are the fascist capitalist military. Therefore, they should be prepared to suffer and pay with their lives as are their

I do not believe that the Japanese masses were forced into this war. The Jap masses are so great that it is virtually impossible for them to be forced into a war against their own will. Therefore, I conclude that the Jap masses entered this war on their own and that they have helped to prolong this war. It is true now, that parts of the Japanese population are against the war. Why shouldn't they be? They are being killed by the thousands, their homes destroyed, and they are practically all starving. Yes, when they are losing and receiving a terrific beating,

Editor's Note: Another letter on the they should certainly feel sorry for what they themselves started.

> When the London blitz was on and thousands of innocent men, women, and children were killed each day, did The Militant cry out and say "helpless people perish in flames"? They did not, but they did it for their so-called innocent Japanese civilians - the farmers, the laborers, and the

> Japan would be no different towards us, as we are towards her, had she been off the shores of America. The Japanese would gloat over all the horrors they could inflict on helpless American civilians, as they are now doing to our soldiers in the Pacific. Did you forget that 6 children and a woman were killed by a Japanese bomb in Oregon, U.S.A.? Would you call that helpless people perishing? The Japanese would be only too glad to send over a billion more of those balloon bombs had it been possible.

This paper is always trying to get at the corrupt Wall St. capitalists. I do not blame you in any way, but don't try to do it by blaming them for "gloating over horror" of the Japanese killed in the Tokyo bombings. They have the right to gloat over it, as has every American.

The Militant also seems to think that all the working class throughout the entire world, including Japan, hate war, did not start the war, but only the capitalists want war, like war, and thrive on war. Well, The Militant seems to think a lot of things.

It was the working class in Germany as well as the capitalists who picked on and persecuted religious minorities and furthered anti-Semitism and discrimination against the Jews, Catholics This anti-Semitism and discrimination helped to start this war, and since the working class lent a hand in it, they deserve to be punished along with the fascist-capitalist politicians. Whatever is said about Germany goes double for Japan and the entire Japanese people. In conclusion, I'd like to ask The Militant to answer some of the questions that have come up in this brief essay.

Very truly yours,

H. G.

P.S. Do you want a special section roped off in Tokyo, where all innocent Japanese people can stay, while our brave air-men go to their tasks of bombing? I am entering college in a few months and some day I will probably end up as a laborer of the working class. If I sound as our air, sea and land forces are giving them, like a capitalist you are very much mistaken.

JOSEPH HANSEN'S REPLY

When a seemingly normal person not only tries to justify the deliberate slaughter of millions of people, but also gloats over it, we can see how civilization, as reflected in the mind of this individual, is disintegrating in the flood of capitalist barbarism. To exult over the wholesale killing of human beings is a most ominous symptom. Labelling the whole Japanese nation as "guilty" is an obvious rationalization. A Negro-hater who joins in a lynching often indulges in a similar rationalization when he mutilates his innocent victim.

The notion that the Japanese nation as a whole is "guilty" has been implanted in American minds by the organs of capitalist propaganda. They have done the same as regards the German people, but now that the war against Germany is over and the lie has served its main purpose, the truth is beginning to come out, as The Militant noted in an editorial last week.

Instead of accepting the poison propaganda of the imperialist war-makers, H.G. should study the social and political causes of war. He will find abundant material in the literature of the Trotskyist movement. If he studies seriously, he will soon discover that his present type of "thinking" is the greatest aid to the imperialists in plotting their wars of extermination. The explosive balloon bombs sent across the Pacific by the Japanese warlords, like the rocket bombs sent across the English Channel by the Nazi generals, are the first experiments in the stepped-up mass murder we shall see in future wars.

It is true that the destruction of Japanese cities and the mass slaughter of the Japanese people "will bring us closer to victory." But victory for whom? Only the capitalists will profit from this victory. Millions of workers will have laid down their lives. More millions will come back crippled in mind and body. The scrapheap of unemployment awaits others. Will the victory perhaps insure future peace?

We have seen how the First World War led directly to the Second. When Japan has been vanquished, the Anglo-American imperialists will fight over the spoils of war, or they will join to attack the Soviet Union. Capitalism with its greedy appetite for markets and profits means war and more war.

To the horrible, sickening prospect of mankind drowning itself in oceans of blood, the Trotskyists counterpose socialism — a world society in which nations, instead of being pitted against one another in ferocious combat for the

work together to elevate all mankind.

When H.G. says that the Japanese masses are so great that they could not have been forced into war against their will, he might ponder over the fact that the American people were jockeyed into the present war although 70 percent of them voted, in poll after poll, against going to war. How did this happen? H.G. would undoubtedly say that America got into the war because Japan attacked first. The fact is that the conflicting predatory interests of both the Japanese and American imperialists made an armed clash inevitable. That Japan struck first does not alter this fact. The Japanese imperialists, being the weaker of the two powers, struck first in order to have the advantage of the initiative. The point is that given the system of capitalist imperialism on both sides of the Pacific, war was bound to come. As Trotsky once wrote, if two locomotives are on the same track and headed toward each other they are bound to collide. And if one were to investigate the causes of the collision, it would be the height of stupidity to try to determine the responsibility by asking which locomotive actually struck the other.

It is not true that The Militant failed to condemn the atrocities committed by the imperialists of other lands, particularly the German (Nazi) imperialists. We denounced and combatted Hitlerism — at the time when Wall Street and the British imperialists were helping to arm the Nazis for war. We denounced the Japanese imperialist invasion of China - at a time when Wall Street's merchants of death were supplying Japan's rulers with gasoline and scrap iron to bomb helpless Chinese civilians. We have never ceased opposing Britain's cruel enslavement of India. Lately, we have condemned the bloody suppression of the Arabs by the French imperialist government of de Gaulle.

We are against the imperialists and the oppressors of all lands without distinction. But our main fight is here at home against our own ruling class, just as the main fight of all other peoples is against their rulers and oppressors. We seek to unite the workers of all lands for revolutionary struggle to end the entire world system of capitalism which produces war after war and never-ending mass misery.

Joseph Hansen

(Readers of The Militant, desirous of acquainting themselves more closely with the Marxist appraisal of Japan, will find a brilliant analysis in the study of Li Fu-jen, "Japan Faces the Abyss," which appeared in the magazine Fourth profit of a small minority of capitalists in each International, in February, March and April, 1944)

By V. Grey

"Who's going to do the dirty work under Socialism?" That's one question that doesn't come from the heart of the working man at all. He's just thoughtlessly echoing the middle and boss class people who never have soiled their hands. Because if he stopped to think a second he'd say "Who does the dirty work under CAPITAL-ISM?" And the answer would be THE WHOLE WORKING CLASS.

Somehow or other some people have got the idea that it's just the garbage men who do the dirty work under capitalism. If that were true and that were the only dirty work we had to eliminate under Socialism, it would be a real snap. Why, for the cost of a couple of pocket battleships you could install private incinerators all over the country and let all the garbage men work in a perfume

But it isn't true. There are jobs far, far dirtier than garbage men's. What about the furnace workers in the steel plants, straining their guts with all-day shoveling and slag picking in sweltering heat, and getting pneumonia when the winds freeze the sweat on their bodies? That's a dirty job.

Plenty of Dirty Jobs

What about the foundry workers, pouring the metal into sand molds while the black smoke fills the shut-in buildings so much that the glaring red and white hot iron only dimly lights the place like a red sunset? Yes what about them-working along till they collapse with tuberculosis, silicosis and other lung diseases. All the horse pills in the drinking fountain dispensers don't stop them from getting this coughing, bloodspitting business. And that's a dirty job.

What about the miners, working their lives out on their knees and bellies in the bowels of the earth? They get lung diseases, tooand more besides. The cave-ins, the blow-ups, the asphyxiationsand the slow starvation in the death traps. And as for dirt, they come home every night covered with coal dust from head to toe. They still have the taste of it in their mouths. Do you call that a

Capitalist war isn't exactly a clean affair either. Millions upon millions of youngsters are thrown into battle to murder and be murdered for the sake of Dupont and Mitsui. Most of those kids would have been squeamish about tossing around scraps and rotten vegetables. Now they have to plunge their stickers into MEN and turn them into rotting corpses. And afterward they have to endure the stink of the battlefield and try not to go crazy.

Cleaning Up the Capitalists

And mind you the capitalists, who are the cause of all these things, have the gall to ask us "Who's going to do the dirty work

The only dirty work will be the job of cleansing all the filth the capitalists have left behind-like clearing up the debris from

Our workers' society will have no need of war. It will have every need for strong, healthy, happy human beings and every reason to help them to be so. Our workers' society will spare no expense to make all jobs safe and cleam. UNDER SOCIALISM, NO ONE'S GOING TO DO THE DIRTY WORK.

# Trotskyists In Europe Persecuted By Reaction

(Continued from page 1) because of the universal demand of the workers for proletarian solidarity after twenty years of fascist oppression. Now, however, the Stalinist press has begun a slander campaign against the Trotskyists which, it is feared, is aimed to prepare the way

for a campaign of repressions. WORKERS' PROTEST

First word of the suppression of La Voie de Lenine came from friends in Liege where, in April, government posters were displayed announcing that the paper had been shut down. The mid-May Socialist Appeal, organ of the Revolutionary Communist Party of England, reports that Belgian working class and liberal papers protested against the suppression.

Cause of the suppression, according to the Belgian government, was an editorial in the pa-per, "Solidarity with the German proletariat."

The editorial is a call to the against their common oppressors.

