

**"The History Of American Trotskyism"**

— SEE PAGE 6 —

# THE MILITANT

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## Stalinists Make Official Change In Their Policy

By Felix Morrow

The "new" Stalinist line has now been handed down, a little more than a week after the May 24 publication of the article of Jacques Duclos, French Communist Party leader, which foreshadowed the latest switch.

The new line has been announced in the form of a resolution of the National Board of the Communist Political Association, published in the June 4 *Daily Worker*.

The signal from abroad—given by Duclos in his article, but in essence coming from the Kremlin—also gave the general outlines for the change. The CPA resolution closely follows the position of the Duclos article.

This article, signed by a leader of a party which has cabinet posts in the capitalist government of France, provided for continuation of the Stalinist support of "democracies" in the war.

### SUPPORTS CAPITALISM

Likewise, the U. S. section of the Stalinist organization continues in its resolution its support of the American capitalist government and opposition to the attempt of the militant workers to regain the use of the strike weapon.

The crucial political sections of the resolution read as follows: "It is imperative that the American people resolutely support every effort of the Truman administration to carry forward Roosevelt's program for victory, peace, democracy and 60 million jobs."

"Continue uninterrupted war production and uphold labor's no-strike pledge for the duration." In actual practice, therefore, the present resolution continues the previous line of class peace with the capitalist government and the bosses.

The resolution, however, has two other outstanding features which the Duclos article outlined for it.

### THREAT OF OPPOSITION

1. It threatens the capitalist class that the CPA will go into opposition if the Anglo-American-Soviet coalition breaks up.

2. It promises the militant workers that the CPA will go over to a class-struggle line after the war and pretends that even now the resolution provides for more militant activity than heretofore.

The threat to Stalin's allies is undoubtedly the principal purpose of the new CPA resolution. With

### Imperialist Shysters

The Netherlands East Indies are no longer regarded constitutionally as a "colony," but as an "integral part of the Netherlands Commonwealth," Dr. F. H. Visman, Dutch colonial official, said in an interview on April 30 with Aneta, the Netherlands news agency.

This is the slick formula under which the Dutch colonial slaveholders hope to re-establish their domination over the 67 million inhabitants of the islands. How can one raise a demand for the independence of a colony that isn't a colony?

bottomless cynicism, the Stalinist parties are saying to the capitalist rulers: "We shall serve you loyally so long as you get along with our master in the Kremlin." This is the bargain which the Stalinist leaders are offering the capitalist ruling class. That this is a betrayal of the working class is of little concern to the Stalinist leaders who callously use the working class as a mere pawn in the Kremlin's game of power politics.

But in order to mislead the working class, it is necessary to keep a grip on the militant workers. This aim is undoubtedly the explanation for much of the pseudo-radical language in the CPA resolution. The Stalinist leaders find it advisable to yield somewhat to the pressure from below in order, the more effectively, to pursue a policy which is utterly alien to the militant desires of the Communist workers in their ranks.

The threat to Washington and London that they must come to terms with the Kremlin is made in language designed to make it appear that Stalin's gains will also be gains for the world work-

(Continued on page 4)

## ARAB MASSES REPULSE DE GAULLIST ENSLAVERS

By Alfredo Martinez

DeGaulle's latest attempt to re-establish the weakened grip of French imperialism on Syria and Lebanon has proved a fiasco, thanks to the resistance of the Arab masses.

In mid-May DeGaulle began quietly to land French troops in Syria to enforce the existing garrisons there. Strikes immediately broke out in protest in all the large towns, leading to clashes between French troops and the people.

## Trotskyists in France Jailed; La Verite Banned

**BULLETIN**

Numerous members of the Internationalist Communist Party (PCI), French Trotskyist organization, have been arrested in Paris, according to a brief report appearing in the June 2 issue of *Pour la Victoire*, French paper published in New York. The news item also states that La Verite, organ of the PCI, has been suppressed by order of de Gaulle's government.

These repressions have followed a vicious slander campaign which the French Stalinists, who participate in the de Gaulle government, have been conducting against the Trotskyists.

La Verite, which was the first paper to be published illegally under the Nazi occupation, has maintained a policy of uncompromising opposition to the de Gaulle regime of hunger and repression installed in France with the support of Anglo-American bayonets.

In a desperate attempt to crush the resistance, the French commander on May 29 resorted to shelling and aerial bombardment of Damascus. Eyewitnesses, reported a June 1 UP dispatch from Damascus, "said that the French bombardment of the city was worse than anything they had seen in the western desert or on the Anzio beachhead." Syrian authorities said dead and wounded numbered from three to four thousand.

But the French imperialists failed to stem the resistance. Meanwhile the masses of the world could see in this spectacle not only the true character of the "new" France of DeGaulle but the falsity of all the wartime promises of the "democracies" about freedom from fear and oppression.

It was an international scandal of major proportions, and had to be stopped for the sake of the tarnished prestige of all the imperialists.

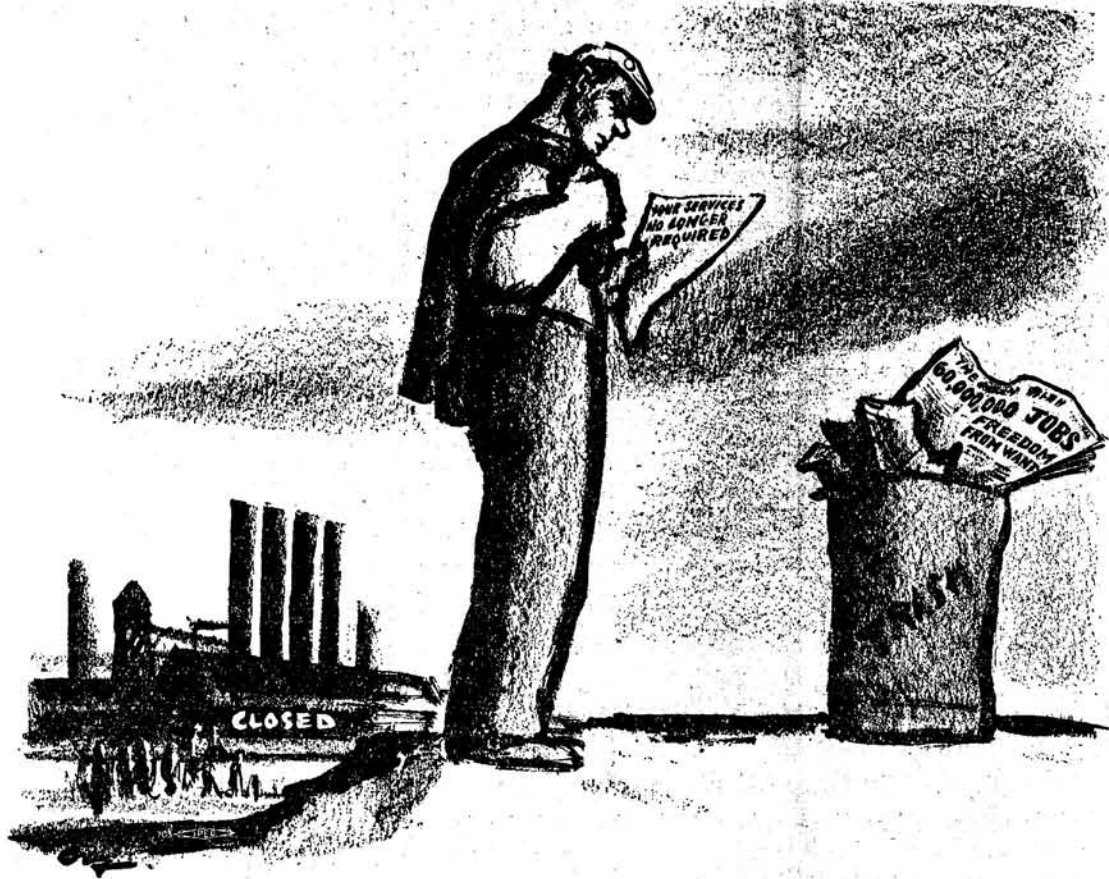
### U. S. INTERVENES

On May 28, the day before the bombardment of Damascus, the U. S. sent a message to DeGaulle urging him to cease using force. Three days later, backed by the U. S., Churchill sent an ultimatum.

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# Coal Miner Railroaded To Jail Under Smith-Connally Slave Law

The Pay-Off Is the Lay-Off



## Grim Future For Unemployed Revealed In Truman Program

President Truman's May 28 message to Congress requesting increases in the "states' rights" unemployment insurance provisions was significant chiefly as a confession that at this late date the government has no program providing adequately for the millions of unemployed who will be walking the streets of America within the next six months.

Today, official government figures show, there are already at least a million unemployed. One day after Truman's message, War Production Board Chairman Krug made public his ominous admission that in the next three months 2,900,000 war workers will "no longer be required." "Six months from now," he admitted, "the number will have increased to 4,800,000."

**STARVATION PLAN**  
The government all along has fully understood that this would be the fate of the workers with the curtailment of war production. A year and half ago the Administration paid lip-service to the need for planning against mass unemployment through the highly publicized Baruch-Hancock report on reconversion.

A year ago, the late President Roosevelt signed the infamous George "states' rights" starvation bill providing unemployment insurance as low as \$2 a week.

Now with a wave of mass unemployment already sweeping over the land, President Truman is compelled to admit, in part, the true state of affairs. Confronted on all sides by the rising clamor from the ranks of labor, Truman has been compelled to acknowledge "a major gap" in the "reconversion" program which provides so handsomely for the corporations.

**TRUMAN'S PROPOSAL**  
Truman therefore proposed the minimum he could expediently suggest for an "adequate" program. His proposal was for a federal grant to the states so that the state governments, under their own regulations and supervision, might raise their unemployment benefits to a MAXIMUM of \$25 a week for a MAXIMUM of 26 weeks "in any one year, if his unemployment continues that long." That is, Truman proposed an average of \$12.50 weekly maximum during an entire year's unemployment.

To lend support to his proposal, Truman pointed out what every Congressman knows, that the government has more than adequately guaranteed the profits and monopoly inter-

ests of the war-enriched corporations. They are provided by "specific law... for contract termination, plant clearance, financial aid to business, and the disposition of surplus property. Congress has permitted business to carry back post-war losses against profits tax payments during the reconversion period."

But the Congressional agents of Wall Street, who had just voted themselves a \$2,500 tax-exempt pay increase, received Truman's modest proposals with extreme coldness and hostility. The corporation-controlled press opened up an editorial barrage about encouraging "dole-bums" seeking "a hand-out for life." (N. Y. Daily Mirror, June 2)

Reporting on the "immediate response in the Congressional leadership," the N. Y. Times May 29, observed that it was "unenthusiastic." Senior Congressional spokesmen complained that Truman "had sent up his message without consulting them" and recalled how Congress had overwhelmingly defeated similar proposals last year.

Chairman Doughton of the powerful House Ways and Means Committee, which would first have to approve Truman's proposal, declared the committee was in "no hurry" to consider the matter. "I don't know when we will take it up. We have got a good many other things to do." As for the Senate, the Wash-

ington Post said, "The Senate will be realistic for people in both Government and business not to act as though there were some essential conflict between the two... It is not Government versus business but Government and business."

(Continued on page 3)

## IN THE NEWS

### Siamese Twins

The Standard Oil Company of New Jersey is distributing a pamphlet entitled, "United We Stand," by R. T. Haslam, a company director. One passage defines: "In fact it is difficult to define to what degree Government is in business and business is in Government... Inevitably Government and business functions will overlap. Therefore, it will be realistic for people in both Government and business not to act as though there were some essential conflict between the two... It is not Government versus business but Government and business."

### Interim Balance Sheet

On May 31 the Government in Washington announced that American combat casualties in the Second World War passed the million mark. The total, as of that date, was 1,002,887 made up as follows: dead, 227,097; wounded, 607,468; missing, 63,455; prisoners, 104,867. The grand total for all of the First World War was 259,735.

### What Do Privates Get?

An Associated Press dispatch from Moscow, May 29, reports: "The Soviet Union is rewarding its generals with construction of spacious new apartments in various cities across the country for their use... The generals' 11-story apartment houses in Moscow will be located on Leningrad Boulevard and on the Gorky and Smolensk embankments, choice sections of the capital."

### Freedom From Want

"Dutch children are scraping the sides of empty trucks for a little coal dust to take home in a twist of paper. Greek children and their parents, shoeless and in rags, are being kept alive on a diet of bread, beans and boiled grasses. Italians are begging for bread in the streets. Norwegian children are living in turf hovels wrapped in fresh-slaughtered animal skins for want of other clothing." (British Listener).

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## WILLIAM PATTERSON IS THE FIRST MILITANT UNIONIST VICTIMIZED BY ANTI-LABOR ACT

(Special to THE MILITANT)

By Art Preis

PITTSBURGH, Pa., June 4 — William Patterson, 40-year old union coal digger from tiny company-owned Daisytown, 50 miles south of here, is the first American worker to be imprisoned under the infamous Smith-Connally anti-strike law.

Last Saturday this loyal union man, who has spent the past 17 years toiling down in the dark and deadly dangers of Vesta No. 4, world's largest soft coal mine owned by Jones and Laughlin Steel Corp., was thrust into the county prison at Uniontown, Pa. Snatched without warning

from his wife and two children, he has been condemned to six months behind bars.

Thus Bill Patterson, a mine committeeman whom his fellow workers yesterday at Richeyville described as a "fighting fool for the men," has become the first victim of the most vicious federal anti-labor law of modern times.

Today, he is an outstanding symbol of American capitalist class "justice." The American ruling class and its government have selected him to serve as an "example" and "warning" to all American labor.

### THE TRUTH REVEALED

The truth about William Patterson's case has been buried in slanderous misrepresentations. Yesterday I visited Richeyville, near Patterson's home, where Vesta No. 4 is located. I had the privilege of attending a meeting of his local union, Local 2399, United Mine Workers of America.

From the lips of the officers and members of his union, who are behind him to a man, I have secured the first authentic account of this unprecedented and historic case.

Seated around a table on the platform of the Richeyville recreation hall where the local meets, Steve Panak, Local 2399 president, John G. Harris, vice-president, John Peters, secretary-treasurer, and a score of other officers and members indignantly related the facts behind this frame-up.

They described step by step how the government, aided by the courts, which in this area are



WILLIAM PATTERSON

controlled by the billion-dollar steel trust and the powerful mine operators, deliberately set out to "get" Patterson and make an "example" of him.

### TOOK THE RAP

Over and over again, they emphasized: "He took the rap for us." They made it clear that Bill Patterson could have been any one of a half million miners who today might be standing in his shoes—or will be tomorrow, if the employing class and government get away with this first imprisonment under the anti-strike law.

The fact that Patterson was sentenced to six months, instead of five years as the law permits, is due solely to the "cautious" approach of the government in

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## 'Women In Prison' Subject Of Carlson National Tour

Grace Carlson, member of the editorial staff of *The Militant*, organizer and educator for the Socialist Workers Party, on June 19 will begin a coast-to-coast tour starting in Allentown, Pa., covering 22 SWP branches. She will speak on the topic "Women in Prison." This national tour, under the auspices of the Socialist Workers Party, will be Comrade Carlson's first opportunity since her release from prison to appear before working-class audiences.

Grace Carlson is one of the 18 Trotskyists and CIO trade unionists who were sent to jail under the vicious Smith "Gag" Act for their opposition to the imperialist war and for advancing revolutionary socialist ideas. She was released from the Federal Reformatory for Women, Alderson, West Virginia, after serving almost 13 months of a 16-month prison term, and was freed on May 1 from more than three months of parole restrictions. More than 600 labor, Negro and progressive organizations, representing almost 6,000,000 workers, supported the Minneapolis Labor Case.

### WOMEN IN PRISON

Distinguished as the sole woman among the 18 who were sent to prison, Comrade Carlson will discuss at public gatherings in each city the plight of the thousands of women who are today languishing in jails, victims of capitalist exploitation, poverty and wars.

Grace Carlson was born in St. Paul, Minn. in 1906. Her father

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# Grim Future For The Unemployed Revealed In Program Of Truman

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ington Bureau of the New York daily PM reported on May 31 that "The Finance Committee is tied up for the present with the Reciprocal Trade Agreements bill and has also made no plans for complying with Truman's request."

## BIG BUSINESS VIEW

Typical of the capitalist press response were the editorials in the N. Y. Times, organ of the Morgan interests, which on May 29 warned against "paying so much" unemployment insurance "as to breed a serious voluntary unemployment" and on May 30 complained of the "government debt" and the need for "reducing government spending after the war." "We cannot do this if we pay to individuals benefits so large as not only to be expensive in themselves but as to encourage mass unemployment." The idea of providing government aid for the unemployed seems outrageous to well-fed capitalist parasites. For they want a starved and docile army of unemployed so desperate that they will be willing to take any kind of job, under any conditions at any wages. That's the real "relief" plan of Wall Street. But it would be a fatal error for the workers to place any re-

liance in Truman to fight for an adequate unemployment benefits program. His proposal, to begin with, would provide millions of workers with far less than the MAXIMUM of \$25 weekly. Even that \$25 would be a pauper's sum for most families with the present and future price inflation. And this program would be administered by state governments which place all kinds of long-term residence requirements and other restrictions in the way of getting benefits.

## ANOTHER 'COMPROMISE'

Moreover, Truman and the other few Congressional supporters of his proposal will fold up like a wet dish-rag under attack, or they will offer some rotten "compromise," as they did last year when Congress trampled over similar proposals.

Only a powerful mass campaign by organized labor, conducted independently and with all the traditional means of mass labor struggle, can compel the government to provide adequate relief for the unemployed. And nothing less than federal unemployment insurance equivalent to the average trade union wages in the period of employment and for the entire duration of unemployment, can begin to be adequate.



Revoke the No-Strike Pledge

## Detroit Auto Men Back Housing Plan

DETROIT, May 31—By unanimous vote, the Press Steel Unit of Ford Local 600, United Auto Workers (CIO) has supported the erection of a housing project in Ecorse, Detroit. The project is desperately needed by over-crowded war workers and especially by the Negro workers of the auto area. Even temporary housing proposals have long been opposed by local real estate and business forces.

The Federal Public Housing Authority has finally announced that it will build the project despite opposition. The Ford Unit at its last membership meeting, May 19, adopted a resolution stating: "We, the members of Press Steel Unit of Ford Local 600, UAW-CIO express our whole-hearted approval."

To marshal further support for the project, the union directed that copies of its resolution be sent to all units of the Ford Rouge Plant, the UAW international, local and national FPHA agencies, and the Negro and labor press in the Detroit area.

## Veil of Silence In Tresca Case

NEW YORK, May 31—For the second time since the murder of Carlo Tresca, New York District Attorney Hogan has issued an "annual report" of his department's work without even mentioning the Tresca case. Hogan's recent summary of 1944 work, like his report of 1943 activities, gives a detailed analysis of investigation in other crimes.

Carlo Tresca, well known anti-fascist editor of *Il Martello* (The Hammer) was shot to death in New York City on January 11, 1943. Last January, on the second anniversary of his death, 1,200 men and women meeting at Webster Hall in New York demanded action by the police department. In mid-January, Assistant District Attorney Lipsky finally began to call witnesses, reopening the investigation.

Since then, says Norman Thomas, chairman of the Tresca Memorial Committee, a new "veil of silence" has fallen over the case. The Federal Bureau of Investigation has ruled that it has "no jurisdiction." The murder of an anti-fascist leader for his political activities is being virtually ignored by state and federal authorities.

IN MINNEAPOLIS BUY "THE MILITANT" at the LABOR BOOK STORE 10 S. 4th Street

## AKRON RUBBER WORKERS VOTE STRIKE 3 TO 1

AKRON, May 30 — Despite a Stalinist campaign to sow confusion and disruption in the workers' ranks, an NLRB strike vote May 28 at Goodyear Tire and Rubber company brought a decisive three to one majority in favor of a strike.

A Stalinist clique in the Goodyear local, headed by George E. Boyer, published a newspaper advertisement and bought radio time to broadcast an appeal to the Goodyear workers not to vote a strike. This campaign, sprung at the last moment on the eve of the strike ballot, appealed to workers not to support their local union executive board although a huge rank and file meeting had previously given support for a strike vote under the Smith-Connelly Act.

This last minute attempt was launched on Saturday, May 26. The newspaper ad stated, "If you vote to strike you are letting the CIO and your union down and breaking the CIO w a r t i m e pledge." The advertisement further appealed to union members to appear at the Goodyear local membership meeting the next day, Sunday, May 27, and to vote to call off the strike ballot scheduled for the following morning.

At this meeting the Stalinists were given a thorough and severe drubbing. Only 15 members out of about 700 present voted to call off the vote. The next morning a majority of 8,561 to 3,000 was piled up to authorize the Goodyear local No. 2 executive board to call a strike if the company did not settle accumulated grievances dealing with wage standards.

This huge majority was piled up in spite of the last minute Stalinist campaign, and in spite of the fact that the ballot read, "Do you wish to permit an interruption of war production in wartime as a result of this dispute?"

The failure of the Stalinist campaign is of great importance in the rubber union. The Stalinists have fully exposed themselves on this issue. Every honest unionist in Akron is aroused against them. Meanwhile, Firestone Local No. 7 is also preparing to take a strike vote next week under the Smith-Connelly Act. Goodrich Local No. 5 has voted to call a special meeting to discuss a strike vote, should the WLB hand down an unfavorable decision on several points now before it.

## Rankin Whitewash Blocked In Veteran Care Inquiry

By Grace Carlson

Public pressure has finally forced members of the House Veterans Committee to break the stranglehold which its reactionary chairman, Representative John Rankin, has maintained over the investigation of veterans' hospitals. By a vote of 13-2, the Veterans Committee voted on May 29 to lift the contempt citation against PM reporter Albert Deutsch and to call him back before the committee as a witness.

Led by the Mississippi pol-taxer Rankin, the same committee had cited Deutsch for "contempt of Congress" on May 18 when he refused to give the names of doctors in the Veterans Administration who had supplied him with information on the mistreatment of sick and wounded veterans. The outcry raised by this obvious attempt to suppress the facts about conditions in veterans' hospitals was too much for the majority of Veterans Committee members. Representative James Domenegeaux, who made the motion that the committee reverse its stand in the Deutsch case, pointed out that it was necessary "to re-establish the confidence of the public in the Committee's action."

## OFFICIAL WHITEWASH

Begun in March, the House Veterans Committee's "investigation" of veterans' hospitals has so far been little more than a whitewash of Veterans Administration officials. Brigadier General Frank Hines, Veterans Administrator, has been publicly commended by Rankin several times since the "investigation" was begun for the manner in which veterans' hospitals are operated. On May 25, Rankin introduced a bill drawn up in cooperation with Veterans Administrator Hines proposing some mild reforms in the veterans' hospital system.

But "mild reforms" of the veterans' hospital set-up are not enough, according to investigators like Deutsch, Albert Maisel of *Cosmopolitan*, Leo Egan of the N. Y. Times and others who have exposed the terrible conditions in these institutions. In the foreword to his article, *Third-Rate Medicine for First-Rate Men* in the April issue of *Cosmopolitan*, Maisel writes: "Read the evidence in the accompanying article—the shocking, shameful evidence of brutality, beatings, overcrowding, and third-rate treatment which are the lot of our most defenseless disabled veterans. The Veterans' Hospitals must be purged from top to bottom."

## DISCHARGED UNCURED

In the same article, Maisel presents evidence to show that less than eight per cent of the 23,147 veterans discharged during a year from the 30 mental hospitals are rated as cured or even as "apparently recovered." Maisel has a considerable proof that veteran mental patients do not have the benefits of modern psychiatric and medical techniques in veterans' hospitals. That so many thousands of them are released without achieving a "cure" represents not only personal tragedy for the individuals involved but potential tragedy in the communities to which the



patients return. Maisel quotes Colonel H. Foster, clinical director of the Northport, Long Island Hospital as saying that there is "no harm" in releasing these patients if they are "not violent." Several instances are cited by Maisel to show how such supposedly "harmless" patients have done violence to themselves or others shortly after their release from a veterans' hospital.

## WARNING EMPHASIZED

New emphasis is given to Maisel's warning by some recent headlines dealing with violent acts of discharged servicemen who were mental cases: "Veteran Held Insane After Slaying Wife" (N. Y. Times, June 2); "Flier's Fatal Leap Laid to War Shock" (N. Y. World-Telegram, May 31).

Such reports of problems of veteran patients arouse little interest in Rankin. According to PM reporter Elizabeth Donahue, who covered the May 29 hearing of the House Veterans Committee "only once did Rankin show concern for the conditions in the hospitals. 'Are the Negroes separated from the whites at the Huntington, West Va. hospital?' Rankin inquired.

"Rep. Cunningham replied in the affirmative. 'In my opinion,' Rankin observed, 'that's much more important than separating World War I veterans from World War II veterans in these hospitals!'"

## Youngstown Steel Workers Protest Changed Schedule

YOUNGSTOWN, June 1.—At a stormy meeting following yesterday's work stoppage, over 400 steel workers at the Youngstown Sheet and Tube Company's Brier Hill plant defied all efforts to send them back to their jobs.

The workers are members of Local 1462, United Steel Workers, CIO. Their stoppage was provoked by the company's arbitrary change in work schedules, designed to cut the force of maintenance men on the blooming mill from 40 to 33, without reducing the work load. The company, if successful, would of course use this as a precedent to lay off workers in all departments.

## MEN STAND FIRM

At the meeting on Thursday the workers were given a barrage of "back to work" demands from the War Labor Board, International President Philip Murray, some of the local union officials, and an army officer. Not one rank and file member spoke in favor of returning to work. When the meeting opened, Murray's telegram was read to a silent, angry audience. District Director James Quinn, echoing Murray's demand, was booed by several of the workers. Lt. Col. James Perley, representing the army, was politely received but his advice was ignored. When he stated that the army was not interested in the merits of the case but only in production, there was a murmur of protest. Workers rightly asked why he did not get rough with the company whose arbitrary change of schedule had caused the stoppage, instead of haranguing the union.

Sam Evans, chairman of the General Grievance Committee, explained the background of the walkout. He told of the company's refusal to arbitrate the new schedule before posting it; he described the way grievances have piled up in the past year; he compared the slave-driving company bosses to Hitler's Gestapo, adding that they, too, would like to put the workers into concentration camps. The company's action in posting the job-cutting schedule without notice was only the last blow that brought to a head the workers' long-pent-up resentment, Evans declared.

## STRIKERS AND VETERANS

William Walsh, shop steward for the 40 maintenance men, told the workers that Bethlehem steel had already made similar attempts to increase work loads, and had been answered by strike action. Replying to Lt. Col. Perley's assertion that veterans would turn against a striking union, Walsh pointed out that veterans would hardly be pleased to find their own jobs wiped out by the company. He said that the maintenance men would fight to hold their jobs, and he scored District Director Quinn who had done nothing to help them for over a week.

"We want to work," said one local member, "but only under the old contract. The conditions they're trying to impose on us are worse than we had under a company union!"

The United Steel Workers of Mahoning Valley (CIO) have called a mass meeting for Sunday, June 3 to hear the issues in the Brier Hill stoppage, understanding that the fight of one local is the fight of all steel workers. Only their united strength will enable them to combat the steel barons.

## Black Market Prices "Hold Very Firm"

A report on the meat and poultry situation in the New York City area by the Federal-State Market News Service, issued jointly by the War Food Administration, the New York State Department of Markets and the New York City Department of Markets, on May 19 declared: "No freight receipts available and the market held nominally VERY FIRM AT PRICES FAR IN EXCESS OF RETAIL CEILINGS."

# TRADE UNION NOTES

By Joseph Keller

## Real Score On Stalinists

Appraising the significance of the 'left' shift in policy which the Stalinists appear to be preparing, the June 2 issue of *Business Week*, a leading big business weekly, admits the anti-labor role of the Stalinists and their union stooges during the war. *Business Week* has the function of telling the real score to the employers.

A Stalinist change of line from open support of American capitalism to more "militant" phrasemongering "won't come any too soon to protect the position" of the Stalinists in the unions, says *Business Week*. The Stalinists "have outdone all other factions in American labor in making patriotic appeals for more production, labor-management cooperation, ignoring of grievances, and observation of the no-strike pledge." As long as the workers were passive, or greatly influenced by war propaganda, "this line paid good dividends."