Commenting on the anti-democratic rule imposed in both the Anglo-American and Red Army zones of occupation, the editorial

"Jingoes will applaud and will see in these inhuman acts a just turn-around, a merited punishment. If it were only a case of STALINIST LIES cornered Nazis! But it is the whole German people which is ment has been reached between put outside the pale of humanity Trotskyism, this kind of anarchy and rendered responsible for the of the Fourth Fascist Internacrimes of Hitler and world capi- tional, and Nazism pure and

SOLIDARITY URGED

The editorial firmly declares its own policy:

"The Belgian workers, their part, oppose all participation of 'their' government in this policy of vengeance and oppression directed against the German proletariat....

to Mexico, Oumanski." "Complete solidarity with the German workers. This must be our watchword.'

Stalinist press, designed to make a lie often enough, you will it appear that Trotskyism and get people to believe it. equally well that Nazism is an New Ways of Trotskyist Provo- To halt the turn to revolution-

STALINIST BIRDS OF A FEATHER

Jacques Duclos is the French Stalinist leader who recently raked Earl Browder over the coals for "opportunism," "revising Marxism" and "abandoning the class struggle." In all of these charges Duclos was correct, except for one small omission: The charges apply with equal force against Duclos. On Sept. 15, 1944 the British Evening Standard published the following interview one of its correspondents had with Duclos.

"French capitalists are 'idiots' if they are afraid of Communism." The French C.P., Duclos explained, would not even press for a program of radical social reform. "We are not even interested in the question of a 40-hour week. As far as we are concerned the workers will work 60 hours weekly if it is necessary for the rehabilitation of France."

And finally, Duclos was opposed to granting independence to the colonial peoples under the heel of French imperialism: "The natives of a majority of these colonies are backward people and it is France's responsibility to give them a help-

The \$64 question: What's the difference between Mr. Browder and M. Duclos?

Belgian and other European instrument of capitalism, whereas cations." workers to solidarize themselves Trotskyism stands for socialist about the Moscow trials, it adds with the workers of Germany revolution. But the Stalinists, one new charge: that the Trot-

ists is the following which appeared in the French Stalinistcontrolled weekly, "J,":

"We learn that a satanic agreesimple which still hopes to survive by underground work in variproposing to assimilate themselves all over the world with the TROTSKYISM GROWS Trotskyists, that is to say the anarchists, enemies of communism in every country and who are certainly responsibly for the death of the Russian ambassador

In France, the arrest of the the Stalinists understand the uncertainty, disorientation and Trotskyists was preceded by a principle of propaganda which deviations whereon it can lean vicious slander campaign in the Hitler enunciated: if you repeat and which it can use as a lever."

Nazism have something in com- The same kind of Stalinist Communist party are finding mon. That Hitler beheaded slander campaign has now begun their way to Trotskyist ideas, Trotskyists, that Trotskyists in Italy. Rinascita, monthly or that is, they want a revolutionwere shot as resisters in the Nazi- gan of the Italian Communist ary policy and not one of collabcccupied countries, the Stalinist Party, publishes in its April, 1945 oration with the capitalists and liars know very well. They know issue an article entitled "Old and Prince Umberto.

allied with the capitalists, cannot skyists caused the fall of Madrid. tell the truth about their revolu- How and why? No explanation, tionary working-class opponents. because there is none. It calls Typical of the Stalinist-inspir- two Trotskyist leaders, Mangano ed slanders against the Trotsky- and Girone, "paid agents of the Fascist Ovra" (Mussolini's police). Were this true, quite apart from the fact that they would immediately be subject to arrest, the Stalinists need only appear and make the charge against Mangano and Girone in front of the workers' organizations to which the two belong. But the Stalinists don't do this because it is a lie made up of whole cloth, one of a thousand such lies which ous countries. The Germans are they spread in the hope that something will stick.

The real aim of the article becomes clear after many pages when, at the very end, it states: "Trotskyism becomes particularly effective and harmful when it succeeds in calling up an echo To any informed worker this in the very ranks of our party stuff sounds like mad drivel, but when it finds in our own ranks

> In other words, the sincerely revolutionary workers in the

Suppressed Belgian Trotskyist Paper

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section belge de la IVe Internationale

## Solidarité avec le Prolétariat Allemand!

Que va-t-il se passer en Allemagne. ? Que va faire le proléprises, le refus de distinguer entariat allemand ?

Telle est la question que se mand (« Nazi ou pas nazi, l'Alposent ancieusement trus les lemand est toujours l'Allemand»
travailleurs conscients, à l'heure crie la radio anglaise; « Mort nine et plus barbare que celui

nouveau 1918, d'un nouveau sou- destruction systématique

où les formidables événements aux envahisseurs allemands ! » qui fut infligé par les nazis aux militaires qui se déroulent à répend la radio soviétique), les pays d'Eurepe occupés. l'Ouest et à l'Est semblent an- projets de démembrement de « Tous les hommes et les femoncer un dénouement proche. l'Allemagne, de déportation en mes valides, écrit le Semmes-nous à la veille d'un masse des ouvriers allemands, la dant du

lèvement du peuple allemand qui villes allemand balayera la racaille hitlérienne c

Reproduction of part of front page of the organ of the Belgian Trotskyists, carrying an editorial urging solidarity with German and other European workers. This issue was used as the pretext for the suppression of this paper by the Belgian government.

ary ideas, to crush the revolutionary vanguard which stands for them — this is the aim of the Stalinist slanders and repressions, in which they receive yeoman aid from the capitalist governments throughout Europe.

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# Italian Political Crisis Grows As Workers Advance Closer To Revolutionary Struggle

Nenni as Minister President in succession to Bonomi. The Stalinists and the Socialists are determined, at all costs, to avoid the "incubus" of power.

Nenni was put forward as candidate for the premiership in preference to Togliatti because the latter is somewhat compromised by his support of the monarchy when he first landed on Italian soil and his association with Bonomi. There is a very deep "anti-Togliatti" sentiment in the working-class movement, and even in the Communist Party itself. As yet this has not expressed itself in any positive form, but the "malcontentment" is there.

Shortly after the Milan meeting, Nenni was arrested by the British authorities and this helped to increase his prestige among the workers. The Stalinists tried to counter this in the press by publishing rumours that Togliatti had been threatened with arrest, too, but there was absolutely no evidence for this.

#### Frantic Politicians Seek Accord

Back in Rome, the representatives of the six parties met once more to discuss the formation of the new government. This time the atmosphere was not quite so cordial. Nenni's candidature was supported by the C.P., the Socialist Party and the Action Party; the three right-wing parties (Christian Democrats, Liberals and Democracy of Labor), led by the Christian Democrats, refused to accept him and put forward their own candidate, the Christian-Democrat De Gasperi. The Communists and Socialists accused the bourgeois parties of going back on the Milan agreement. The Christian Democrats retorted that it had been agreed in Milan to examine the structure and role of the local Committees of National Liberation; its journal, Domani Di Italia reminded Nenni that just about 18 months ago at the Bari conference he had launched the slogan "All Power to the Workers' Councils," that later he had changed this to "All Power to the Committees of National Liberation," only to drop this, too, in time.

Every day the press reports frantic meetings of the representatives of the six parties in an effort to come to some acceptable compromise. The Christian Democrats are adamant, they will not serve under Nenni. Nenni declares that the Socialist Party is "entitled" to the Premiership because of the sacrifices made by the Socialist workers in the cause of liberation. Togliatti assures his bourgeois friends that a government with Nenni at its head would not be a Socialist or Socialist-Communist government. At all costs power must remain in the hands of the bourgeoisie.

At the time of writing there is no sign of any easing in the tension between the parties, but Nenni and Togliatti are old hands at compromising with the class enemies of the workers and a word from Moscow might well change the whole outlook of the C.P. Nenni is in a more difficult position than Togliatti. He cannot fall back on the usurped prestige of the Russian Revolution. To retain his position he must make some gesture to the militant mood of misery to the Socialist victory. the workers. That is why today he is stumping the country with demagogic oratory, declaring unrelenting war on capitalism-now that the workers have surrendered their arms, with his approvaland demanding that the Allied troops be withdrawn from Italy (a demand supported 100 percent by the Allied troops needless to say). Having completely abandoned any pretense of being Marxists, Nenni and Togliatti can only seek a way out by this or that combination of the six parties. To break away from the political represen- Italy's shortlived dream of "peacefully growing over" into democracy tatives of the Vatican and Big Business and appeal directly to the insurgent masses does not enter their miserable heads.

The Black Market profiteers grow fat and rich while the figures for agreed upon . . . a government of six parties with the "Socialist" tuberculosis, infant mortality and unemployment mount steadily. Only the Workers Communist Party (Trotskyists) have come forward with a program to solve the crisis. To end the political deadlock, they demand an end to the coalition with parties of reaction and the formation of a Socialist-Communist government This is precisely the solution which the Nennis and Togliattis do not want-if they really wanted power nothing could stop them-for it would expose forever their pretenses to represent the interests of the Italian working class.

As an immediate step to alleviate the country's grave economicrisis. the Trotskyists have put forward a comprehensive economic program which faces up to the realities of the moment and points the way to the socialist solution as the only road out. They are demanding the rebuilding and reopening of the destroyed and damaged industrial plants under workers' control; they are demanding that local, regional and national conferences of workers' representatives be called to reorganize the country's economic life so as to ensure increased production and useful employment for all. This program calls for the exercising of vigilant workers' control over every phase of the country's economic life. To control the distribution of food and the necessities of life, to destroy the cancerous Black Market which is making life impossible for the majority of the people, the W.C.P. calls for the formation of committees of housewives and cooperative employees on a local. regional and national scale. For an immediate solution of the agrarian problem, the party demands conferences of poor peasants and agricultural laborers to discuss plans for the reorganization of agriculture and the re-distribution of the latifondi among the needy

To make sure that this program is carried through effectively, to guarantee workers' control of the country's economic life, the Workers' Communist Party calls for the formation of workers' militias. The armed militias of the Italian working class will soon put a stop to all profiteering and ensure that everyone contributes towards raising production and that the products of labor are equitably distributed.