Now, however, "the temper of organized labor is changing." For example, *Business Week* points out, "local elections held in C.I.O.'s United Auto Workers have shown Communist (Stalinist)-backed slates losing heavily. These losses are ascribed to the Communist-sponsored candidates' continued adherence to their platform of employer cooperation and retention of the no-strike pledge." Throughout the labor movement the same thing is occurring widely, and Communist influence is threatened.

A "left" shift, says *Business Week*, "would be a direct result of Russia's changing relations with the U. S." and not any new concern for the working class. But the Stalinists in the unions are becoming so despised and discredited that they would "profit by being bidden to give leadership to, instead of frustrating, the new militance of American workers."

Whatever shift the Stalinists make, however, we can be sure they will function not as genuine revolutionists, but as foreign agents of the Kremlin bureaucracy. Any "militancy" they may assume will be for the purpose of snatching the leadership of the workers' struggles precisely in order to frustrate and behead them.

By a 5-4 decision, the U. S. Supreme Court on May 29 once more demonstrated the kind of "justice" the capitalist courts reserve for the workers. That august body upheld a previous U. S. Circuit Court ruling which denied that the NLRB could rectify a "mistake" in computing an award of back pay to 209 lead and zinc miners of the Eagle-Picher Mining & Smelting Co. and the Eagle-Picher Lead Co.

The NLRB, by using a wrong formula, chiseled these miners out of over three-quarters of a million dollars in back pay to which they were entitled. A dissenting minority of the Supreme Court admitted that these workers should not be made to suffer because of a "mistake" of a government agency. "Approximately \$800,000 is due these 209 employees instead of \$5,400," admitted dissenting Justice Murphy.

But the court majority used expert legal hair-splitting to rule that an NLRB decision is "final." Of course, this court of corporate lawyers wasn't thinking of saving the dough of the companies involved.—Oh no, they were just doing their duty in upholding the law — capitalist law!

## Just A "Mistake"!

The council, which previously had urged Congress to approve legislation increasing the basic pay of classified government employees, felt that Congressmen also deserve relief from increased living costs," says the *Weekly News Service*.

The Congressmen, of course, didn't need this support. They would have voted themselves a 25% increase in "take home" pay anyway. But it must have made them feel good to know that the "labor statesmen" who find it such tough going even though they are in the upper brackets, can appreciate the plight of those forced to exist on "only" \$10,000 a year.

This just goes to show how far the AFL bureaucrats are removed from the conditions of life of the workers, and how close they are in sympathies and outlook to the agents and beneficiaries of the capitalist class.

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But the court majority used expert legal hair-splitting to rule that an NLRB decision is "final." Of course, this court of corporate lawyers wasn't thinking of saving the dough of the companies involved.—Oh no, they were just doing their duty in upholding the law — capitalist law!

\*\*\* "Muzzle Not the Ox. . ." "Muzzle not the ox that treadeth out the corn" is a Biblical injunction close to the hearts of the well-heeled craft union moguls dominating the AFL Executive Council. It's a rare top AFL official whose salary and expense accounts don't run into five figures annually.

So it's understandable how they would react to the piteous plea of the Congressmen to get their annual \$10,000 salaries raised by a tax-exempt "expense account" of \$2500. Just before adjourning their recent Spring session, reports the *AFL Weekly News Service*, May 15, the AFL council "went on record unanimously in favor of increased compensation for members of Congress."

The council, which previously had urged Congress to approve legislation increasing the basic pay of classified government employees, felt that Congressmen also deserve relief from increased living costs," says the *Weekly News Service*.

The Congressmen, of course, didn't need this support. They would have voted themselves a 25% increase in "take home" pay anyway. But it must have made them feel good to know that the "labor statesmen" who find it such tough going even though they are in the upper brackets, can appreciate the plight of those forced to exist on "only" \$10,000 a year.

This just goes to show how far the AFL bureaucrats are removed from the conditions of life of the workers, and how close they are in sympathies and outlook to the agents and beneficiaries of the capitalist class.

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

## FABLES FOR OUR TIME

VOTE FOR SEN. STYLES GRIZZLEY

VOTE FOR JUDGE KEANESAW MOUNTAIN LION

## HOW THE SMALL ANIMALS WON

Although the smaller animals were the great majority of the population, they were led alternately by two political parties: one, the party of the bears; the other, the party of the mountain lions.

The slogan advanced by the party of the bears was: "High tariff to assure prosperity, full employment, and honest government."

The mountain lions, on the other hand, advanced the slogan of "Low tariff to assure prosperity, full employment, and honest government."

But when the smaller animals voted the bears into power there was a great depression, and many of them starved to death.

And when they grew disgusted with the bears and voted the mountain lions into power, there was a great war, and many of them were killed.

So finally the fox said to the rest of the smaller animals: "This is silly. Both bears and mountain lions are large, greedy, predatory beasts, and neither of them mean us any good. Why should we support either of them, when neither represents us?"

Then all the smaller animals united under their own program and drove the bears and mountain lions out of the land, and there was peace and plenty for all.

Moral: LABOR NEEDS ITS OWN PARTY TO FIGHT FOR ITS NEEDS.

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# Militant Union Man Jailed Under Anti-Labor Law

(Continued from page 1)

this first test case. A "light" sentence—throwing a worker into jail unjustly for six months and depriving his family of his support—they figured would not be apt to arouse "too much" protest.

Patterson was quickly railroaded to prison last week on the technical charge of violating his probation, after the original conviction and suspended sentence imposed on him and 26 other union miners of this area in the August 1943 trial for alleged violation of the Smith-Connelly Act. They had participated in the general mine strike of that summer which was used as the pretext for pushing through the anti-strike law. On the advice of their legal counsel, they had been persuaded not to contest the charge. The government secured a conviction and, above all, a precedent.

Then the government and steel and mine bosses lay in wait for their first victim. They found him in William Patterson, who had continued to act as an elected mine committeeman and to defend the interests of his brother unionists despite the suspended sentence hanging over his head.

## MINE WALKOUT

Last February 12 and 13 there was a walkout at Vesta No. 4. I have the direct testimony of scores of union men that Patterson had no direct or personal responsibility for the strike. It was informed that on last Saturday over 600 of Patterson's fellow workers had signed a petition stating they were prepared to swear and testify that Patterson could in no way have been responsible for the February walkout.

Subsequently, however, the District 5 UMW officials, for reasons of their own about which the local rank and file are very angry, informed Patterson that he had been suspended from his mine committee post. Local 2399 refused to accept Patterson's resignation under pressure and the subsequent suspension. They felt so keenly about the injustice of this act against Patterson that on May 14 they went on strike for seven days in protest.

But this was the pretext the government had been seeking. The workers yesterday informed me that FBI agents had been in the area since the walkout in April in the fight for the new soft coal contract. Members of Local 2399 were questioned and asked to give "evidence" against Patterson. His probation officer, George O'Brien, had even approached some of the other workers who had been convicted in August 1943 and tried to pressure them into "talking" against Patterson. All the evidence points to a deliberate plot to "get" Patterson.

## PATTERSON ARRESTED

Without any prior warning, on May 21, a federal marshal walked into Bill Patterson's home in Daisytown, a few miles from Richeyville, and arrested him on the charge of Probation Officer O'Brien that he had "violated" his probation because of the February and May strikes. The only "crime" he committed was simply not to be a rat and a scab when the rest of the men walked out. He was whisked away to the Allegheny County Jail here in Pittsburgh and held under a \$2,000 bond.

For three days, his union brothers worked desperately to raise bond to release him. Those who owned little homes were ready and willing to put them up as bond. But the court refused to accept property mortgaged or owned jointly in the name of husband and wife. Every bonding company they approached turned them down. Finally, from one source and another they scraped together the—for them—enormous sum of \$1,000 cash, which the judge accepted as temporary bond.

On Friday, June 1, Patterson was brought for hearing before Federal Judge F. P. Schoonmaker here. From all first-hand accounts of the proceedings that I gathered from the workers who had gone to the hearing as witnesses on Patterson's behalf—although they were never permitted to testify—it was a judicial farce. As one worker put it, "That judge had his mind all made up in advance. Bill never had a chance."

## "NO BEARING"

There were 24 union men who gave up a day's pay and travelled at their own expenses to Pittsburgh in an effort to bring the truth into the federal court. They were forced to sit in angry silence while the judge, prosecuting attorney and probation officer went through the legal hair-splitting necessary to rush Patterson off to jail "strictly according to the law."

The probation officer claimed that the mere fact that Patterson had acted as mine committeeman while he was on proba-

tion was "evidence" that he had "violated" his probation. Whether or not Patterson had any direct responsibility for the strikes, the judge ruled, had "no bearing" on the case. The fact that he had not scabbed, that he had stayed away from work, meant he was "guilty." Of course, the judge stuck to the technicality that this was a case of probation "violation," in order to avoid a hearing on the real issue—the original frame-up under the unconstitutional Smith-Connelly anti-labor law.

When Premo Columbus, a former mine strike of that summer which was used as the pretext for pushing through the anti-strike law. On the advice of their legal counsel, they had been persuaded not to contest the charge. The government secured a conviction and, above all, a precedent.

Then the government and steel and mine bosses lay in wait for their first victim. They found him in William Patterson, who had continued to act as an elected mine committeeman and to defend the interests of his brother unionists despite the suspended sentence hanging over his head.

But the way they put it in court, even if the men went on strike, Bill had to work or go to jail. They said he had to be a scab. He was in a hell of a spot. They had him coming and going. He couldn't stay out when there was a strike or he would be sent to the jug. But he couldn't work even if he wanted to, so they knew they had him."

## DENIED CIGARETTES

As one final dirty piece of reprisal, the men told me, they wouldn't even let his fellow workers slip him some cigarettes before they rushed him off to jail after the judge finally ended the farce and ordered his probation revoked. He was shipped almost immediately to the Uniontown prison, some 65 miles south of here, where he will serve his sentence.

The union local and Patterson's

union brothers are doing all in their power to aid him and his family, his wife Ruby, a 15-year old son and a 20-year old daughter. Yesterday the local meeting decided unanimously to continue the fight for Bill Patterson's release and voted a special assessment to provide his family with the full amount each month he would have earned on the job, so his dependents will not want.

But the obligation to defend Bill Patterson and to see to it that there are no more victims of the Smith-Connelly slave-labor bill must not rest alone on the shoulders of the fine, loyal members of Local 2399. Patterson is "taking the rap" for every militant union man in this country.

From all the facts I have gathered on the scene here, I do not hesitate to state that this case stinks to high heaven from start to finish. Far more than local forces have conspired in Patterson's persecution and imprisonment. It represents a conspiracy on the part of the most powerful federal agencies backed by the greatest anti-labor corporations in the land.

## LABOR MUST PROTEST

Only a storm of united labor protest will tear the veil from this rotten conspiracy and open the prison doors for Bill Patterson. Every labor organization in the country should adopt resolutions of protest to the federal government and send their immediate expressions of support to Local 2399, United Mine Workers, at Richeyville, Pa.

Elementary labor solidarity for a victimized union man demands such action. But even more, the elementary defense of the entire labor movement requires it. For if one militant miner can be persecuted and imprisoned under the vile anti-strike law without thunderous protest from all labor—what worker, what loyal union man fighting for labor's rights, can say today that he won't be next?

## Coal Miners Blaze Trail For Entire Labor Movement

The coal miners blazed the trail for the entire labor movement when, in defiance of the no-strike pledge, they launched their militant struggle for higher wages to meet the rising cost of living. In the spring of 1943 the mine owners refused to grant the slightest concession to their employees. John L. Lewis, president of the United Mine Workers, answered them as follows:

"Mine workers are hungry. They are asking for food, and if they don't get it, and if their contract runs out, it is a safe assumption that the mine workers, in the absence of a contract, will not trespass upon your property the first or second of April this year."

Principal demands of the miners were a \$2 per day increase and a minimum daily wage of \$8. These demands were modest enough. Living costs in the mine districts, according to a UMW survey, had gone up as much as 124.6 percent since 1939. The owners, raking in lush war profits under cost-plus government guarantees, were speeding up production in utter disregard of the safety of the miners. Lewis declared that 64,000 men had been killed and injured in the mines in 1941, 75,000 in 1942, and he placed estimates for 1943 at 100,000.

The strategy of the mine owners was to sit tight and wait for their government representatives to crack down on the miners. Roosevelt launched the attack. He ordered the miners to observe the no-strike pledge and refer their wage demands to the War Labor Board. He followed this up with an order to the operators to extend the union contracts for 30 days.

## SUPPORT FOR MINERS

The overwhelming majority of the ranks of labor supported the miners in their struggle. But a few fakers and Roosevelt-supporters joined the government and operators in attacking the miners. Among them, the Stalinists were the most vociferous. The Daily Worker declared: "The Lewis line is disruption of the war effort and provocation that could only result in irreparable harm to labor. . . He wants to throw the country into a home-front war against the President, not against Hitler."

Roosevelt's next move against the miners was to turn the case over to the War Labor Board, which announced it would apply the Little Steel wage-freeze formula to the miners' wage demands.

The miners answered by strike action. They had already withdrawn their representative on the employer-dominated War Labor Board.

Roosevelt made a nation-wide broadside, attacking the miners, trying to whip up patriotic hysteria against them. Congress and the capitalist press followed

up with an assault that has few parallels in viciousness. Roosevelt then ordered Ickes to operate the mines under government control.

The mine workers turned the edge of this blast by calling a two-week "truce." At the end of it they again found themselves unable to produce coal without a contract.

As Roosevelt turned the screws tighter, the miners met the attack flexibly by calling a second "truce." Finally when the operators, emboldened by the support of the War Labor Board, rejected a compromise proposed by Ickes, the miners walked out of the mines.

## SMITH-CONNALLY ACT

Congress frothed at the mouth over the boldness of the miners and opened debate on the reactionary Smith-Connelly slave-labor bill. William Green, despite his boot-licking of Washington officials, was forced to label this bill as "fascist in character." Philip Murray complained to Roosevelt that it "set aside the Bill of Rights of the United States Constitution."

The War Labor Board followed up by ruthlessly rejecting the miners' wage demands and called on Roosevelt to use "all the powers of the government necessary" to put into effect its decision.

In the face of this tremendous pressure, the miners were forced to call another truce. On June 25 Congress passed the slave-labor Smith-Connelly Act, making it a crime to "coerce, instigate, induce, conspire with or encourage any person to interfere by lock-out, strike, slow down or other interruption with the operations of plants in possession of the government." Roosevelt threatened to draft all striking miners and force them to work under military regulations.

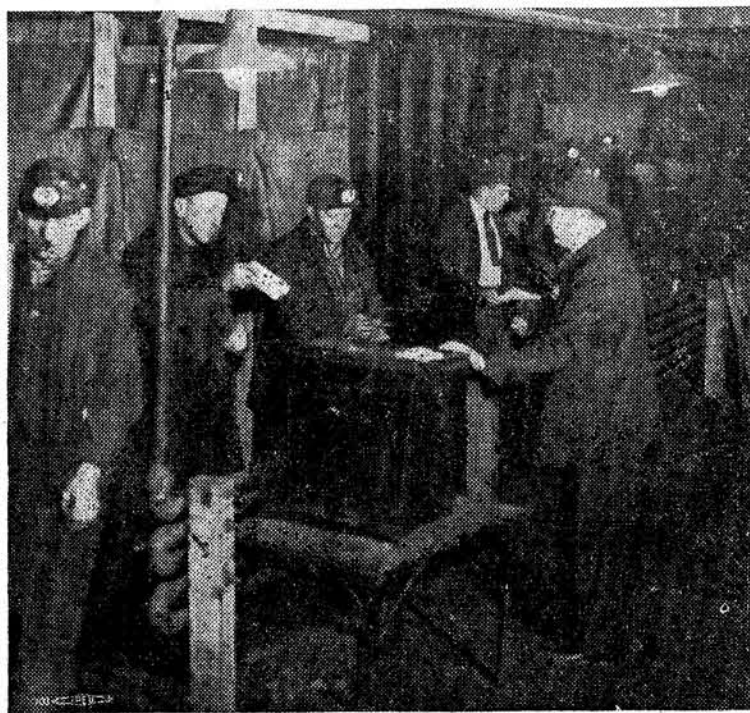
## INGENIOUS TACTICS

The strike movement had completely paralyzed coal production. So aroused were the miners, that even after the passage of the new legislation, tens of thousands continued militant action. Attorney General Biddle, on order of Roosevelt, put the courts into action, indicting 30 strikers as an opening gun in his campaign to terrorize the miners.

Hard experience with the Smith-Connelly Act soon taught the miners some lessons; they devised ingenious tactics to avoid violating its vicious provisions.

In October Ickes began return-

## Miners Casting Strike Vote



Scene at the Pittsburgh Coal Co. Mine at Liberty, Pa., as the soft coal miners voted 8 to 1 for strike action, on March 28, 1945.

## UNION BROTHERS SOLIDLY BEHIND WM. PATTERSON

By Art Preis

RICHEYVILLE, Pa., June 3 — Part of the frame-up against William Patterson, union miner from Daisytown and first imprisoned victim of the Smith-Connelly anti-strike bill, was the story spread by the corporation-dominated daily press that his union wasn't in back of him.

This afternoon I attended the meeting of United Mine Workers Local 2399 here in Richeyville's recreation hall. That's the local to which Bill Patterson belongs and which he has served loyally for many years.

## MEMBERS OUTRAGED

No one was more indignant and outraged by the press reports than Bill's fellow union members. The 1400 union men who worked along with him in the Vesta No. 4 mine are back of him solid—to a man. Their actions on his behalf at the union meeting were a conclusive and inspiring demonstration of union brotherhood and labor solidarity.

When I arrived at the hall, the meeting was already in session. I inquired for one of the officers from the sergeant at arms. To my great pleasure, several of the workers who came out to examine my credentials were men I had met during the July, 1943 strike and whose activities I had then reported in The Militant. Among those who remembered me and the support The Militant gave them two years ago were Steve Panak, president; John Harris, vice-president; Emil Maslow and a number of others.

They welcomed me warmly and were particularly glad I had come to them to get the truth about the frame-up against Bill Patterson. They were so eager to tell the facts and so indignant that they all seemed to talk at once. I caught one sentence that told what they all felt. "Bill Patterson? Why that's the dirtiest, rawest deal ever pulled—a goddam frame-up just to make him an example."

## MILITANT WELCOMED

As they invited me in to attend their meeting, a privilege not accorded to reporters of the capitalist press, they let me know that The Militant is its own best credential. One of the leading members stated with genuine enthusiasm as he greeted me, "Your paper's all right. I read it right along. At first I thought you were just coming out strong for labor before the election. But now I see your paper comes out strong every week."

There were a couple of hundred workers at the meeting. As

ing the mines to the coal operators. At the same time the War Labor Board rejected the contract reached with the Illinois Coal Operators Association.

The reaction of the miners was explosive; 530,000 defied the WLB order to stay on the job. Coal mining throughout the east ceased. The fourth war-time general strike of the miners was on! Their ranks were solid throughout the fields.

On November 3, 1943, Secretary Ickes capitulated, signing an agreement to increase wages \$1.50 a day, with a daily basic wage of \$8.50. The long struggle against so many odds was over. The miners had breached the Little Steel formula. Against the beses and all their agents from the highest government officials down to the lowliest Stalinist slanderer, the miners had shown the American labor movement that the only way to win an increase in wages to meet the rising cost of living is by revoking the no-strike pledge and engaging in militant struggle.

## Imprisoned Miner Has Long Record Of Union Struggle

(Continued from page 1)

of conditions was it his duty to fight against, I asked.

"Well, just to give you an idea of the kind of chiseling the company tries to put over all the time," Panak explained, "we had to have the scales at the tipple checked six times in the past three months. And we found them off balance five out of six times. They're always trying to short-weight us."

Another worker interjected, "And how about the hard slate?" What was that, I asked.

"The company won't pay us for when we have to work on hard slate where you can't get the coal out. We have to pay for the powder to blast the slate where we can't get any coal out." "If you want to know about chiseling, like Bill always had to fight against," another stated, "it's like the company putting supervisory monthly salary men, who're non-union, to doing the jobs that're under union contract — taking the work from the union men."

Then they told me about the terrible accidents that are always happening in the mine. They told me case after case of men killed, maimed, seriously injured, in the past few months alone because the company doesn't maintain proper equipment and safety conditions.

One worker was killed last Good Friday. Another was killed by a fall of rock on April 23. His brother had been badly hurt at the very same spot only the week before. Another man recently had his leg cut off. He was struck by a trip of coal — he had no man-way to go into on the haulage road. Another recently had his arm "cut clean off" by a fall of rock. Dozens of others have been injured — too numerous to mention.

Those are the conditions that Bill Patterson has fought against for 17 years. "He was a good fighter for the men — that's why they made him the goat!" That's how one worker summed it up, explaining why Bill Patterson is sitting in prison in Uniontown today.

I asked about Bill's wife and family, because I was unable to get over to Daisytown to visit his home in time to get a report in to The Militant.

"Naturally, she's very shocked and upset by what they put onto Bill," said one of the men who'd been to see her to find out what the union could do for her.

"Bill's wife, Ruby, is right with the union. She's a real miner's wife. Brought up in a miner's family. She knows what the miners have to put up with. Why I bet you she's been put out on the road three or four times with her family back in some of the strikes in the 'twenties."

The miners here aren't going to let Bill Patterson and his "real miner's wife" down. And it's up to the rest of labor not to let them down either.

caught either way, if he went to work or if he didn't go to work during the strikes. He was framed in advance no matter what he did. They just wanted one man to be the goat. Then if the rest don't keep in line, they can go after them."

But the Local 2399 members didn't express their sentiments in mere words. Every man felt his responsibility to Bill Patterson's family to continue the legal fight on his behalf. One worker declared: "He's taken the rap for you and me. He was on the mine committee and he put up a fight for us. We got to raise one dollar apiece from every man in the local for a fund to take care of Bill's family and to see that they get the same money coming in as if he were on the job."

That motion was passed with a resounding, unanimous "Aye!" Another motion that was also enthusiastically endorsed was that "each and every pay day the officers of the local shall go up to the Uniontown jail and personally give Bill Patterson the money to send his wife."

As the maker of the motion explained: "He's big enough to take the rap for us, and we have to be big enough to visit him personally every two weeks, and give him the money personally, and let him know that we're behind him and going to do everything we can for him and his family."

That's the kind of union men Bill Patterson represents. That's the kind of solid, loyal union he fought to build. It is for their sake, as well as his, that American labor must fight against the frame-up of Bill Patterson and the vicious law that threatens to put other good union men behind prison bars.



## Diary of a STEEL WORKER

By Theodore Kovalesky

When we got the contract, there was an escape clause in it that said any member was entitled to leave the union within a specified time. There had been a lot of grumbling, a good measure of anger against the way Murray was handling the negotiations for the seventeen cents and all the other demands. So some of us wouldn't have been too surprised if a number of the fellows had quit the union.

We went around trying to sniff out news, telling everybody that there was one main enemy, and that was the company; and that if they quit the union, in spite of the way they felt about Murray, they would be playing into the company's hands.

Well, I don't know if we convinced them. Perhaps they had never intended to quit in the first place. Anyway, in the entire local, only two men dropped out. One of them was Ralph Perkins.

I hated to see Ralph quit the union. You hate to see anyone quit, but when you see somebody like Ralph, somebody with all kinds of courage and a fairly good head on his shoulders do a fool thing like that, it sort of gets you.



## Good Union Man Goes Wrong

Ralph is a pipefitter in our department. He's a long, lean, hungry-looking man with a cynical twist to his mouth. During the organizing drive, he was one of the strong union men after we finally convinced him that the union was worthwhile. His main trouble was too much individualism.

Time after time I used to go after Ralph about using the grievance procedure. "Hell, man," I used to say, "We've got a set-up for handling these cases. Why do you want to be running around trying to take a sock at the boss?"

Ralph would look disgusted and mutter, "Aw, and do the same thing all over again the next day. Once he had a scrap with old Nick up on Number Three and just walked off the job by himself and went home. Naturally that didn't do him any good. They got another pipefitter to finish the job, and Ralph lost a half day's pay. Besides that, the argument (I forget what it was now) was never settled, and it may come up again any time Ralph and Nick come together in the department."

"What's the use," he'd say concerning the union. "You can't get these guys to stick together. What's the union got for us in the last four or five years? Nothing!" So Ralph decided to quit the union.

I think he'll see now whether the union helped him or not. Next time he starts threatening a foreman during an argument he won't be wearing a union button. Next time he walks off by himself there won't be anyone to back him up. He's going to understand what it means to be the lone wolf he says he is.

## No One Can Be Neutral

But there's another point, and it's one that I know Ralph doesn't understand.

Ralph, the man who wasn't afraid of the boss or anyone else, has "gone company." He has taken his place with the thugs and scabs, with the labor-hater. I guess he doesn't see that he can't be neutral, that there's an organized struggle going on between the workers and the bosses, and that any action such as his aids the enemies of the workers.

I guess he never figured that when he left the union, he was going over to the giant corporation that makes its profits out of the straining backs and bitter sweat of its workers and out of the poverty and insecurity of the workers' families. Ralph certainly never considered the fact that by leaving us he was walking into the other camp, going over to the thugs, the scabs, and the club-swinging, tear gas-throwing cops and saying, "Brothers, here I come!"

Hell, no! Ralph never looked at that angle. When he does, he'll join up again, if he's the man I think he is.

## RISE IN MINE DEATHS DUE TO OWNERS' GREED

Last year American coal miners produced a total of 684,500,000 tons of anthracite and bituminous coal. This was an increase of 31,000,000 tons over 1943 and more than the combined production of the rest of the world.

But safety measures to protect the lives of these great producers of wealth still remain "the most backward in the world, not even excepting China," as Thomas A. Kennedy, secretary-treasurer of the United Mine Workers of America stated last year.

Since 1940, the mine owners in their mad scramble for war profits, have speeded up operations and neglected even the former inadequate safety precautions, resulting in the sharpest rise of mine casualties in two decades. Every year hundreds are killed and tens of thousands injured, some of them permanently. With figures for 1943 and 1944 incomplete, the terrible toll mounts:

Year	Dead	Injured
1940	1,308	59,781
1941	1,266	63,465
1942	1,482	72,000
1943	1,470 (incomplete)	
1944	1,306 (incomplete)	

## LAWS DISREGARDED

Unsafe working conditions, sub-standard equipment, perfunctory inspection or none at all, and the terrific speed-up — all due to the greedy drive for more profits by the mine owners — are responsible for the deaths and injuries. Federal and state safety laws are cynically disregarded by the mine owners.

Some of the mines are inadequately ventilated and men are suffocated by the poisonous fumes which arise after an explosion. Rock-dusting to prevent and control explosions is inadequate and hit-or-miss, and

miners are blown to bits. Faulty electrical equipment, substandard and non-permissible, is used with fatal consequences. Men are overcome by gas fumes because of the lack of a gas detector. Inexcusable negligence caused deaths through the falls of roof and coal, breakdown of shafts and machinery. High on the list of deaths are those caused by haulage.

Chief underlying factor is the speed-up which reaps profits for the mine owners but dea's death and disaster to the miners. Three shift operations, lengthened work day and work week, multiply all the hazards, and no time is available for proper inspection, repairing and installation of safety equipment. The miners' energy is burned up, nervous reactions become less keen, they cannot keep their safety measures abreast of operations.

One prominent operator boasted that the third shift and speed-up was "where we'll get the last squeal out of our investment." For hundreds of miners every year this means the last squeal, too.

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# Stalinists Officially Adopt New Policy

(Continued from page 1)

ing class. Thus the second paragraph of the resolution complains correctly that "the economic and social roots of fascism in Europe have not yet been destroyed."

But the resolution avoids saying what steps must be taken to destroy the roots of fascism. The roots of fascism are in capitalism itself, so that to destroy fascism one must destroy capitalism. But Stalin and his henchmen abroad want to preserve capitalism. Stalin fears the socialist revolution just as the capitalists do. That is why the decayed capitalist system is being propped up throughout Europe by Stalin and his allies.