Although not blessed with such ample funds as the other parties. the Trotskyists are making steady headway among the workers and peasants of Italy by the strength of their arguments. Theirs is the only program which holds out hope for the masses. That the Stalinists are beginning to recognize this "menace" is proved by the vicious attacks which their press is launching against the Trotskyists. The March "Rinascita," Togliatti-edited "theoretical" organ of the C.P., led the assault with a typically slanderous article, containing not a single word about the actual published program of the Trotskyists, but recapitulating all the historic lies about Brest-Litovsk, plots on the life of Lenin and the monstrous fairy tales which came out of the Moscow frame-up trials. But the advanced workers of Italy will not accept slanders and lies as a substitute for a program which will lead them out of their present

Bonomi, meanwhile, is growing "impatient" at the delay of the six parties in coming to an agreement. He is threatening to find a "neutral" to succeed him at the Quirinal. It is quite clear that if a "democratic" solution cannot be found through a settlement between the parties, then an open Bonapartist dictatorship will be imposed on the Italian masses. The economic crisis will be "solved" by slashing still further the standard of living of the workers. will belong to the past. But before the Italian ruling class can once more impose a naked dictatorship on the Italian masses, they will In the meantime, complete economic chaos reigns in the land. have to reckon with a working class which has learned many valuable | Socialist States of Europe and of the world.

#### Mass Demonstration in Rome



Huge working class demonstration at the Colosseum in Rome on March 6, in protest against the "escape" of the fascist general

lessons in these past two decades of blackest reaction. Not the least of these is that the Italian workers failed to take power in 1920 because they lacked a revolutionary party, a Bolshevik-Leninist Party, that they must fail again if they do not build such a party in time. In the course of the struggle the Italian workers must of necessity find their way to the Workers' Communist Party and its program, which alone gives an answer to their problems and can lead them to the conquest of power.

The Workers' Communist Party has no mass following as yet, but it can draw upon the incomparable experience of the Fourth International these last ten years. Under the proud and unsullied banner of the Fourth International, with the invincible Trotskyists. the Italian workers will rise to new heights of revolutionary heroism and this time they will conquer, Out of the ruins of Mussolini's Fascist state, above the stench of the democratic abortions, the Italian Socialist Republic will arise to take its place in the United

## GERMAN C. P. LEADER ADMITS FALSE POLICY TOWARD NAZIS

By Paul Abbott

Twelve years after Hitler's | The Stalinist leaders denounced assumption of power, a leading German Stalinist has finally admitted the political bankruptcy of Stalinism in fighting Wiesbaden City Council, acparty had been completely smashed by Hitler.

"Our fatal mistake was that, like the rest of the world, we did not take the Nazis seriously enough at the beginning," he admitted. "We thought them stupid. By the time we realized their fearful ruthlessness, their determination to wipe out all leftwing opposition in Germany, it was too late. Our leaders were all in concentration camps or dead. Our party organization was smashed.

#### CP DECIMATED

Krueger revealed that the Gestapo moved against the Communists just before the 1933 elections that swept Hitler into power. "By the end of 1938, the Communist Party had been decimated, had lost all its higher-up leaders, and was broken up."

Krueger lies deliberately when he says that "the rest of the question is no longer one of who world" did not take the Nazis shall vanquish whom? This quesseriously enough at the begin- tion is already answered (Apning. Trotsky did his utmost to plause from the Communists). arouse the Stalinists to the se- The question now reads only, 'At riousness of the Nazi menace. In what moment shall we overthrow September, 1931, for instance, he the bourgeoisie?'... We are not wrote: "Fascism has become a afraid of the Fascist gentlemen. real danger in Germany; it ex- They will shoot their bolt quicker presses the extreme hopelessness than any other government of the bourgeois regime, the con- (Right you are! from the Comservative part played by the Social-Democrats in relation to that regime, and the incompe- ings, the Stalinist leaders pertence of the Communist Party to mitted Hitler to take power withshake that regime. Whoever de- out a fight. Even a year later, nies that is either blind or boast- as their ranks wilted under the

In a series of pamphlets Trot- Stalinist leaders continued to desky hammered on the mounting danger. In October, 1931 he predicted: "The advance of the Naabove all, the extermination of ternational passed a resolution the flower of the German pro- on "Fascism, the War Danger, ganizations, the destruction of Party," in which they declared: antagonisms in Germany, the after the Hitler overturn.' hellish work of Italian Fascism will probably appear mild and with that of German National confesses the hopeless bankrupt-

Trotsky. Thaelmann, one of the leaders of the German Communist Party, declared before the
Executive Committee of the Communist International, April 1931: the Nazis. Paul Krueger, for- "We have not allowed panicmer Communist member of the mongering to divert us from our path... We are convinced that cording to a United Press dis- the 14th of September, 1930 patch of June 12 said that his | (when the Nazis won 107 seats in the Reichstag) was Hitler's best day, and that now he cannot expect to do better, only worse. Our estimate of the development of that party has been confirmed by events... Today the Fascists have no reason to be pleased." With paralyzing assurances like this. Thaelmann blocked the workers from taking militant action against the Nazis

> On October 14, 1931, Remmele. another of the official leaders of the German CP, boasted in the Reichstag: "Herr Bruning has put it very plainly: once they (the Fascists) are in power, then the united front of the proletariat will be established and it will make a clean sweep of everything (violent applause from the Communists.)"

Remmele followed up this stupid declaration with the following prediction: "We are the victors of the coming day; and the munists.)"

Heedless of Trotsky's warnpersecution of the Gestapo, the nounce Trotsky.

In December, 1933, the Thirteenth Plenum of the Executive tional Socialists to power means, Committee of the Communist Inletariat, the break-up of its or- and the Tasks of the Communist faith in itself and in its future. "The policy of the German Com-In view of the much greater munist Party was unconditionalferocity and bitterness of social ly correct before, during, and Now, twelve years later, a Ger-

man Stalinist leader confesses to almost humane when compared a "fatal mistake." Thereby he cy of Stalinism.

# The History Of American Trotskyism

In previous installments Comrade Cannon described the emergence of the American Communist Party from the left wing of the Socialist Party in 1919. He told of its "ultra left" period of underground work, and the organization of a legal party which in 1923 could begin to influence the American labor movement. As the Communist Party began to attract trade unionists, problems of the class struggle came to the foreground. With the changing composition of the party a series of factional struggles began. The fundamental reasons for those struggles is told in this issue. This section from chapter two is the fifth installment.

In my first lecture I explained the tremendous contradiction implicit in the composition of the party. On one side stood the predominantly foreign-language membership with their unrealistic approach to the problem of building a movement in a country where they were not yet assimilated; with their fanatical conception that they had to control the movement, not for personal gain, but in order to preserve the doctrine which they thought they alone understood. On the other side stood the numerically smaller group of Americans who, even if they did not understand the doctrine of Communism as well as the foreigners—and that was also the case -were convinced that the movement must have an American orientation and an indigenous leadership. This very contradiction fed the factional struggle.

Then there was another factor: the lack of experienced, authoritative leaders. The movement mushroomed almost overnight after the 1917 victory in Russia. All the old authoritative leaders of the Socialist Party rejected Bolshevism and stuck to the safe channels of reformism. Hillquit and Berger, all the big names of the party, turned their backs on the Russian revolution and the aspirations of the young revolutionists in the movement. Even Debs, who expressed sympathy, remained with the party of Hillquit and Berger when the showdown came. The new movement had to find new leaders; those who came to the fore were mostly unknown men, without great experience and without personal authority.

It required a whole series of prolonged faction fights for the party to be able to see who were the more qualified leaders and who the accidental figures. Administrations changed rapidly from one convention to another. Temporary, casual people were thrust aside, shouldered aside in these fierce factional fights where if you couldn't stand up and take it, you were shoved aside and knocked down. Many who appeared to have leadership ability one year, and were elected accordingly, would be swept aside the second year and struggle. Lovestone was the outstanding example. They were very replaced by previously unknown men. All this was a process of selecting leaders in the course of struggle. Is there some other way to do it? I don't know where it has ever been done. An authoritative body of leaders, able to maintain their continuity with the firm support of the party-I don't know how or where any such leadership was ever consolidated except through internal struggles. Engels once wrote that internal conflict is the law of development of every political party. It certainly was the law of development of the early American Communist movement. And not only the early Communist Party; but also the early days of its authentic successor, the Trotskyist movement.

#### The Movement Evolves Through Experience

Once a movement has evolved through experience and through struggle and internal conflict to the point where it consolidates a body of leaders who enjoy wide authority, who are capable of working together and who are more or less homogeneous in their political conceptions, then faction struggles tend to diminish. They become rarer and are less destructive. They take different forms, have more HOW A NEW MILITANT LEADERSHIP AROSE IN THE PIONEER COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

By James P. Cannon

powerful factor in mitigating and sometimes preventing further faction fights. We in the early Communist movement did eventually consolidate a fairly stable leadership, but of a peculiar structure which again reflected the contradiction in the composition of the party. After four or five years of this knocking around, it became quite clear to everybody just who the leaders of the American Communist movement were. And they weren't the people who had been the leaders in 1919-20. Very few of the early leading staff of the movement survived these fights.

The leadership which finally came to the fore in the early Communist movement—and this is a very interesting aspect of its history-didn't consolidate as a single homogeneous group. That was because the party itself was not homogeneous. Instead of a unified leadership with authority and influence over the party as a whole, the outstanding leaders were leaders of factions which reflected the contradictions in the party. The new faction fight that began in 1923, primarily over the question of adventurism in the farmer-labor political movement, and then extended to all the problems of our practical work, our approach to the American workers, methods of trade union work-this protracted struggle was clearly a reflection of the contradictions in the social composition of the party and the different origins and background of the groups.

The fight was organized by Foster and me against what was then the majority, Ruthenberg, Lovestone, Pepper, etc. It soon became apparent that the composition of our grouping was that of a trade union, proletarian faction. Supporting us was the great bulk-practically all-of the trade unionists, experienced American workers, militants and the more Americanized foreigners.

Pepper-Ruthenberg-Lovestone had most of the intellectuals and the less-assimilated foreign-born workers. The typical leaders of their faction, including the typical second-line leaders, were City College boys, young intellectuals without experience in the class clever fellows. On the whole they undoubtedly had more book knowledge than the leaders of the other faction and they knew how to make full use of their advantages. They were tough customers to deal with. But we also knew a thing or two, including things never learned in books, and we gave them plenty of trouble.

This fight for control of the party was ferocious, with no holds barred on either side, carried on from year to year regardless of who had the majority at the moment. Sometimes the immediate fight became focalized in what appeared to be unimportant issues. For example, where should the national headquarters of the party be located? Our faction said Chicago; the other faction said New York. We fought over that. But not because we were such stupid fellows, as the kibitzers represent. We thought that if we could move the headquarters to Chicago it would tend to give the party a more American orientation, bring it closer to the mine fields, closer to the center of the American labor movement. We wanted to proletarianize and Americanize the party. Their insistence upon New York had political motivation too. New York had a strong petty-bourgeois | Committee of the party. These four people were always the element in the party; intellectuals played a bigger role here. They recognized, authoritative leaders of the party; that is, they were clearly evident ideological content and are more instructive to the were more comfortable here—in a political sense, I mean. So the leaders of factions which made them part of the leadership of the

comprehensible if you go to the bottom of it.

#### A Struggle Between Two Tendencies

This long drawn-out fight can be properly—and I think it will be-described on the whole by the honest and objective historians of the future as a struggle between the petty-bourgeois and proletarian tendencies in the party, with the proletarian tendency lacking clarity of program to develop the fight to its full implications. Now, don't forget, we were all practically greenhorns. We had just become acquainted-and not too well acquainted-with the doctrines of Bolshevism. We had no background of experience in politics; we had no one to teach us; we had to learn everything in struggle through blows on the head. The stumbling proletarian faction made a lot of mistakes and did many contradictory things in the heat of struggle. But the essence of its drive was, in my opinion, historically correct and progressive.

As this fight unfolded, the two main factions-Foster-Cannon on the one side, Ruthenberg-Lovestone-Pepper on the other-produced further division. Indeed, division was implicit from the very beginning because there likewise were stratifications within the Foster-Cannon faction. The group most closely associated with me were pioneer Communists, party men from the beginning, who had adopted the principles of Communism earlier than the Foster wing. The Foster wing was more trade unionist in experience, more limited in its conceptions, less attentive to theoretical and political questions. In the course of the ever-continuing factional struggles, this implicit division became a formal one. The party was then confronted with three factions: the Foster faction, the Lovestone faction (Ruthenberg died in 1927) and the Cannon faction. That division continued until they threw us out of the party in 1928.

All these factions fought endlessly for ideas that were not completely clear to them. As I said before, we had intimations, we knew by and large what we wanted, but we lacked the political experience, the doctrinal education, the theoretical knowledge to formulate our program with sufficient precision to bring things to a proper solution. You recall the big battle we had with the pettybourgeois opposition in the Socialist Workers Party a couple of years ago. If you study that battle to see how it developed, you can gather how we profited from the experience of the more primitive fight between the petty-bourgeois and proletarian factions in the old Communist Party. Since then we had gained more experience, had studied some books and acquired further knowledge of theory and politics. This enabled us to put the issues clearly and to prevent the fight against Burnham, Shachtman and Company from bogging down into an unprincipled scramble with no daylight ahead, as had been the case in the old days.

#### Early Leaders of the Communist Party

Now, these leaders whom I have mentioned—Ruthenberg, Lovestone, Cannon, Foster-these four people were always in the Political

party. And each faction was so strong, the weight was so evenly distributed among the factions, that no faction could be crushed of eliminated. Too many people were tied up with each of them, tot many of the able functionaries of the party. So that, for example, when the Lovestoneites got the majority of the party with the help and bludgeoning of the Comintern, they were not able to do as they wanted, to brush us aside, particularly since the trade union and mass work was virtually monopolized by the other factions. Many of the party organizers, writers and functionaries were connected membership. The consolidation of such a leadership becomes a struggle over the location of the party headquarters is really quite intimately with me and could not be replaced. The Foster faction was even stronger, especially in the trade union field. They could not get rid of us; that is, without disrupting the party.

So the party virtually became divided into three provinces, so to speak. Each faction gained enough elbow room to work in certain fields with practically unlimited authority and under a minimum of control. The Foster faction occupied the whole territory of trade union work. We organized the International Labor Defense and ran it virtually as we pleased. This was when the Lovestoneites had a tenuous majority. The Lovestoneites were in control of the party apparatus but didn't hold it strongly enough to dispense with us, so that this peculiar balance of power continued for several years. Naturally, it was not a really centralized party in the Bolshevik sense of the word. It was a coalition of three factions. In the essence of the matter, that's what the party really was.

We couldn't solve the problem ourselves. No faction could decisively defeat the others; no faction would leave the party; no faction was capable enough of formulating its program so as to win a real majority in the party. We had a stalemate, a drawn-out, demoralizing factional struggle with no end, no daylight ahead. Those were discouraging days. To any normal-minded revolutionist it is extremely distasteful to go through not merely weeks and months, but years and years of factional struggle. There are some people who like faction fights; we had people in all the factions who were really never awake until the factional fight started bubbling. Then they became alive. When it came to doing some constructive work-demonstrations, picket lines, building up a wider circulation for the press, helping class-war prisoners—they had no interest in that prosaic routine. But merely announce the holding of a factional caucus meeting, and they would be there every time-in the front

(To be continued next week)

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"The Militant is getting better

story on Fala's pups is one of the

hest stories of the year. Brilliant

satire! When I read in Grey's

column how a certain worker hid

his chisels where the night shift

wouldn't find them, it brought me

up with a start. Here was a little

we take it for granted, finding

its way into print! It made me

authentic writer. He works in a

and ears open. His latest column

is about the shortest explanation

of capitalism I ever read. How

Doris Hilson of Akron reports

subscriptions sold by new readers

# 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.

#### Advertisements in Socialist Papers

I was given the Labor Advocate by a friend. It is an organ a stew one small tough piece of millions of precious lives and the of the Socialist Party of American meat usually accompanies the fruit of many years labor only ica. It's supposed to advocate sad-looking vegetables. As one socialism and to educate the waitress said: workers for a socialist program. are all capitalist advertisements, paper of advertisements.

enough capitalist advertisements This does not include drinks or in the local capitalist press. champagne at \$3.50 a pint.) One Above all, I see they are all out waitress developed such a cravfor the war, they are not con- ing for some banana cream pie ducting themselves as they did that she stole a piece, ducked before the war.

which is supposed to be a working-class paper, called the New tion all night long!" Era, which is a Social-Democrat The delegates probably have paper and comes out in support indigestion too - from stuffing of capitalist candidates. This down such huge quantities of paper must be doing better with food, and perhaps from worrying the capitalists than even the about the day when the workers Labor Advocate because their will put an end to their feast. paper consists of 94 advertisements. They must be running a race with the commercial

We have another paper which is called the Shopping Bulletin. It is an advertisement paper of the Advertisement Committee of Berks County. So I say, look a great piece of work — real out boys, you have competitors!

Now, let's get down to business. I'm a reader of The Militant for the past two years, and and mission have the strength I must say here is a real paper for the workers to read. And to think that it is an eight-page paper, with no advertisements but with articles that all workbut with articles that all work- the toilers. ers like to read in a working painteresting for the workers.

The program in general of the paper as a whole is just what the worker wants to read and not advertisements in a workingclass paper. I am not forget- Statinist Switch ting such articles that have just Editor: started in The Militant. They are the History of American week's issue of The Militant I Trotskyism and the betraying am left with the feeling that role that the Roosevelt New Deal some further explanation is due the time with their sixth child. has played towards the workers. on the change in the Stalinist With articles such as these I feel line. that The Militant should be the paper for all workers to read, outside of the USSR are noth-because he didn't want his chilwith a program such as was laid ing but agencies of the Kremlin's dren to go through what he had down by Lenin and Trotsky and foreign office. They are used been through. This man is not followers of the Marxist pro- to further the reactionary forgram, and not a program of capi- eign policy of the Stalinist bur- icemen are disillusioned with the talist advertisements.

## **Germany Today**

Editor:

"As you see from the ready we've started policing. I'm in a patrol that covers about one half a county 24 hours a day. The countryside is very lovely here and were it not for the terrific debris and ruins it would remind me of our lovely walking

The non-fraternization is tough on all of us. Can't smile, wave back at children, etc."

Our daughter, age 14, was very shocked when she understood British, French and U. S. imthat the non-fraternization policy included not speaking to the Nazis. In 1941 when the India. His brief but graphic ac-(my daughter and me) that it is the CP executed a flip-flop and a train ride through this huge hard enough having our men have to stay in Europe without having to suffer the hatred of the German population.