The resolution's empty generalities about destroying the roots of fascism are really designed to provide radical window-dressing for Stalin's oppressive policy in Germany, which the resolution formulates as follows: "Make Germany pay full reparations in labor and in kind for the reconstruction of Europe."

## ANTI-LABOR POLICY

Whatever happens meanwhile over the German question, the resolution makes clear that the CPA will continue class peace with American capitalism for the duration of the war against Japan. It supports this war and will continue its anti-strike policy while avoiding its previous crass formula of "national unity of capital and labor." The CPA resolution affirms exactly the same policy by calling for "the democratic unity of the nation" and cooperation "with the patriotic and democratic forces from all walks of life." What these "forces" are the resolution does not say, except that it condemns the "du Pont clique in the leadership of the National Association of Manufacturers." That leaves quite a lot of Big Business to continue cooperating with.

The resolution interlards this real continuing line of class collaboration with a series of promises and half-promises of a change to militancy, not only after the war but also immediately.

## STILL AGAINST STRIKES

In the trade unions, for example, the resolution no longer urges support of the labor-management committees of which the Stalinists hitherto have been the warmest supporters. The Daily Worker a few days ago carried the news that two Stalinist-controlled locals had withdrawn from a labor-management committee. Without directly condemning the Little Steel formula, the resolution calls for an immediate 20 per cent wage increase. Likewise it calls for no reduction in weekly take-home pay when overtime is eliminated, etc. All this is negated for all practical purposes, however, because the key weapon with which the unions can fight for these things is rejected by the resolution—wartime strikes.

In the international arena the resolution raises many radical slogans. It calls for "a free democratic Asia with the right of national independence for all colonial and dependent peoples." But this is hypocrisy, for the Stalinist leaders well know that the Truman administration is openly committed to seizing control of the colonies it is wresting from Japan, to maintaining strategic bases in the Philippines which will nullify her formal independence, etc. The first step toward seriously fighting for colonial independence would have to be political opposition to the imperialist government. But the CPA resolution on the contrary, commits it to support of that government. The same criticism applies to the resolution's call to "put an end to Anglo-American intervention against the peoples such as in Greece, Belgium and Italy." It is impossible to fight against the basic policies of the government while one is supporting that same government.

The resolution pretends one can do both at the same time. It treats each objectionable action of the Truman administration as accidental "mistakes" which can be corrected by the pressure

of "the patriotic and democratic forces from all walks of life." But one has only to list the Administration's actions to which the various sections of the resolution object—the government's policy on China, Argentina, Spain, Greece, Belgium, Italy, Germany, the "many recent actions of the State Department," the government's failure to curb monopolies and cartels, etc.—to see that the alleged "mistakes" add up to the basic policy of the Truman administration. The resolution's pretense that these "mistakes" can be corrected by supporting Truman is hopelessly illogical. What is involved, of course, is not an error in logic but a coldly calculated program of continuing support of the government while deceiving the workers with radical talk.

In addition to radical-sounding slogans, the resolution creates the impression of an actual immediate change of line by repeating the Duclos article's criticism of Browder's policies. Browder, who never initiated anything in his life, much less in his past two decades of servile obedience to the Kremlin, is being made the scapegoat for a past policy which essentially still continues.

For example the resolution (without naming him) accuses Browder of "tendencies to obscure the class nature of bourgeois democracy." What, however, can more serve to obscure the class nature of bourgeois democracy than the resolution's support of Truman? And its failure to state that his bourgeois-democratic government is, as Marx put it, nothing but the executive committee of the capitalist class?

## ON THE COLONIES

Similarly the resolution chides Browder's support of "the possibility of achieving the national liberation of the colonial and dependent countries through arrangements between the great powers." But the same resolution calls for independence for Puerto Rico and Asia as part of a program for the Truman administration of which the Stalinists are going to remain loyal supporters. In short, the resolution repeats the basic errors of which it pretends to accuse Browder.

Coupled with new slogans and criticism of past policy is a third device to create the impression of an actual change in line: a purge of the leadership. "We must refresh and strengthen the personnel of all responsible leading committees," says the resolution.

Browder himself—who is listed as voting against the resolution, the first time in many years that something wasn't unanimous—appears slated for demotion. One should not think for a moment that Browder is really resisting the new shift in line: He has somersaulted with the greatest nimbleness each time the line has changed. On June 22, 1941 for example, the "imperialist war" became a democratic war for him overnight. Precisely because there is no actual present change in line, however, the maneuver requires scapegoats in order to give it the semblance of a change.

## 'INNER DEMOCRACY'

"We must establish genuine inner democracy and self-criticism throughout our organization," says the resolution. This is quite an admission about the past, but scarcely means that the totalitarian regime inside the CPA will be relaxed.

A semi-weekly bulletin is to be issued as a supplement to the Daily Worker during the membership discussion of the resolution. We safely hazard the prediction that not a single contribution in the bulletin will go beyond the criticism contained in the Duclos article and the resolution. No one will be permitted to question any part of the basic Stalinist line: support of the imperialists in the war, continued support of the war against Japan, participation of the Stalinists in capitalist governments, the use of slave labor, etc. From beginning to end, the whole business is a masquerade in which no honest worker's voice will be given a hearing.

# Why Millions of Women Workers Don't Have 'That American Look'

By Grace Carlson

"What Is The American Look?" In a recent issue of Life magazine, this question appears as the title of an article in which Dorothy Shaver, first vice-president of the exclusive New York department store, Lord & Taylor, tries to analyze the basic characteristics of American women. Illustrations of well-groomed, expensively-dressed girls are spread lavishly through the pages of the article.

The whole thing was very irritating to a New York reader of The Militant who sent the clipping to me last week. Here is the letter which accompanied it:

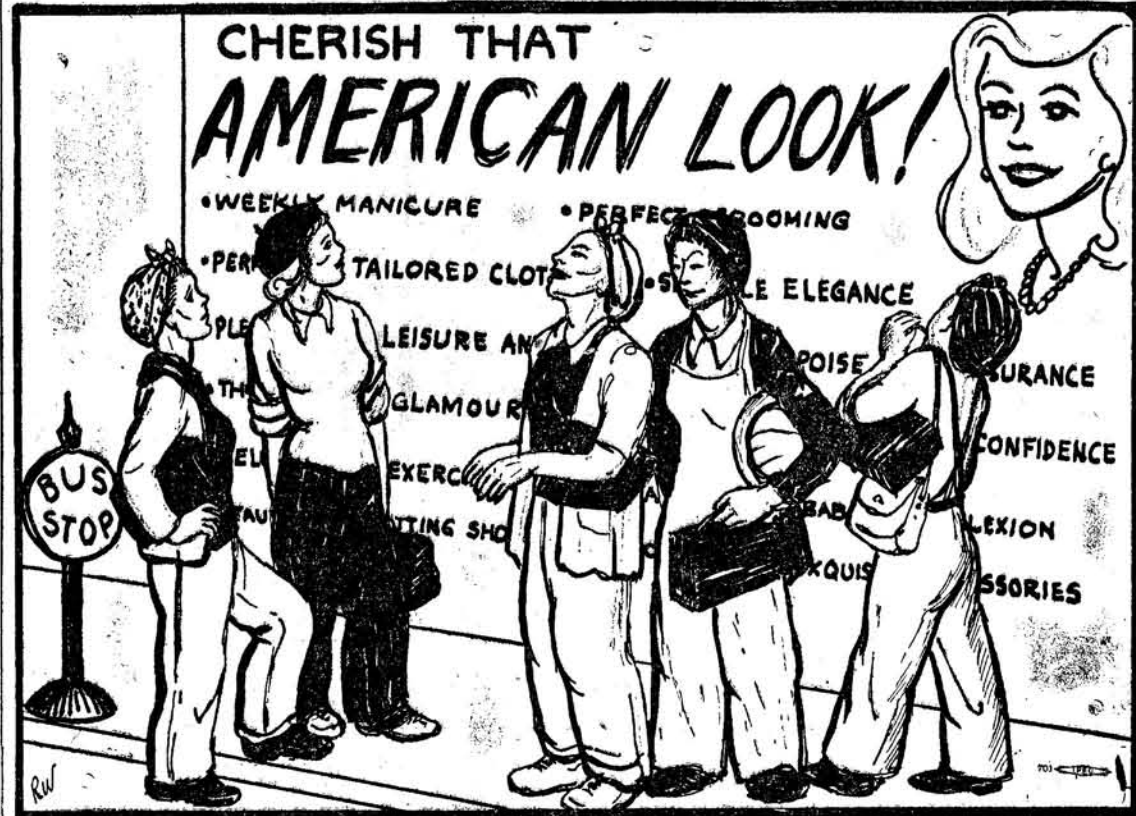
MADE HER BOIL  
"I read The Militant every week... Since I am a woman, your articles about housewives, etc. especially appeal to me. How right you are! I came across the picture magazine Life this week and want to send you a piece out of it—something that makes one boil up in reading it."

"I don't have to say much about it. You just look at it and you will see why a hard-working housewife and mother (that's what I am now; I used to be a waitress) gets mad at reading a thing like that. I don't look like those girls and the waitresses I worked with didn't either. Do you? Or the girls you see in the subways before or after working hours?"

By an interesting coincidence, another letter that also came in last week had some good answers to this woman reader's angry questions. This letter was from Doctor Antoinette Konikow, whose intimate knowledge of women's health problems and her equally extensive information about the heavy burdens of women factory workers give her a double right to speak on this subject. Here is Comrade Konikow's letter:

BEAUTY AND COSMETICS  
"Your article on 'The Right to Be Beautiful,' in which you discuss the use of cosmetics and beauty aids, awoke a few thoughts that I should like to share with your readers. I have lived for almost three-quarters of a century and in my youth we never used cosmetics. In fact, the use of them was considered indecent. And still we had beauty and romance. How do you explain the present situation? It seems to me that women's entry into industry has a great deal to do with it."

"While rich ladies use cosmetics to cover up their pale



faces acquired during Society's winter whirl of endless nights of drinking and dancing, women who work in factories and shops have pale and tired faces because of physical exhaustion due to overwork, bad air, hurried lunches and their whole life of rush and worry.

"The working woman uses cosmetics, not only for her own satisfaction — to have a nice appearance or to attract possible romance — but she has to look well and attractive to keep her job. I think that if women would lead a healthy and normal life, their faces would look different. They would acquire the rosy cheeks that we had in our youth and the bright eyes and the red lips."

"To me cosmetics are an expression of our unhealthy life under capitalism. It is not an important issue but it is just as well to understand that changes in women's work affect even the most minute forms of their life. This doesn't mean that I condemn cosmetics. I think that we shall have to use them for quite a while yet!"

UNHEALTHY LIFE  
Of course, Comrade Konikow is completely right in saying that good health is the basis for good looks. The Life magazine writer says this, too, and argues that all American girls have a chance to grow up strong and healthy. "The glow of health"

she points out, is the most distinctive feature of the "American Look." Besides this basic factor, she feels that another important element of the American Look is "an unaffected elegance in make-up and dress." And all of this is supposedly the heritage of every American woman!

Leaving aside the fact that even fairly well-paid women workers cannot hope to achieve "an unaffected elegance in make-up and dress," the main reason why millions of American working women and working-class housewives do not have this so-called typical American Look is that they cannot afford good health.

## HEALTH ESSENTIALS

Good health means a well-balanced diet—plenty of milk, meat, fresh fruit and vegetables. Good health means enough rest and sleep and this is impossible for women who carry the double burden of industrial work and household. Good health means proper medical care, besides, especially before and after childbirth.

I'd like to meet the woman reader who sent me the article from Life magazine. I can tell from her letter that she's a fighter. I'm sure that she would have a look of determination on her face—determination to do something about the injustices of this system. Some day that's going to become a very widespread American Look!

## Hunger Paralyzes Greece As Allies Hold Down Relief

Conditions in British-occupied Greece continue steadily to worsen. In the Dodecanese islands, people are dropping in the streets from starvation and the famine is almost as bad in the rest of the country. Unseasonable hot weather may burn up the wheat crop, further reducing prospects of improvement in the near future.

Meanwhile shipments of relief supplies by the Allies continue to be an utterly inadequate trickle. The ration of sugar has been slashed this month to 13 ounces per person. Milk is unavailable save for pitifully small amounts of powdered and condensed milk ear-marked for "children and invalids and nursing or prospective mothers." Shoes are selling for \$30 a pair and up.

## 'FREEDOM FROM WANT'

The United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration is bitterly criticized by the starving people. They observe that the large, well-paid staff does not even release stocks that do arrive, but simply hands them over to the British puppet government. The miserable amount of relief actually sent consists principally of dried beans, peas and powdered soups. To obtain other necessities of life, these products must be traded on the black market.

The UNRRA has promised repeatedly to get more supplies to Greece and to see that they are fairly distributed. But goods now arriving, according to Hal Lehrman, special correspondent of the New York PM in his May 30 dispatch, are "piled on the docks of the port cities or in the warehouses of larger regional centers." Remote mountain regions where famine is most acute are receiving scarcely anything, the bulk of a down of transportation adding to the appalling obstacles facing the Greek people in securing relief.

On top of this, the puppet regime shows gross favoritism in its distributions. "The Greek Government," reports the New York Times of May 27, "sells a monthly ration to those able to pay and gives a free one to the destitute. It is admitted that some people cannot pay the cost though they cannot qualify as indigent. . . . It was explained that local Mayors, in their zeal to collect revenue, were cutting down the number of free rations."

## FOOD AND POLITICS

"Zeal to collect revenue," however, is of secondary importance to manipulation of food distribution as a political weapon. "Provincial officials have been free to distribute relief according to their political bias or personal whim or not to distribute at all," declares Hal Lehrman. "Most flagrant has been the discrimination by Rightist and Royalist members of the government against Republicans and Leftists."

The use of food as a political weapon is clearly revealed in Lehrman's report that Premier Voulgaris is to announce any acceleration of relief by UNRRA. "Insiders believe the position of his government will be greatly strengthened."