New York

#### Living in Style

Editor:

delegates to the San Francisco end of the war in Europe. conference are living in style at American dinners" — oysters on champagne. The average worker feel a pang of hunger when he

ly not true of the waitresses at population. What could be betemployees eat at an employees

Hopkins, for example, the em- Therein lies the basis for the city." ployees may have an appetizing current tension between Russia choice of baked beans, spaghetti, and the United States.

potatoes or tainted fish. To wash | However Stalin, despite the this down, they are offered sour bottomless depth of his perfidy, milk instead of champagne. On cannot yield everything to this other days different items may pressure. The Soviet masses, appear - tripe, green-looking victorious in the war, stand in tongue, pig knuckles, stew - in the way. They did not sacrifice

"I wouldn't mind so much if But when I read the paper and the food they gave us was a day found 51 advertisements which old, but when it's a week old. . .!" After a hearty dinner of this that makes me wonder how the type, the waitress serves crabworkers are ever going to a meat cocktails, steaks, squab, chieve socialism in a four-page strawberry shortcake and delicious French pastries. (Meals For the workers there are like this cost about \$5 per person.

under a counter in the kitchen We also have another paper and gulped it in three bites. "But," she said, "I had indiges

**Hotel Waitress** San Francisco, Cal.

### An Achievement

Editor:

I wish to congratulate you on the new eight-page Militant. It's working-class achievement. The sort of achievement that only the workers with a serious purpose

Please extend my regards and per. I am thinking of such articles as Shop Taks on Social- lesky. He's a great proletarian ism, the Negro Struggle, also the artist. The canvas he paints of Steel Workers. They are very proletarian life is bringing understanding and light to the workers

J. Russell Evans San Francisco, Calif.

After reading this and last

Stalinist parties in all lands the Soviet workers or the workers in any other country.

The American Stalinists have no policy or basic program other than one that serves to defend the interests of the GPU clique My husband is in the Army that rules the Soviet Union. To of Occupation in Germany. He understand this real role of the Stalinist C. P. A. is the first task heading, I'm in Germany and al- in approaching an analysis of its activities.

> The various changes in past Stalinist lines can be explained only on this basis: That the Stalinist leaders here are completely dependent upon the wishes and plans of the Kremlin and have no independent policy whatever. Thus, in 1939 when Stalin consummated a pact with Hitler, the CP in accordance with Stal- Seen in India inist requirements labeled the Editor: perialists and said little about lied imperialism.

With the military defeat of in India is nothing for the Engtradiction between economy and Soviet economy

the best hotels and eating "typical gate the entire world in the in- ging for chocolate and crackers. terests of American imperialism All of them were underfed and the half-shell, sirloin steak and include the Soviet Union, which looked so starved that we gave is today the chief stumbling them all we possibly could. The dining on hamburger or fish may block. American capitalism has English really pay the natives looks over this menu. But no one lars in Russia in the form of all of 17 Rupees a month (about suffers quite as much as a wai- lend-lease in the past 4 years. In \$5.25). I spoke to a station master tress who serves a thick, juicy its search for new fields of ex- who spoke a very nice English The public imagines that wai- eye on the Soviet Union, with its He makes 60 Rupees a month. tresses eat well. That is certain- great natural resources and large Quite something! really luxurious hotels, who are ter, from the standpoint of the natives live here, you wouldn't never permitted to eat so much American bankers, than to de believe me. Prince St. (a street as a piece of bread or a bit of mand of Stalin the right to in- in the slum section of Newark) jelly from the regular kitchen. vest in Soviet enterprises as pay- would look like something out of Waitresses and all other hotel ment for their loans? Undoubted- this world. I also went to an ly, behind the scenes, great English city and it was fairly helper. pressure is being exerted upon nice, but nothing out of the way. The food at such cafeterias is the Kremlin to grant wide-spread Everything smells here most of notoriously bad. At the Mark concessions to Wall Street the time and it stinks even in the

to see it grabbed up by American imperialism.

Therefore, Stalin is compelled to show some resistance to the rapacious greed of the imperialists. One of the ways is to use the American C.P.A. as a blackmail instrument. At a signal from Duclos, himself inspired from GPU headquarters, the American C.P.A. announces that it will Wall Street unless the imperialists go easy on the Soviet Union.

That is all there is to the fears the socialist revolution change in the Stalinist line. The just as the capitalists do." CP is being used as a pawn in Stalin's reactionary foreign polcome to the defense of the Soafter the last war, Stalin uses wants to preserve capitalism. As

policy at all - no more so than the workers' movement, i. e., during the Stalin-Hitler pact period of 1939-1941. Tomorrow, A consistent Marxist - Leninist | so partially in Poland. policy demands both an uncoma policy which is in the interests class and which alone can save Soviet Union for Communism.

> Milton Alvin Birmingham, Ala.

### A Tragic Story

Recently I read a tragic story in the daily paper. A returned veteran, who was the father of six children, purposely drowned himself and five of his children.

A note written by him was He said that the reason he was doing this was out of the ordinary. Most servinterests and weifare of either plans made by the big powers are so confused. Nothing seems starve would make any one's sensible to them.

Here we are, fighting a war ent's. for "Democracy" and our allies send soldiers to fight the Greek people. That is why many of them, like this veteran, have given up all hope. However, I think that when they return, the Editor: veterans will be the ones whol will most appreciate The Miliare looking for the answer that Militant, with the ideas behind it, is the only answer.

Toledo, O.

I recently came across a letter, written by a soldier stationed in went over to the support of Al- hunger camp merits publication. He writes: "What I have seen

German imperialism, the con- lish to be proud of. Never in all capitalist my life have I seen so many beggars as I have seen in a train gonism between the U.S. and would stop, and we had about According to the papers, the ternational relationship since the sick with all kinds of diseases. The majority of them were two Wall Street's plans to subju- and three year old kids, all beg-'invested" some ten billion dol- bright wages. A laborer makes ploitation, Wall Street keeps an and graduated from a university.

"If I would write you how the

#### Somewhere in Germany

Editor: The following poem was written by an American infantryman, name unknown, shortly before he was killed in action. It was sent here by a fellow-soldier, our comrade Marc Dauber - in one of his last letters before he, too, was killed in action.

Somewhere in Germany, where each day is like a curse, Where each one is followed by another somewhat worse, Where the cold wind blows faster than the shifting desert sand, And a soldier dreams of going to a peaceful, quiet land.

Somewhere in Germany where the mail is always late, Where a birthday card from August is considered up to date. Where we never have a payday and we never get a cent, But it never seems to matter 'cause we never get it spent.

Somewhere in Germany where death waits for friend and foe, Where the flares reveal the crosses in the valley, row on row, Where the rain is always falling and the mud is six feet deep And the ghosts of fallen comrades rise to haunt you in your

#### Disclaimer

In my article as published in the June 9 Militant, appears the folmake things embarrassing for lowing sentences: "But Stalin and his henchmen abroad want to preserve capitalism. Stalin

I wrote the second sentence. but did not and could not write icy. Instead of calling upon the the first, which was added by the international working class to editors. Stalin fears the socialist revolution but that does not mean viets, as Lenin and Trotsky did that he always and everywhere the CP as a blackmail instrument | between socialist revolution and to further the interests of the preserving capitalism, he chooses bureaucratic clique he personifies. the latter. But a third alternative The "new" Stalinist line is a exists in the territories over-run trap and should be so explained. by the Red Army, namely nation-The CP is not going over to a alization of property by totalirevolutionary Marxist - Leninist | tarian means which also crushes

crushes the socialist revolution. It is not at all excluded that, when the international situation if an open break develops in the changes, another signal from the Big Three, Stalin will end capital-Kremlin will bring another zig- ist property relations in Poland, zag and leave those who follow Yugoslavia, etc. There are inthe Stalinist line high and dry. dications that he is already doing

Stalin's policy along such a promising opposition to American line is basically no less reactionimperialism and to the reaction- ary than along the Big Three ary bureaucrats in the Kremlin. line. In either case it is totalita-Only the Trotskyists follow such rian oppression of the masses. We must begin to warn the of the international working workers about this and not use formulations which do not prethe nationalized economy of the pare the workers for such an eventuality.

Felix Morrow

#### Fill a Need Editor:

T have been following Grace. Carlson's articles in The Militant with interest. They fill a defin- Christ) because you are not out ite need, I think. I am enclosing to dethrone God or Christ - but an article from the last issue capitalism. of The Cooperator which might All capitalism is anti-Christ. His wife was in the hospital at have some material that she Christian churches, Christian could use.

As I recall, there was an ar- tian institutions. ticle in The Militant earlier this spring (I don't recall who wrote it) about this vitamin scandal It seems to me that it would be worth following up. The facts exposed in this article about the Vitamin D cartel and how these for permanent peace. And they profiteers thrive while children blood boil — certainly any par-

Ridgewood, N. J.

#### Chinese Arithmetic

The June 2 issue of The Militant contained a letter from tant. They hate war and they Chao Pao-tien criticizing Grey's column for referring to "Chinese perience today. will end wars. I think that The arithmetic." Chao Pao-tien asmistakable symptom of that racial superiority attitude which the Trotskyists always condemn

Pao-tien is suffering from an in- U. S. A! pose in writing this letter is to The Militant on this subject; I port given by the Italian workers German children. It seems to us Nazis attacked the Soviet Union, count of what he encountered in demonstrate, if I can, the logic of feel one cannot denounce the men

> Grey describes the scratch-pad ror of their crimes. After all, notations of a steel mill first they bombard the public twice pelper as looking like "a cross between shorthand and Chinese arithmetic." Grey was pointing ties. Therefore, I say the public moves over to the plane of anta- ride through India. Our train out that before the union came into the particular plant he is the Soviet Union. This is the one hundred of them on each side talking about, the first helper on outstanding new feature in in- of the train. Most of them were the open hearth kept all the information about his job to himself, fearing to let anyone else in on the "secret" lest the boss put his brother-in-law or a special friend into the first helper's

> > The object of the first helper in deliberately obscuring his computations and making them unintelligible was to keep the second and third helpers in ignorance. After the union came in and the first helper didn't have to worry about holding his job, he opened up and began to teach the job to his helpers.