The Voulgaris government is thus withholding food from the Partisans who fought British troops and native forces of reac-

## Hoover Used Food As Weapon To Subdue European Peoples

By Bill Morgan

Are you hungry? Could you use a big juicy steak and some butter and eggs? Sure—the answer is simple! But you are willing to sacrifice—to do without these things and more if it means feeding the millions of your fellow workers and their families in war-torn Europe. Workers have always helped one another in time of strike and other disasters—and no questions asked.

But, as a worker, you are suspicious of bosses. You know how the boss in your plant is always chiselling on the union agreement. And you know the bosses are handling the distribution of food that's being sent to Greece and France and the other countries of Europe. So let's take a look at how the bosses are handling the food.

## HOOPER'S POLICIES

After the last war Herbert Hoover—remember him?—was in charge of feeding the starving millions in every country devastated by the war. How did he manage the job? In a letter to Oswald Garrison Villard, quoted by Louis Fisher in "The Soviets in World Affairs," published in 1930, Mr. Hoover revealed the real role of American relief:

"The whole of American policy during the liquidation of the armistice was to contribute everything it could to prevent Europe from going Bolshevik."

In an article in "Collier's" in November, 1942 Hoover wrote: "A weak government possessed of the weapon of food for starving people can preserve and strengthen itself more effectively than by arms. Therefore, in our major operations we sought to work through these governments even at the price of lost efficiency."

## SAVED CAPITALISM

In other words Herbert Hoover, acting in the interests of American capitalism, shackled the workers of Europe to the rotten capitalist governments

in Greece the food is turned over to the government set up by the British and Americans brass hats. This government represses the interests of British and American capitalism. It was established over the mass protest of the Greek workers. And even the UNRRA has had to protest over the manner in which this food is being withheld from all who disagree with the Greek government. Only the rich and their stooges eat, while millions of Greek peasants and workers starve.

Just the other day President Truman called in ex-President Hoover to discuss the food situation in Europe and the policy of the UNRRA. The discussion was not made public, but Hoover's policy is no secret and the methods he used in 1919-20 are already being employed today in France and Belgium. The fear of revolution in Europe will drive the bosses to deliberate starving of people even though the warehouses are full of food sent from America.

## A Correction in Railroad Figures

Editor: A typographical error was made in the publication of my article, "Postwar Job Prospects in Railroad Industry," in The Militant, May 26.

The paragraph in error reads: "The figures show then that in 1920 with 61,257 locomotives (75,000 less than in 1920) one million more tons of freight was hauled with 400,000 fewer employees."

The story should have said: "The figures show then that in 1929 with 61,257 locomotives (7,500 less than in 1920) 150,000 more tons of freight was hauled with 400,000 fewer employees."

John Russo

## The NEGRO STRUGGLE

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

## Einstein Confounds Race-Haters

It has recently been revealed that Albert Einstein, one of the world's foremost scientific geniuses, also holds very progressive views as far as the race question is concerned. This fact was made clear in an interview with Earl Conrad which was reported in the Chicago Defender of May 19, 1945.

Taking an unequivocal position on full Negro equality, Einstein stated: "I do not believe in any kind of superiority of the white people." Any "white supremacy" which exists he ascribes to "technical superiority" due to environment and opportunity which are denied the vast majority of Negroes. This would negate the false idea that a man must necessarily be inferior simply because his skin is dark.

Speaking from the scientist's viewpoint, he believes that "animals (including the human species) who can have children together (which is true of the members of all races) are not very profoundly different from each other."

Replying to Conrad's query as to his opinion of the Negro's demand for "full integration into the life of America" this noted scientist replied without reservation that such was "a desirable objective."

EINSTEIN'S COURAGE  
Those who are still tainted with the racial prejudices which have been pumped into them since childhood, should mark well the words of Prof. Einstein. Here is one of the greatest thinkers, a recognized authority in the complex field of astrophysics and proponent of the Theory of Relativity, so profound in its scope that it has revolutionized the approach to the entire field of physics. Here is this same mind expressing the view that there is no such thing as inherent racial inferiority. His courage in putting forth his views should also be marked well by some of our fence-straddling leaders who claim that they can't say all that they think "because of their position." Their positions, compared to that of Einstein, dwarf into nothingness.

Furthermore, this eminent research scientist has found the time and mental energy to investigate and arrive at some partial conclusions concerning the political and economic forces which spawn the false notions upon which anti-Negro and anti-Jewish prejudice are built.

When questioned concerning any possible connection between the Negro and other "minority" questions he openly stated the following analysis: "Of course. This is all con-

As one would expect from a man with such progressive ideas, Einstein agreed that white and Negro labor, that is, the workers as a class and regardless of color, should unite for the purpose of advancing the interests of both. This, of course, is a truth first arrived at, explained and propounded by Karl Marx. His words of a hundred years ago are quoted by The Militant at the top of this column each week.

It is also significant that Einstein was not so naive as to think that so-called "V-E Day" would bring the millennium. He realizes that the very same forces of capitalist exploitation which caused the rise of Hitler are still alive and kicking today. From his statements one can easily see that he expects war and suffering until the capitalist system itself is replaced.

He said: "The fall of Berlin does not mean the end of fascism. . . . there are fascists in America, too."

Although mistakenly counting on the "moral" forces (which, in reality, can only reflect the present economic corruption) Einstein does admit that in bringing progressive changes (such as the French and Russian Revolutions) "everybody has to do his share so that it may not take too much time."

## TROTSKYISTS SUPPORT FIGHT FOR LIBERATION OF COLONIES

By its very creation of enormous difficulties and dangers for the imperialist metropolitan centers, the war opens up wide possibilities for the oppressed peoples. The rumbling of cannon in Europe heralds the approaching hour of their liberation.

If a program of peaceful social transformation is Utopian for the advanced capitalist countries, then the program of peaceful liberation for the colonies is doubly Utopian. On the other hand, the last of the semi-free backward countries have been enslaved before our eyes (Ethiopia, Albania, China. . . .).

The entire present war is a war over colonies. They are hunted by some; held by others who refuse to give them up. Neither side has the least intention of liberating them voluntarily. The declining metropolitan centers are impelled to drain away as much as possible from the colonies and to give them in return as little as possible. Only the direct and open revolutionary struggle of the enslaved peoples can clear the road for their emancipation.

In the colonial and semi-colonial countries the struggle for an independent national state, and consequently the "defense of the fatherland," is different in principle from that of the imperialist countries. The revolutionary proletariat of the whole world gives unconditional support to the struggle of China or India for national inde-

pendence, for this struggle, "by tearing the backward people out of the Asiatic system, particularly and foreign bondage strikes powerful blows at imperialism."

At the same time the Fourth International knows in advance and openly warns the backward nations that their belated national states can no longer count upon an independent democratic development. Surrounded by decaying capitalism and enmeshed in the imperialist contradictions, the independence of a backward state inevitably will be semi-fictitious and its political regime under the influence of internal class contradictions and external pressure, will unavoidably fall into dictatorship against the people—such is the regime of the "People's" party in Turkey, the Kuoimintang in China; Gandhi's regime will be similar tomorrow in India.

The struggle for the national independence of the colonies is, from the standpoint of the revolutionary proletariat, only a transitional stage on the road toward drawing the backward countries into the international socialist revolution.

(From "Manifesto of the 4th International on the Imperialist War and the Proletarian Revolution," pp. 23-24. Pioneer Publishers, 1940.)



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# Arabs Beat Back French Colonial Despots

(Continued from page 1)

tum to DeGaulle demanding French troops cease fire and return to their barracks to keep out of the way of incoming British troops. In actual fact, as DeGaulle tartly pointed out, the British troops were already there in Syria, the Ninth Army, far larger than the 10,000 French troops and 20,000 natives under French command.

The immediate motivation for British and U. S. intervention was in all probability the urgent necessity to end the spectacle of a "democracy" shooting down citizens of a country whose formal independence as of June 1, 1944 was guaranteed by all the Allies. But DeGaulle is certainly correct in charging that the British are playing their own game in Syria. In control of all the rest of the Middle East—the other four Arab countries, Egypt, Syria, Trans-Jordan, Saudi Arabia and Yemen—the British imperialists have a long history of undermining French influence in Syria and Lebanon, in order to be absolutely dominant in the Mediterranean.

## IMPERIALIST AIMS

In his June 2 statement, De Gaulle was equally unanswerable when he declared he had tried to do no more than the other imperialists are doing, "to place for France certain bases in the Orient, as Britain places bases and as the United States is even now placing."

Plagiarizing Churchill's own alibi for refusing to grant India independence, DeGaulle said that bringing Syria to independence is "not easy," because of "Syria's mixture of different religions, different territories, different nationalities." Precisely unity of the Syrian people against French imperialism, however, brought DeGaulle to a fiasco.

On June 2, simultaneously with DeGaulle's statement, the Kremlin moved into the picture,

apparently in connivance with the French government. Churchill's invitation to DeGaulle to come to London for a U. S.-British-French conference for a Syrian settlement was countered by both French and Russian proposals for a conference which would also include the Kremlin. Such a conference, said DeGaulle, must deal with "the whole question" of the Middle East.

## WHAT IT MEANS

For France, this would mean raising questions affecting British spheres of influence. For Russia, it would mean a new stage in the Kremlin's expansionist plans: a demand for an entryway for Soviet shipping into the Mediterranean, i. e., special Soviet rights in Turkey's Dardanelles. In return for DeGaulle's support, the Kremlin will help him get out of this mess at the expense of the Syrian people. This is indicated by the French Communist party's continued support of the DeGaulle government and the party's statement of May 31 in favor of "France's traditional influence in the Near East."

This was DeGaulle's second use of force in an attempt to retrieve the French grip on Syria and Lebanon which DeGaulle promised independence in June, 1941. No doubt he thought to repeat the trickery of World War I when, while the Arab peoples fought on the side of the Allies in return for a promise of independence the British and French signed the secret Sykes-Picot agreement of 1916 dividing the Middle East between them.

But the Arabs had learned from the previous British-French treachery. On November 9, 1943 the Chamber of Deputies of Lebanon voted the country's full sovereignty and independence. Immediately after the vote, French police occupied newspaper offices, arrested Lebanese government officials, and French Scenagalese soldiers fired on demonstrators protesting the arrests in Beirut and Tripoli. Street fighting went on for days. The French, like the British in India, tried to play on religious differences, but this time it failed; Moslems and Christians stood united. In Egypt students demonstrated in Cairo, shouting "We are soldiers of Lebanon."

On November 21 dispatch from the Lebanon frontier reported that a general strike in all the large towns of Lebanon was in its twelfth day. The next day, pressure from Britain, exerted for the same reasons as now, forced the French to retreat and release the arrested Lebanese officials. A week later, inspired by the example of Lebanon, the Syrian Chamber of Deputies voted to remove from the Constitution all references to French privileges. Then as now it was the struggle of the Arab masses which won their fight against French imperialism.

## French Bombs Hit 10,000 Victims In Algiers Revolt

French armed forces killed or wounded more than 10,000 Algerian Arabs in a nine day campaign early in May, according to Stars and Stripes, the U. S. Army newspaper. The news had been suppressed by the French censorship until released by the Army paper.

The bloody repression was the answer of French imperialism to demands of starving colonials for food. French bombers smashed entire native villages in the mountain area near Constantine, Algeria. The airmen flew as many as 300 sorties in a single day. The medium and heavy bombers they used were based in the United States.

"Entire communities of thatched and dirt homes were leveled," said Stars and Stripes. "French fighters in British-made aircraft followed up the bombers to strafe the fleeing population or dive-bomb Arab strongholds in the mountains."

## REVOLT AGAINST HUNGER

An uprising of the Algerian people against French rule had brought about the military action, said Stars and Stripes. "While the severe shortage of food is regarded as one of the primary reasons for the revolt, interwoven with it are the always-present political complications of French colonial policy." Meaning that the Algerians want to rid themselves of French rule!

In the early stages of the revolt, 97 Europeans, mostly French colonial administrators and wealthy residents of the Constantine area were reported killed.

Among the first victims, according to other sources, were Stalists. One local Communist Party secretary was killed, others beaten. The anger of the Algerian masses arose from the support to French imperialism offered by the Algerian Communist Party. Last spring this party had suddenly stopped demanding against imperialism and instead took a stand against the Algerians.

Algeria is now suffering famine. Rations have been reduced to 500 calories a day, about five slices of bread. In Little Kabylia little villages have been abandoned by desperate people seeking food. Fields have been torn up in the frenzied hunt for edible roots.

## Typhus Strikes in 'Liberated' France

Typhus, the deadly disease caused by overcrowding and hunger, has broken out in Paris, according to an announcement by the Ministry of Health in the French capital. Officials said "we do not have the necessary medicines to handle an epidemic," United Press reported.

## French "Democracy" in Syria



## U. S. Big Business Chiefs Take Charge Of Germany

By Harry Martell

Germany stands on the verge of famine. The American 15th Army now occupying Germany has issued a statement that there are foodstuffs on hand to last the civilian population "possibly" through the month of June. Up to now, according to the same statement, "displaced persons" have been "supplied with food from German stocks rather than from imports."

The Allied conquerors of the European continent have no intention of helping the German masses to avoid this terrible ordeal of hunger, disease and death that is now in the making. Where only a trickle of food has been allowed to enter the "liberated" countries, Germany is to be starved out completely.

## IMPERIALIST PLANS

This enforced starvation takes place against a background of plans to prevent the economic reconstruction and revival of Germany. In a memorandum issued by Bernard Baruch, the veteran Wall Street adviser to the White House, the plans are set forth: "We must keep Germany... from re-establishing herself as a great industrial nation ready to make war." His memorandum contemplates extracting the maximum possible reparations from Germany while there is to be no "normalcy of trade to return to as regards Germany." In Baruch's plan the needs of the German masses are subordinated to the attempt to keep German capitalism from again becoming a competitor to American imperialism. At the same time the masses are to be compelled to pay the last ounce in tribute to the Allied conquerors.

Meanwhile Big Business is moving into positions of control in Germany to extract its share of the spoils of victory and to

insure that whatever profits derive from German industry in the future are garnered by U. S. capitalism. The following is a partial list of the agents of America's 60 families who have been appointed by the Allied Control Council to supervise and control German economy:

## THE MEN IN CONTROL

R. J. Wysox, former president of Republic Steel, is to supervise metallurgical operations in Germany.

Edward S. Zduneck, formerly head of General Motors at Antwerp, to supervise the engineering section.