So: I deduce from all this that Grey's emphasis was on the external aspect of the symbols of

or Urdu? Grey used Chinese be- Japan! cause, paradoxical enough, it is familiar to most Americans. That

New York City Chinese characters (whether

they represent Chinese or Japan-

first glance to most of us. The

have helped to make this true. We are more familiar with the statement: "It's all Greek to me," but how many people do you very common. know who are able to recognize Greek writing? That is, outside of people who know modern or ancient Greek or both? Grey's use of Chinese served to double the emphasis on outer unintelli-

If Chao Pao-tien is still not satisfied I would be happy to enter into correspondence with him. and he can obtain my address, from, The Militant.

H. P. Chicago, Ill.

## Urges Brevity

Editor: Your articles are still too involved and long-winded; as if the paper were stacked full of windnot to the extent that the mean-

ing becomes unintelligent.

I like your paper because you point out to the common people at \$8 per thousand, minimum. that most of their enemies are in their own country and not necessarily in Germany, Japan or some other foreign country only. Keep up your class struggle. And again I like your paper (even though I know that most of you do not believe in God and

Rev. J. Westburgh Lansdowne, Pa.

## Bombing of Japan

I want to congratulate you many, many times on Joseph Hansen's article on the bombing of Tokyo... the mass murder of the population. I have just now this afternoon sold 20 copies of The Militant which I obtained from the Boston office on Stuart Street. And the reason I was able to sell them was this - an Revolution and Tasks of the this article. The sheer horror of Revolutionary Party." Beginwant to read more in this paper. 1943, when the Armistice was Such, anyway, has been my ex-

I want to repeat, I never saw cribes to that reference "an una a better article in my life than just what Allied "liberation" has Mr. Hansen's. Many people cried meant for the Italian workers. when they read it and I knew they were really realizing the gram of counter-revolution and horror. I could also see dread I think it would be a little near- and repulsion in their faces... the Committee of National Liberer to the truth to say that Chao against the ruling class of the ation and the Stalinists, the re-

I hope there will be more in using "Chinese" for comparison. of Wall Street too often, to keep The first point to recall is that before the public eye the full hordaily through their press with denunciations of "enemy" atrocishould be constantly bombarded with denunciations of THEIR pectation that these parties will ATROCITIES.

Ten friends of mine want to join me in thanking Mr. Hansen for writing as he did. We believe it is the first time the worst most immediate and unpostponcrime of history has been prop- able task for the Italian proleerly denounced in this country. tariat... The revolutionary work-

with other material in this same skyist party, because Trotskyism issue. The letter against the is the only movement of genuine Japanese, and your wonderful Marxist Internationalism today. comments upon it, where once again the Wall Street monsters were exposed; likewise the cartoon showing the "sufferings of Fifi"... and the revelations concerning French imperialism in The Militant that we have yet

Best wishes to you now and communication used by the first always as the only newspaper having the courage, decency, and out." Now, why did Grey use "Chin- international feeling to raise your se" for comparison? Why not voice against the slaughter of Greek or Sanskrit or Cuneiform the workers in the cities of

Belle Montague

## **Lumber Workers Take Strike Vote**

By Charles Hughes

PORTLAND; Oregon, June 13 — One hundred thousand lumber workers in the Pacific Northwest are preparing to strike to obtain relief from the wage freeze and the terrific cost of living which prevails in this

Top negotiating committees of both the International Woodworkers of America, CIO, and the Lumber & Sawmill Workers Union, AFL, have set strike vote machinery in motion.

Lumber workers now receive a low of 90 cents an hour, and 80 percent of them receive less than a dollar an hour. Their work in sawmills and logging camps is the hardest kind of physical labor, and also requires a considerable degree of skill on most of the jobs. Many of them live ese writing) are recognizable at in company towns or at company boarding houses, and have to pay movies and certain comic strips the exorbitant prices that such a situation always involves. Their work is very dangerous, and it is not even steady; shutdowns are

> A War Manpower Commission 'order" to operate the mills on a 48-hour basis is supposedly in effect, but many mills are already means a wage cut of 20 percent urday overtime.

The cost of living, by government figures, is the highest in this area of any place in the country. The profiteers have based reactionary admirals' clique. everything on the considerably higher wages the hundreds of here are burning with indignathousands of shippard workers in | tion, and they take Militant subs the northwest receive, and this almost on sight." works an even greater hardship on the lumber workers than on the latter.

Some idea of the profits the operators are making can be bags. It seems to me that your gained from the fact that in 1941 main purpose is either to tire a government investigating comyour readers' attention or to dis- mittee reported their profits avccurage your readers from read- eraged \$5.40 per thousand board ing your paper altogether. So feet. This meant that they were say, condense them, condense pocketing at that time roughly them more and more - however, one dollar for every dollar they were paying in wages. At the present time, union officials conservatively estimate their profits

## Pioneer Notes

Orders are coming in from SWP branches for Pioneer' new pamphlet, Resolutions of schools and other so-called Chris- Eleventh Convention of the American Trotskyist Movement. Detroit has asked for 65 copies, Milwaukee 10, Buffalo 35, Akron 10, Minneapolis 70, New York 100. This pamphlet is sure to find a response from the new worker-readers of The Militant who wish to learn the full position of American Trotskvism on the burning questions of the day in the labor movement in the U. S. and the revolutionary situation in Europe.

The second resolution in the pamphlet is entitled "The Europeit seems to wake people up to ning with a detailed analysis of what is going on and then they events in Italy since September, signed between the Badoglio government and the Allies, it presents the full ghastly picture of

Laying bare the Allied proexposing the treacherous role of solution explains that the sup-Communist (Stalinist) Party "testifies to the fact that the Italian working masses desire a decisive revolutionary change. They give their backing and support to the parties that in their minds stand for Socialism and Communism, in the mistaken exlead them in revolutionary strug-

Thus the creation of a new revolutionary party becomes "the Also, we were much impressed ers party of Italy will be a Trot-

"The party will explain that Italy can avoid famine and disaster only by a program that leads to the abolishment of the capitalist system and the establishment of a Socialist Italy basfeel this is the finest issue of ed on the workers' and peasants' councils; that only by a firm alliance with the revolutionary masses of the rest of Europe can the imperialist invaders be driven

> Resolutions of Eleventh Convention of the American Trotskyist Movement, 5c. Order from Pioneer Publishers, 116 Univer-Cambridge, Mass. sity Place, New York 3, N. Y.

The Militant is getting an ex- | The Militant and the Labor Party cellent response among the Negro pumphlet, 'Live Plants, Dead workers in Portland, Oregon. Our Men; Dead Plants, Live Men,' is agent writes: "These 25 are all so impressive and so appropriate Vegro subs and represent a at this time that we would like canvass of about 30 families. Some of the five who failed to subscribe were too busy to talk all the time. The articles by Grace and will be good for subs on a Carlson, V. Grey, and Theodore recall. We used The Militant of Kovalesky are excellent additions May 19 which had two articles to the paper. Kovalesky is an besides Jackson's column on Ne- artist of the pen; his stories gro discrimination, a cartoon, and reach not only the heart of the an article against Jew baiting, question at hand but the heart of the reader also. Grace Carlson's We found this issue extremely effective.

"Portland has had a very large influx of colored people for the war plants, and discrimination here is very widespread and vicious, even drawing mild reproof from the local kept press, so you know it must be bad. Many simple act, so commonplace that restaurants and other business places have 'white trade only' signs up, and the town is full of chuckle. Here, I said, is an southern whites who are continually creating incidents of all factory and he keeps his eyes sorts. The town was bad enough in the first place, the atmosphere being such that the Negro colony operating only 40 hours. This before the war only amounted to can you miss the point? a few hundred, mainly railroad through the elimination of Sat- employes. One small local shipyard follows a 'lily white' policy. It is the Navy's local pet, and it is quite probable that the policy stems directly from the super

"At any rate the Negro people

etroit gives praise of the highest

order to The Militant: "The cartoon which appeared in

of The Militant: "One of these subs was obtained by a recent subscriber to our paper for a friend. Another reader, a militant woman rubber worker bought a subscription for herself and one for a friend. And one of the men in the shop with whom a comrade works has just received his An auto union militant in first copy of The Militant since subscribing recently. He told the

comrade that 'every worker in the

plant should read this paper'."

#### **BUFFALO** GRACE CARLSON

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Chairman: BILL GRAY Western N. Y. SWP Organizer LAFAYETTE HOTEL, Parlor C

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Questions in one of the second of the se

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Operate all government-built plants under workers' 2. Independence of the trade unions from

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

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

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!

5. Working class political action!

7. A working class answer to capitalist mili-Military training of workers, financed by the govern-

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## THE MILITANT

Working People

Vol. IX-No. 25

Saturday, June 23, 1945

Published Weekly by THE MILITANT PUBLISHING ASS'N at 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y. Telephone: ALgonquin 4-8547 FARRELL DOBBS, Managing Editor

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

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

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



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

## Reaction In Belgium

On the first page of this week's Militant we report the suppression of the Trotskyist newspaper La Voie de Lenine by 'the Belgian government. The pretext for the suppression was an editorial calling upon the Belgian and other European workers to solidarize themselves with the German workers in struggle against their common oppress-

When Belgium was occupied by the Nazis, the Trotskyists called upon the Belgian workers to join with the German workers in united action to overthrow Hitlerism and his agents in Belgium. Among these agents were not only the native fascists under Degrelle but almost the entire capitalist class of Belgium. Not least among these collaborators was the reigning King Leopold. In this heroic fight against the Nazis such leading Trotskyists as Comrades Leon Lesoil, Van Belle, Renery and Lemmens were shot by Gestapo firing squads or died in concentration camps.

Belgium has presumably been "liberated," yet the repressions against the revolutionists continue. Our Belgian co-thinkers are being persecuted by political representatives of the same capitalist ruling class who yesterday collaborated with the Nazis and who today work together with the Anglo-American imperialists against the interests of their

The capitalists throughout the world invariably aim their first blows at the revolutionary vanguard. Hard on the heels of the suppression of the organ of the Belgian Trotskyists comes the news of a threatened general strike of the Belgian workers against the return of King Leopold, the most hated symbol of capitalist reaction. The rulers of Belgium want to silence the most advanced and conscious voices in the ranks of labor precisely because they seek to behead the class in preparation for consolidating the rule of reaction.

The agents of Big Business serve their class interests above all by persecuting the Trotskyists for their championship of solidarity with the German workers. The capitalist rulers of Belgium have fraternized for almost five years with the German capitalist conquerors of that country. Why do they now forbid the masses to engage in friendly relations with German workers? Why do they want to stir up national hatreds and animosities?

Their motives are plain. They want to keep the workers of the various countries divided, to pit them against one another, so that they can continue to maintain themselves and their rotten, reactionary system in power. When they cannot accomplish this by poisonous propaganda and deception, they resort to brute force.

The rulers of Belgium oppose international labor solidarity for the same reason that the Allied military authorities issued orders forbidding Allied troops to fraternize with German civilians. "Divide and rule!"—this policy traditionally pursued by all reactionary forces is being ruthlessly enforced by capitalism and its flunkeys throughout Europe today.

#### Poll Tax

The House and Senate are putting on their annual circus over the bill to eliminate the poll tax in federal elections. This bill would ban the undemocratic tax on the right to vote which in seven southern states disfranchises millions of impoverished Negroes and whites.

For the third time in recent years, the House has made its gesture of political expediency by passing the bill, which it will now turn over to the Senate. There, as the Congressmen well know, the Senators will obligingly accept the responsibility

for killing the measure. Once more we are to be treated to the spectacle of the Senate majority permitting a handful of Southern "white supremacists," elected by a tiny minority of their constituents, to block the poll-

tax bill or filibuster it to death. The action of the House in passing the polltax bill does not mean that the reactionary Congressmen have suddenly become "liberal" in their attitude toward racial discrimination. They have simply developed the technique for avoiding responsibility for its defeat. They are confident the Senate will do the job.

The real attitude of the House is shown by the action of the House Rules Committee on June 12 which refused to submit for debate on the floor the bill for the establishment of a permanent Fair Employment Practices Commission. The northern Congressmen can safely prod the southerners on the poll-tax. But when it comes to fighting discrimination in the industrial north, they show their true sentiments.

Over and over again it has been demonstrated that the capitalist government and its legislative agents can never be relied on to take any real action against racial discrimination. Only the independent mass pressure of the Negro people, joined in solidarity by the white workers can smash the vile system of Jim Crow that pits worker against worker and let's the capitalist minority rule supreme.

## Patterson Case

When Congress passed the infamous Smith-Connally anti-strike law in June, 1943, the entire trade union leadership of the country publicly denounced it as the greatest legislative blow at American labor in the country's history.

"The workers of our country would never become reconciled to this legislation. They would protest against it and rebel against it in the event it would become the law of the land. This legislation is fascist in character," wrote AFL President William Green to Roosevelt.

CIO President Philip Murray wrote the late President that the Smith-Connally act did nothing less than "set aside the Bill of Rights of the United States Constitution." John L. Lewis, president of the United Mine Workers, against whose strike the bill was initially passed, thundered against it in scathing terms,

But the bill was passed—and principally because the trade union leadership refused to organize and lead a genuine fight of the united labor movement against it. They fought the bill only with words.

Today, the Smith-Connally Act has already claimed its first victim. William Patterson, a militant union coal miner from Daisytown, Pa., has been thrown into prison for alleged violation of the Smith-Connally Act. His only "crime" was that he loyally defended the interests of the mine workers for 22 years.

What are the union leaders—Lewis, Murray, Green—doing about this? As yet they have not said a word in defense of the first victim of the law they themselves denounced as fascist in character and a violation of the Bill of Rights. Let them speak out now. Their failure to demand freedom for Patterson will be a shameful act of betrayal of the interests of all labor. It would constitute nothing less than an invitation to the imprisonment of more William Pattersons. Where do they stand?

## A Class Difference

The latest shift in tactics of the American Stalinists has drawn the usual reactionary fire from the haters of the Soviet Union. All the organs of capitalist propaganda, from the rabid Hearst press to the Social Democratic New Leader, point to the shift as one more proof that the Communist Political Association is nothing but the foreign agency of the Kremlin. With one voice they try to mobilize public sentiment against the conquests of the Bolshevik revolution which still remain in the Soviet Union and against planned economy as a way of organizing society.

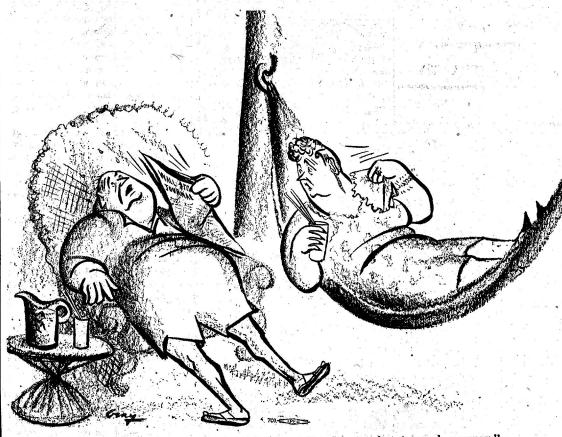
Our attitude toward the Stalinists proceeds from the opposite pole. The Trotskyists are the best defenders of the Soviet Union. We have never deviated from our struggle for the establishment of a world planned economy. We do not attack the latest maneuver of the Stalinists simply because it again evidences the ties of Browder and Foster with the Kremlin. We were the first to show that the Communist International had given up the world revolution and become an adjunct of Stalin's diplomatic agents and GPU assassins.

Our criticism of Stalinism proceeds from our struggle for the proletarian revolution throughout the world and from our loyalty to the first workers' state in history. It proceeds from our political aim of safeguarding this workers' state from imperialist attack and of extending throughout the world the basic principles on which it was founded.

The imperialists and their Social Democratic agents attack Stalinism from the right. They seize on the crimes of the Stalinists as ammunition in their endeavor to destroy the USSR and to throttle workers' revolutions everywhere.

We attack the Stalinists from the viewpoint of Marxism. We point out that Stalinism is progressively destroying the Soviet Union as a workers' state. Inside the Soviet Union we call for the restoration of workers' democracy and the revival of the principles of the October revolution. Outside the Soviet Union we fight Stalinism because it betrays the interests of the workers and delivers them into the hands of reaction.

As genuine Marxists analyzing the perifidious role of the Stalinists, we represent the real interests of the world working class. Bringing the Stalinist betrayers to account is a task that cannot be farmed out to imperialism. It is a job the workers themselves must perform. The purpose of our exposure of the Stalinists is to arouse the workers to the urgent need of carrying out this job without further delay.



"I don't know why they complain about lay-offs. It's too hot to work anyway."

# NIERNATIONAL NOTES

Italy

A general strike appeared imminent in Milan and Genoa, the United Press reported on June 17, as a protest against a 20-year sentence given to Carlo Basile, a fascist, by an official court. Workers paraded in the two cities, demanding the death sentence for Basile. Before they were disarmed, the workers of northern Italy dealt out summary justice to Mussolini and his fascist gangsters. Their actions were in striking contrast to the conduct of the purge commissions of the Bonomi government, which allowed the notorious Roatta to escape and gave lenient terms to other fascists. The Milan and Genoa workers are determined to prevent a repetition of this scandalous procedure in northern Italy.

The Stalinist newspaper Unita criticizes Charles Poletti, head of the Lombardi military government of the Allies, for dissolving unions formed in the most important industries. It should be noted that the Allies did not dare take this step until the Partisans in north Italy had been disarmed: The Stalinists, along with other parties in the National Committee of Liberation, advocated this

Togliatti, Stalinist leader, told a mass meeting in Rome that asking the Allies to remain in Italy. They are afraid of our

It is not clear why these 'forces" should be afraid of the Stalinist party, which is the main prop of Italian capitalism. It saved the House of Savoy from disaster. It bolstered the Badoglio regime in its most critical days by Togliatti's entry into the government. It gave its support to the decrepit Bonomi regime. Togliatti was the only representative of a worker's party to enter this cabinet.

#### Soviet Union

The Stalinists, who scream the loudest that all Germans are responsible for Nazi concentration camps, deliberately conceal the fact that Stalin persecutes his political opponents in the Soviet Union with a violence and inhumanity not inferior to that of Hitler. The well-known author Negley Farson, gives a brief but damning picture of the sufferings of oppositionists in an article published in the New English Review (May, 1945).

Farson says he was waiting at a railroad station located betweer Moscow and Murmansk towards he end of winter when forty long red-painted freight cars drew in to the station. The cars contained political prisoners and were marded by NKVD (Secret Police ormerly GPU) the entire length of the station. The train remained here the entire day.