Phillip Gaethke, formerly connected with Anaconda Copper and manager of its smelters and mines in Upper Silesia before the war, to direct mining operations in the American zone.

Phillip P. Clover, of Socony Vacuum of New York, to head the oil section of the fuel and mining branch.

To enforce this system of economic strangulation and robbery of the German masses by U. S. monopoly interests, military occupation of Germany is to continue indefinitely. In a report on the coming meeting of the top generals of the Allied and Soviet armies, the Paris correspondent of the N. Y. Times (May 31st) states that "there is nowhere any indication that these controls will be relaxed."

Wherever civilian administration has been established as in the Rhine Province it is nothing but a farce, and more or less openly recognized as such. The same correspondent states that one of the subjects for discussion by the generals is "the extent of self-government that can be entrusted to the Germans within the limits of a harsh code of military sovereignty by the Western Allies in their respective spheres of occupation."

## Workers in Milan Disarmed; Called Thugs, 'Fascists'

By Paul Abbott

Allied reaction is moving ahead step by step in its drive to entrench itself in northern Italy. In Milan, where the working class meted out justice to Mussolini and his gang, the Allied Military Government has begun to disarm the Partisans. This is a repetition of the procedure followed in Greece, where the British upon landing troops in the areas liberated from the German armies by Partisans, proceeded to call upon these same Partisans to surrender their arms. The British then provoked civil war and attacked the revolutionary masses.

The excuse utilized by the Allies in demanding the Italian Partisans to give up their arms is a transparent lie. Although Milan was liberated only a few weeks ago by the anti-fascist Partisans, Allied propaganda now declares that "gangsters and fascists" are "masquerading as Partisans." These "gangsters and fascists" are alleged to be committing "crimes ranging from common thievery to rape and murder." "No night," says the New York Times of May 31, has "been free of at least several fatal shootings in Milan since the liberation of the city. In the first days of May there were several bad nights when more than twenty people were killed in the streets."

## SLANDER CAMPAIGN

The Allied propaganda insinuates that "the people of Milan and other cities of the north have known... for some time" about "the perversion of the patriot movement by criminal and probably Fascist elements." Not the slightest shred of evidence is produced to back up this venomous slander, an omission that is quite understandable, since no such evidence exists. The very same dispatch which reports the order banning arms in Milan after midnight declares that "most of the murder victims early in May were people with known Fascist records!"

The real situation is obvious. The workers of Milan and the other industrial cities of the north have taken the administration of justice into their own hands. After freeing the area from the Nazis, they proceeded to mop up the fascist regime which had repressed them since 1922. They did not wait for the Allied imperialist armies to march in and save well-known former fascists from the anger of the people; they acted swiftly. They had seen how the Allies in the south not only protected fascists but maintained them in office, bolstered up their authority and supported their decisions with Allied bayonets.

Allied imperialism has now set out to crush the rising revolutionary movement in the north. Their first step is the traditional one of slandering the workers, labelling them either criminals or traitors in the pay of the enemy, or both. In the civil war in Russia, following the First World War, the Allied imperialists called Lenin and Trotsky bandits in the pay of the German High Command. In the civil war in Greece last December and January, Churchill called the Greek workers bandits among whom, said he, were Nazis in disguise.

## THE GREEK WARNING

Whether the northern Italian workers will be fooled into giving up their arms remains to be seen. They have before them the example of the slaughter in Greece only a few months ago when the British moved there in accordance with the secret agreements over the spoils of war reached at Teheran and Yalta. Already a deadly danger is apparent. "General Faldella, the local patriot commander," reports the Times, "has sent a communication to district leaders emphasizing the Allies' order." In Greece the Stalinist heads of the Partisans agreed to surrender arms, thus strengthening enormously the British forces. If the heads of the Partisans in north Italy similarly betray the movement by conceding the Allied demands, then the bloody slaughter of Athens will be repeated shortly in Italy.

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## Market Scene in British India

Due to its "filthy and insanitary" condition, the Baghbar market in Calcutta was ordered closed for necessary clean-up and repairs, says an item in a Calcutta newspaper. The British health authorities specified the following:

The floor of the market should be repaired and properly paved, the passages widened, stalls raised at least two feet above the garbage-littered floors, drains repaired, and arrangements made for adequate filtered water for the washing of stalls, passages, fish and vegetables, and for the flushing of drains. In addition: "Persons should be prohibited from sleeping in the market, and cattle and dogs should not be allowed to enter it. The market should be thoroughly washed and disinfected once a day."

## 10 Years Ago In The Militant

June 8, 1935

NEW YORK, June 8—Frightened by the rise of fascism and the approaching second World War, in 1935 Stalin made a sharp turn to the right, when he signed a pact with the French imperialists. He hoped thereby to secure military assistance from them in the event of invasion of the Soviet Union by Hitler. But by this action he publicly and brazenly betrayed the international proletariat—the only force capable of defending and securing the Soviet Union from attack.

Following out Stalin's new turn in his betrayal of the world working class, the French lackeys of the Kremlin, led by Maurice Thorez, called upon the French masses to abandon their struggle against their own ruling class and to deliver themselves instead into the ruthless hands of the French imperialists. And this was done in the name of the fight against fascism.

In an Open Letter to the World Proletariat, the International Communist League (Trotskyist) pointed out that Stalin's fatal policy of "socialism in one country" was now openly class collaborationist. Although the Kremlin entered into alliances with one combination of imperialists against another, this would not secure the Soviet Union against war and fascist invasion. Any alliances with the enemies of the working class would always be "precarious, equivocal and perfidious." It weakened the "world revolutionary factor" and could only lead to more defeats of the world proletariat and the undermining of the Soviet Union itself.

By the treacherous pact with the French imperialists, before the eyes of the whole world, "Stalin signed the death certificate of the Third International."

## A Correction

Editor: In my letter which you published May 12 under the title "Wall Street Loans to Fascists," an error appears. In my letter to you I stated that the amount loaned to Mussolini in 1926 by J. P. Morgan and Co. (Thomas Lamont, chairman of the Board), was \$100,000,000 (one hundred millions). In my letter as published it is stated as one billion—\$1,000,000,000. I ask you to correct this error in your earliest possible publication.

Milton L. Rabin  
Washish, Minn.

## AKRON

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## SHOP TALKS ON SOCIALISM



By V. Grey

Maybe you think it's going to be a long, long time before the working people take power and create abundance for all in a warless world. You explain the ideas of the MILITANT to your neighbor and he often doesn't seem to get the idea. You see people keep right on with the same old prejudices that are against their own interests. And you wonder how and when all these workers will overthrow their rulers.

"How are you ever going to get the working people together?" It isn't only Scissorsbill Sam that asks that question. It's a natural question for millions of us to ask, because we see the workers divided by religion, race, nationality, sex and "classes of work." And the worst of it is that you don't see any big changes taking place from day to day.

People still go on talking the capitalists' crap. The colored and white don't seem any closer together. The ignorant don't seem to be any smarter.

But do you remember how it was before the big strikes? Remember how Harry Johnson and Louie the stump jumper were taken off welding and given day-work jobs because they were getting too old to keep up with the new guys? Remember how Johnny Dylek used to listen to Stebb's yell at him, and never say a word? Remember how they fired a new fellow for coming in late a few times? That was before the big strike.

A lot of things happened before the big strike that went into our minds and stayed there without us realizing it. The foreman would pick on us and we wouldn't say anything—or not very much. Of course Stebb's was hit so bad he went to the hospital once. But poor Tony got a week off and we all considered him lucky not to get fired. But mainly we took it. We took all their crap. Everybody's—from Hawkshaw in the front office right down to Pile-it-high Patterson, the stooge.

And we had plenty of prejudice, too. The Poles couldn't get along with the Italians, and vice-versa. And it happened there was a couple of families of Swedes related to the boss. So we figured they were no good, too. Three or four colored fellows had the worst jobs of all—and somehow we figured that was what they deserved.

## LABOR UNITY SEEMED IMPOSSIBLE

How could you ever get a bunch of people like us into a union? You could talk to us day after day—but it wasn't any use. No sir! We were too superior in our ignorance and prejudice. No union was going to make trouble with us. We had enough troubles as it was!

Only Slim and Shorty and old Pop Philiber would join. They were the only members for the longest time. And everybody thought they were crazy. Especially Slim, because he did so much talking he was taking his job in his hands. Times were tough. And that was like taking your life in your hands.

Well, Slim kept on talking. The bosses kept on being tough. We kept on taking it. And it seemed like it was going on like that forever. Then one day Slim got fired.

BANG! The whole shop went out the gate. Everybody. Italians, Swedes, Poles, Negroes, Louie the stump jumper—and even Scissorsbill Sam. And all the shops at the other end came out too. They had the same experiences we had. And they felt the same way. Thousands and thousands of us poured out on the highway. We felt our power. The union had come to stay.

It was so sudden and complete, it seemed like magic. But it wasn't. It was the final sum of all we learned and all we went through. We had never begun to add it up when it was happening. But it was all there waiting for us to add it up. And it added up to one thing—STRIKE.

The whole working class is like the fellows in our plant. All that they have gone through, and have got to go through, is adding up. They may not know it, any more than we did, before the strike, but it's there. It's growing. And it's going to add up to one thing. THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION.

## "Sit-In" Wins Concessions For Bell Aircraft Workers

BUFFALO, N. Y. — The "sit-in" demonstration at the Buffalo Niagara Falls plants of the Bell Aircraft Corporation on May 28, lasting more than 12 hours and involving over 1000 workers, has resulted in a partial victory. The protest which took place because of the layoffs and company violations of the contract, forced management to retreat from its previously announced intention to make 8,000 workers wait a week or more for their layoff notices. The militant action compelled the company to move swiftly and by the end of the following day those to be laid off were notified.

Repeated pleas from International and Local union officials failed during the night to budget members of Local 501, U.A.W., CIO from their intention to remain in the plant until their demands were granted. These demands were that laid-off workers should receive their notices without delay, for the 40-hour week with 48 hours pay, and that the company abide by the contract provisions on layoffs and seniority. An additional demand was added when the workers learned the company was preparing a list of those participating in the protest. The workers insisted that the company take no disciplinary action.

## BOSSSES BREAK WORD

While the protest was in progress, union and company officials were meeting continuously. Finally, union officials told the workers that the company had agreed to drop the issue of disciplinary action and would negotiate the other demands providing the workers left the shop. Eventually the workers left. When the union representatives met with the company officials later in the day, the company, of course, went back on its word and broke off negotiations.

The company is continuing its campaign of contract violation in an effort to smash the union. Additional seniority violations and attempts at wage-cutting take place every day while the majority of the workers still in the employ of Bell are out of the plant during the week-long inventory period.

## CALL FOR SUPPORT

The Bell Local has been appealing for support from other CIO unions in this area. It maintains that if the Bell Corporation gets away with violating the contract and using the layoff to undermine the Local, that no union in the whole area will be safe. Hugh Thompson, CIO regional director who works closely with the Stalinist-controlled Greater Buffalo Industrial Union Council CIO, has been dodging the issue. So far the only statement he has issued called for a 40-hour week with 48 hours pay but made no mention of the Bell layoffs or the company attack on the Union.

## DETROIT

SUNDAY NIGHT FORUMS

June 10

'What Next for the USSR?'

Speaker: E. KENNEDY

June 17

'Debs and the American Railway Union'

Speaker: R. BRADY

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# Tokyo Bombings Kill Millions Of Civilians

By Joseph Hansen

A grisly sign of the swift advance of twentieth century barbarism is the burning to death of countless human beings in Japan. Fifty-one square miles in Tokyo, an area twice as great as New York's Manhattan Island and much more densely populated, have been burned out by fire bombs. Other Japanese cities are being similarly obliterated and their inhabitants incinerated.

From the May 31 press reports of Maj. Gen. Curtis E. Le May's "summary" of what United States bombers "had done to Tokyo in six separate attacks over a period of three months," we piece together the following blood-chilling items:

## HELPLESS PEOPLE PERISH IN FLAMES

The first big incendiary attack was ordered for March 10. The area circled for death on the military map was the heart of the "shopping district." "Many more than one will ever know must have perished in the flames. . . It took only three hours for fifteen square miles of the city to become a raging inferno."

In the succeeding raids the most populous areas were again marked as the target. "The attacks this past week burned with similar speed and destructive results and it is possible that 1,000,000 or maybe even twice that number of the Emperor's subjects, perished." MAYBE EVEN TWICE THAT NUMBER—in these five casual words Wall Street's press sums up the value it places upon the lives of 2,000,000 human beings!

The press account of this slaughter reads like the routine report of a government agency on the extermination of vermin: "The population concentration in that area runs, or rather ran, between 75,000 and 110,000 persons per square mile, one of the highest concentrations of population in the world. Thus, in the fifty-one miles burned to ashes there lived approximately 4,500,000 of Tokyo's 7,000,000 people. None of them could be living in that area now if the pictures tell the story."

Indescribable scenes of masses of poor families trapped in swirling flames are nonchalantly dismissed in a couple of speculative sentences: "Many hundreds of thousands must have been evacuated . . . but many more must have fled with only minutes to spare. . ."

The callous nonchalance with which the militarist butchers tell how they engineered the most frightful catastrophe ever recorded indicates the moral decay of capitalist "civilization": "Our B-29 officials attribute the success of the incendiary attack to two factors. The first is the care that goes into the planning of them." The second factor is the wind which "fans the flames, whips their fire-fighting efforts, carries destruction over their fire-breaks and leaves them with the conviction that their gods have forsaken them."

## WALL STREET GLOATS OVER HORROR

The Wall Street "gods" who have at their disposal the B-29 bomber must indeed rub their plump white hands at this carnage. For they have smelled burning human flesh as no other gods before them. "We left Yokohama burning block after block," said one gunner. "Smoke was rising as high as 20,000 feet." The capitalist press gloats over the man-made horror.

In ancient times, newborn infants on ceremonial occasions were offered up in worship to the dread god Moloch. During the Inquisition, alleged enemies of the Church were burned at the stake for the greater glory of the prince of peace. But all the horrors that have blotched the pages of human history were amateur beginnings in brutishness compared to the planned burning of women, children

and old men in Japan for the sake of imperialist profits and plunder. And these calculating monsters who doom millions to perish in flames are the same ones who boasted that only the Axis bombed civilians, that only fascists would stoop to cold-blooded slaughter of non-combatants!