Approaching as close as was safely possible, Farson noticed a contraption between the two sliding doors in the center of each car that resembled "the tails of salmons." Closer observation revealed them to be long V-shaped troughs made of two boards nailed together and used "as latrines for the poor wretches confined inside the dark cars.' The only air or light that could penetrate the cars were two little apertures high up at either end-

8-inch square windows. "There were faces at these windows," Some of them opened their mouths and poked their fingers in them. This was the way they begged for food. From one or two piece of string. No one came near population.

them. No one looked at them. All either communist or socialist. day the faces remained at the windows; eyes that looked at were no foreign workers, no passing life with a dejection prisoners of war, no resistance beyond description. And all day fighters in German concentration the bustling Russians on that camps. The British White Paper platform went about their busi- of 1939 disclosed that the British ness just as if that quarter-milelong trainload of human agony of the treatment of German polivas not there."

nakes a comparison with the way in the old Tsarist days the Russian political prisoner, sent to states that there were more than Siberia, was regarded by almost veryone as a hero.

"But today - what happens? spirited away, in the night. He | Sachsenhausen, anishes from sight as quickly, and in some cases as finally, as a stone thrown overboard in mid- | Neuengamme, cean. Forget him. Forget that ne ever lived,' is the official Russian advice to everyone. He is

#### Germany

In reports and editorials about violence, torture and brutality in Nazi concentration camps the capitalist and Stalinist press has been trying to pin responsibility for the atrocities on the German people as a whole. They carefully hide the fact that the bulk of the prisoners were German workers, tical opponents of the Nazi gandists:

In 1933, there were 45 concentration camps in Germany containing between 35,000 and 40,-000 German anti-fascists. These figures were published in the "Brown Book of Hitler Terror"

In the Buchenwald concentration camp in 1938, out of 6,000 prisoners, 2,000 were politicals,

## QUESTION BOX

Q: How many strikes were there in 1944 compared with Nazis. The British imperialists previous years?

According to the Bureau of Labor Statistics there were 4,956 strikes in 1944, more than in any standing aid." previous year since the bureau began keeping strike records in Great Britain 2,100,000 workers. However, the information was kept.

Q: To what extent has Japan-

ese imperialism expanded? A: In the past 50 years Japan has seized land totaling 2,796,-600 square miles, with a total population of 368,212,000. These territories were previously part or colonies of eight countries: China, Britain, France, Thailand, Russia, Portugal, the Netherlands and the United States, Including its own people, Japan therefore controlled, a year ago, 21 percent of the world's popula-

Q: Can you tell me approximately how much of conquered Germany will the United States rule over?

A: The U.S. zone, as originally planned, covers 40,000 sq. miles, about the area of Ohio. Farson continues. It includes Bavaria and Wurtemberg, the Saar and parts of Baden and Hesse. Probably 25,-000,000 persons are now packed into this zone which in peacetime of these ghastly squares, with a had a population of only 16,000,sub-human face in it, was lowered 000. Refugees and war prisona little canvas bag tied on to a ers add another 2,000,000 to the

Between 1933 and 1939 there government was fully informed tical prisoners but had concealed Why? Farson asks. He then the facts for diplomatic reasons

The Swiss newspaper, Zurich Weltwoche (March 9, 1945) 100,000 Germans in Nazi concentration camps, divided as follows

The prisoner is never seen. He is Buchenwald, near Weimar 40,000 near Oranienburg Dachau, near Munich 6,000 near Hamburg Gross-Rosen, in Silesia 4,000 Fallersleben. near Brunswick Danzig-Stuthoff lossenburg, Upper Palatinate

Mauthausen on the Danube 3,000

### Greece

The British Foreign Office has notified the House of Commons that it will maintain a hands-off policy in the case of three ELAS leaders sentenced to death by the Socialists and Communists, poli- Greek government. The present "neutrality" of the British govthe same old forces who per- regime. The following facts spike ernment stands in revealing conin Greece last December. Then it moved in with lightning speed and with guns blazing. It had "hands - off" policy where the protection of reactionaries capitalists and its own investments was concerned. If the British government adopts a "hands-off" policy today it is only because it believes the terror regime of Vulgaris is competent o carry on the work of repression

> vithout British assistance. The type of official persecuting Greek workers and peasants was revealed by a British government spokesman in the House of Lords. The present police chief in Athens is the man who served under the cooperated with him against the Greek workers then as now. The A: Strikes have increased Marquess of Normandy stated every year since Pearl Harbor. that the police chief "worked closely with a British secret organization and rendered us out-

Bob Edwards, Independent La strikes were of short duration bor Party candidate for parliaand working time lost was less ment, polled 13,722 votes against than one-tenth of one percent - 16,424 for his Tory opponent in less than for any year since such the recent Newport by-election. The large vote for Edwards is another indication of the move ment to the left among the British masses. The election occurred prior to the dissolution of the Churchill coalition cabinet. Under the terms of the then prevailing 'political truce," the Labor Party leaders supported the Tory candi date against Edwards. The vote for Edwards was part of the rresistible mass pressure that forced the Labor Party leaders to reak their five-year old bedfellowship with Churchill's Tory Farty.

Edwards states in an article in the New Leader (British ILP organ) that the election was conducted on the basis of unequivocal opposition to capitalism and imperialist war and for the Socialist United States of Europe. If these are the facts, then the vote for Edwards is an even more striking sign of mass radicalization in England.

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The Militant

## **How Maritime Commission Aided Ship-Owner Profits**

During the past three years, The Militant has publshed a number of exposures of the scandalous profiteering deals between the Maritime Commission and the big shipowners. The Maritime Commission s headed by Admiral Emory Land, who a couple of years ago proposed that all union organizers should e "shot at sunrise."

It is reported that Senator Aiken, of Vermont, who incovered many of the facts The Militant has publshed, is planning to point out the Maritime Commission's record when the question of elevating Land to a full admiral comes up in the Senate. Among other facts Aiken is expected to stress is

that four reports by Comptroller General Lindsay Warren, which expose in detail the Maritime Commission's misuse of government funds on behalf of the shipowners, have been buried by the Senate Commerce Committee. Aiken has already made public the fact that the

Commission insured at government expense hundreds of rotten vessels at values far in excess of their real worth. Many of these vessels were sent out to be sunk, and the shipowners collected millions, while hundreds of seamen died.

One ship, The Nebraskan, built in 1912 for \$713,000, valued five years ago by Land at \$110,000, valued by its own owners at \$5,276, was insured by the Maritime Commission for \$1,019,320. Another, the Vevadan, also built in 1912 and valued by its owners it \$3,457, was insured for \$806,000.

To protect the crooked shipowners from any obligation to return what they have stolen from the government and safeguard their interests, this year two clauses were inserted in Maritime Commission contracts. They read:

"The contractor shall have no obligation to make any statements or returns of costs to the commission or to make available to the commission any of its books, records or accounts pertaining to the performance of work under the vessels contracts.

"The contractor shall have no further obligations nder the vessels contract or on account of the performance of work thereunder, including any obligation to repair, remedy, replace or make good any defects, breakdown or deterioration occurring in any essel delivered under the contract."

## **Weirton Steel Indicted** In War Materials Fraud

The open-shop Weirton Steel Company, which has naintained a bloody anti-union terror since 1936, was placed under federal indictment on June 13 at Elkins, West Virginia. Thirty-seven counts were charged against the company for obtaining highpriority war materials under false pretenses.

Weirton officials, it is charged, violated WPB Order 41 in constructing and remodeling a country club which was to be used exclusively by company officers and their guests.

They obtained an air conditioning plant, ornamental iron and stainless steel for lounges and bedcooms by claiming that this equipment was to be used for an "emergency hospital" at the plant.

Assistant U.S. District Attorney E. E. Hamstead said the maximum penalty on each count was a mitted fascists to seize power are the lies of the "hate" propatrast to its attitude and actions \$10,000 fine. He didn't mention imprisonment. Even if the company was fined the maximum of every count - which is very unlikely - it would be just chicken-feed in comparison to its huge war profits. Since 1936, the company has successfully defied numerous NLRB and federal court orders to cease

interfering with the attempts of its workers to organize a union. Only last winter, hoodlums armed by the company severely beat up CIO organizers distributing leaflets at the plant gates.

## Florida Union-Busters **Use Race-Hate Technique**

Down in Florida, the wealthy fruit packers and other labor exploiters have a lot of weapons to beat down unionism. There are all types of local and state laws restricting the activities of unions. They have an amendment to the state constitution banning closed shop contracts. But principally, they have Take the case of the NLRB collective bargaining

election recently held at the Hills Brothers' plant at Bartow, Florida. The CIO Food, Tobacco, Agricultural and Allied Workers' Union was bidding for the support of 400 workers, white and Negro.

But the \$156-million citrus industry of Florida has developed quite a technique in its anti-CIO drive. Most of its methods are not unique, - appeals to "loyalty to your company," "defend your right to work," threats of closing down plants; "don't deal with outsiders." In a leaflet containing this type of appeal, which

was passed out in Bartow against the CIO, there was an even more effective device. It contained a reproduction of a police picture — side and front view and number — of a Negro. It was a picture specially selected because it exaggerated those racial features which the "white supremacists" continually caricature. The leaflet was headed, "'Brother' Shannon." To the indoctrinated and prejudiced white workers, this pictures and title said, "Do you want to be in a union with him? Do you want to share the same wash-room with him?"

But the profiteering packers didn't even trust this appeal. Two hours before the voting was to begin, the Negro workers at the plant were sent home to their segregated neighborhood. Around the neighborhood a patrol of "mean looking" whites was thrown. The Negro workers remained in their houses. They knew what the patrol meant.

The vote was taken. Not enough white workers dared, or were willing, to oppose the race-hate system. The union lost. The citrus bosses began counting up what this meant in better profits for

That's how the race-hate formula works out in sunny Florida. Now the "Brother" Shannon "experiment" in Bartow is being spread throughout the