## BLAME AN INHUMAN SYSTEM NOT THE 'INHUMAN RATS'!

A reader of *The Militant* has sent us a letter which shows the extent to which many American workers, unthinkingly, accept the poison propaganda of the Wall Street plutocratic press directed against the Japanese nation. We print the letter, together with our own comments, in order to bring to the light of day the real truth about the horrors of the Pacific war and to place the responsibility for these horrors where it belongs—upon the capitalist ruling classes in both Japan and America.

### The Letter

Editor:

Having read over two copies of *The Militant*, I find that most of the articles are very interesting, with the exception of one which was written in favor of the Japanese. I can see nothing about them that could classify them as human beings. The information on which I base my view is the eye-witness accounts of a friend of mine who served on one of the Pacific isles. As it stands, they are nothing but inhuman rats.

R. F. Magnuson  
Stillwater, Minn.

### Comments by 'The Militant'

1. The Militant does not defend the Japanese nation as a whole. It defends the interests of the Japanese workers and peasants, in and out of uniform, just as it defends the interests of American workers and farmers, whether in or out of uniform. It opposes the Japanese lords and capitalists and militarists, just as it opposes the capitalist ruling classes of America, Britain, Germany and every other country.

2. The impressions of individual soldiers in the Pacific must be received with the greatest caution. As soon as American boys enter military training, they are subjected to "indoctrination" by officers drawn from the ruling class of America. These officers teach them to hate and despise the Japanese by harping on their color, their physical appearance and their national customs. While the peaceful American worker or farmer is converted step by step into an aggressive killer, the man he is destined to kill is pictured to him as an "inhuman rat." Thus long before he ever meets Japanese soldiers, the American soldier has been mentally conditioned to loath and detest his "enemy."

3. When the American soldier finally encounters Japanese soldiers, he sees that they are indeed of different color and physical appearance, that they speak a strange language and observe habits

and customs different from those back home. Is it odd that the rest of the indoctrination course should likewise seem true and that the American soldier really thinks he is up against a nation of cruel savages?

4. The Japanese soldier has been similarly indoctrinated against American soldiers. He has been trained to believe that the white Americans with their odd customs, odd language and odd physical appearance are "inhuman rats" who do not take prisoners. Consequently he fights, when outnumbered or surrounded, with the bitter fury of hopelessness and despair. That is why the war in the Pacific has become so ferocious.

5. But when has war ever been anything but "inhuman?" Are the methods of slaughter practised by American or British capitalism more "gentlemanly" than those of the Japanese? Is it humane to burn Japanese soldiers to a crisp with flamethrowers, to wipe out hundreds of thousands of Japanese civilians with fire-bombs—and cruel for a Japanese to set a booby-trap or behind an American soldier? Also, let us not forget that it was western capitalism which taught modern warfare to the Japanese ruling class and set the example of bloody imperialist conquest.

6. When we Trotskyists see or read about the atrocities of war, we do not condemn the nation to which the perpetrators belong. Nor do we become enraged at the mass of soldiers of that nation. War itself is the supreme crime from which all atrocities flow. War is the product of capitalism. The real criminals in each country are the ruling capitalists, a tiny minority of the population which sets nation against nation in a mad scramble for markets and profits. The soldiers in each camp are trained and commanded to kill. They are the instruments but not the real authors of war's barbarism.

7. The truth which the hired propagandists of capitalism try to hide is that the Japanese masses, workers and poor farmers, were forced into this war very much against their will, just like the American workers and poor farmers. Japanese prisons are crowded with political prisoners, men and women who protested against the policies of their ruling class. The Japanese people are NOT barbarous savages. They are by nature just as peaceable, just as kindly, just as fun-loving as any other nation.

8. Barbarism and cruelty are spreading over the entire earth, not because some nations are "inhuman rats" while others are civilized human beings, but because nations are pitted against one another in bloody combat by the rulers of the decayed capitalist system. All peoples want peace. But unless the victims of war, the toiling people of every country, put an end to this decayed system, there will be more terrible wars, fiercer, cruel, devastating. Mankind will descend into another Dark Age.

9. By promoting race hatred, the capitalist rulers keep the working people of different lands divided and hostile to one another. In that way the capitalists can continue to rule the world and plunge humanity into horrible wars. That is why it is necessary to expose the lies of race hatred, so that workers in every land may unite against capitalism and struggle together for a better socialist world. That is why *The Militant* defends the terribly slandered workers and poor farmers of Japan.

# ANGRY VETERANS RAID PARIS CLOTHING STORES

French workers returning from captivity in Germany are beginning to help themselves from the shelves of clothing stores in Paris. Many of them had been wandering the streets in tatters since their release, still clad in the striped convict garb issued by the Nazis.

Individual returned prisoners began by smashing shop windows. Crowds gathered to watch one or two help themselves to the clothing on display. When police attempted to interfere, the sympathetic crowd formed a compact cordon about the window. The authorities decided to "close their eyes."

## HELPING THEMSELVES

The next step was group action by the returned prisoners. Squads began entering clothing stores. They presented their identity cards, selected what they wanted in the way of shoes and suits and told the management as they walked out, "Send the bills to the Ministry for Prisoners."

The De Gaulle regime has shown little interest in providing the returned workers with food, clothing and living quarters. Supplies are utterly inadequate.

About 1,000,000 men and women have already been returned; more are coming at the rate of 10,000 a day. The number of suits available is not more than 200,000—less than one suit for every five prisoners. Moreover, the poor people of France in the last years have suffered from clothing shortage to such an extent that ratched rags are common garb. Prices on the black market for clothing have skyrocketed to fantastic heights and the black market itself has been swept practically clean. Conditions are bound to worsen with the approach of winter, especially with relief from the United States held down to a miserable trickle.

Only by instituting a planned economy can France hope to overcome the terrific devastation of the war and reconstruct the ruined industries. But with a regime whose hands are closing on the throat of the working class while its head is filled with insane delusions about conquest and empire, France will only plunge deeper into the abyss.

## WARNING SIGNAL

Already crowds of thousands of returned prisoners have begun demonstrating in Paris, demanding clothing. According to an Associated Press dispatch of May 30, a demonstration marched down the Boulevard Sebastopol shouting, "Down with the Jews." This is a most ominous sign, for it shows the beginnings of a reactionary trend that can have terrible consequences for France.

## WAR DEVASTATION

The destruction inflicted by the war on French industry is colossal. It will take decades to clear away the wreckage and to rebuild the gutted factories. A similar problem faces the French people in agriculture. Dairy herds were driven off by the conquerors; beef cattle were slaughtered. Fields are sown with millions of mines. Transportation crawls along at snail's pace, by-passing blown up bridges and wrecked rolling stock.

Only by instituting a planned economy can France hope to overcome the terrific devastation of the war and reconstruct the ruined industries. But with a regime whose hands are closing on the throat of the working class while its head is filled with insane delusions about conquest and empire, France will only plunge deeper into the abyss.

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*The Militant*

# The History Of American Trotskyism

## THE DEADLY VIRUS OF ULTRA-LEFTISM IN AMERICAN COMMUNISM'S EARLY DAYS

By James P. Cannon

In previous installments Comrade Cannon described the emergence of the early American Communist Party out of the left wing of the Socialist Party in 1919. Forced underground by the post-war anti-red terror, the Communist Party was separated from the mass movement. It became ultra-radical, "ultra-left," scorned parliamentary action and even regarding underground work as a "revolutionary principle." This is the third installment, from Chapter 1.

After a person experiences both underground and open political organization, he can easily convince himself that the most economical, the most advantageous is the open one. It is the easiest way of coming in contact with workers, the easiest way of making converts. Consequently, a genuine Bolshevik, even in times of sharpest persecution, tries always to grasp and utilize every possibility to function in the open. If he can't say everything he wants to say openly, he will say as much as he can—and supplement legal propaganda by other methods.

In the early Communist movement, before we had properly assimilated the writings and teachings of the leaders of the Russian Revolution, a tendency grew up to regard the underground party as a principle. As time went on and the wave of reaction receded, possibilities for legal activities opened up. But tremendous factional struggles were necessary before the party took the slightest step in the direction of legalizing itself. The absolutely incredible idea that the party can't be revolutionary unless it is illegal was actually accepted by the majority in the Communist movement in 1921 and early 1922.

## Virus of Ultra-Leftism

On the trade union question "radicalism" held sway, too. It is a terrible virus, this ultra-leftism. It thrives best in an isolated movement. That's always where you find it at its worst—in a movement that is isolated from the masses, gets no corrective from the masses. You see it in these split-offs from the Trotskyist movement—our own "lunatic fringe." The less people listen to them, the less effect their words have on the course of human events, the more extreme and unreasonable and hysterical they become in their formulations.

The trade union question was on the agenda of the first underground convention of the Communist movement. This convention celebrated a split and a unification too. A faction headed by Ruthenberg had split away from the Communist Party, dominated by the foreign-language groups. The Ruthenberg faction met in joint convention with the Communist Labor Party to form a new organization called the United Communist Party in May 1920 at Bridgeport, Michigan. (This is not to be confused with another convention at Bridgeport in August 1922 which was raided by the police.) The United Communist Party gained the upper hand and merged with the remaining half of the original Communist Party a year later.

The 1920 Convention, I remember very distinctly, adopted a resolution on the trade union question. In the light of what has been learned in the Trotskyist movement, it would make your hair stand on end. This resolution called for "boycott" of the American Federation of Labor. It stated that a party member who "is compelled by job necessity" to belong to the AFL should work there in the same way that a Communist works in a bourgeois Congress—not to build it up but to blow it up from within. That nonsense was later corrected along with many other things. Many people who committed these stupidities later learned and did better in the political movement.

Following the Russian revolution the young generation, revolting against opportunist betrayals of the Social Democrats, took radicalism in too big doses. Lenin and Trotsky led the "Right Wing"—that is what they demonstratively called their tendency—at the Third World Congress of the Communist International in 1921. Lenin wrote his pamphlet, *The Infantile Sickness of Left Communism*, directed against the German leftists, taking up ques-

tions of parliamentarianism, trade unionism, etc. This pamphlet, together with the Congress decisions, did a great deal in the course of time to liquidate the leftist tendency in the early Comintern.

I don't at all want to picture the founding of American Communism as a circus, as the side-line philistines do. It wasn't, by any means. There were positive sides to the movement, and the positive sides predominated. It was composed of thousands of courageous and devoted revolutionists willing to make sacrifices and take risks for the movement. In spite of all their mistakes, they built a party the like of which had never been seen in this country before; that is, a party founded on a Marxist program, with a professional leadership and disciplined ranks. Those who went through the period of the underground party acquired habits of discipline and learned methods of work which were to play a great role in the subsequent history of the movement. We are building on those foundations.

They learned to take the program seriously. They learned to do away for ever with the idea that a revolutionary movement, aiming at power, can be led by people who practice socialism as an avocation. The leader typical of the old Socialist Party was a lawyer practicing law, or a preacher practicing preaching, or a writer, or a professional man of one kind or another, who condescended to come around and make a speech once in a while. The full-time functionaries were merely hacks who did the dirty work and had no real influence in the party. The gap between the rank and file workers, with their revolutionary impulses and desires, and the petty-bourgeois dabblers at the top was tremendous.

The early Communist Party broke away from all that, and was able to do it easily because not one of the old type leaders came over wholeheartedly to the support of the Russian revolution. The party had to throw up new leaders out of the ranks, and from the very beginning the principle was laid down that these leaders must be professional workers for the party, must put their whole time and their whole lives at the disposal of the party. If one is thinking of a party that aims to lead the workers in a real struggle for power, then no other type of leadership is worth considering.

## The Work of Education

In the underground the work of education, of assimilating the writings of the Russian leaders, went on. Lenin, Trotsky, Zinoviev, Radek, Bukharin—these were our teachers. We began to be educated in an entirely different spirit from the old lackadaisical Socialist Party—in the spirit of revolutionists who take ideas and program very seriously. The movement had an intensive internal life, all the more so because it was isolated and driven back upon itself. Faction struggles were fierce and long drawn out.

The movement began to stagnate in the underground blind alley. A few of us in the leadership began to seek a way out, a way to approach the American workers by legal means. These efforts were resisted fiercely. We formed a new faction. Lovestone was closely associated with me in the leadership of this faction. Later we were joined by Ruthenberg upon his release from prison in the spring of 1922.

For a year and a half, two years, this struggle continued unabated, the fight for the legalization of the movement. Resolute positive struggle on our side, equally determined resistance on the other by people convinced in their bones that this signified some kind of betrayal. Finally in December 1921, having a slender majority in the Central Committee, we began to move, taking one careful step at a time, towards legality.

We couldn't legalize the party as such, the resistance in the ranks was still too strong, but we did organize some legal groups

for holding lectures. We next called a convention to federate these groups into a central body called the American Labor Alliance, which we converted into a propaganda organization. Then in December 1921, we resorted to the device of organizing the Workers Party as an open, legal organization in addition to the underground Communist Party. We could not dispense with the latter. It was not possible to get a majority to agree to that, but a compromise was effected whereby while retaining the underground party, we set up the Workers Party as a legal extension. Two or three thousand die-hard undergrounders revolted against even this makeshift move toward legality, split away and formed their own organization.

We continued with two parties—a legal and an illegal one. The Workers Party had a very limited program, but it became the medium through which all our legal public activity was carried on. Control rested in the underground Communist Party. The Workers Party encountered no persecution. The reactionary wave had passed, a liberalistic political mood prevailed in Washington and in the rest of the country. We were able to hold public meetings and lectures, publish newspapers, participate in election campaigns, etc. Then the question arose, did we need this encumbrance of two parties? We wanted to liquidate the underground organization, concentrate all our activity in the legal party, and take a chance on further persecution. We met renewed opposition.

The fight went on uninterruptedly until we finally appealed the matter to the Communist International at the Fourth Congress in 1922. At that Congress I was the representative of the "liquidators" faction, as we were called. This name comes from the history of Bolshevism. At one time following the defeat of the 1905 revolution, a section of the Mensheviks came forward with a proposal to liquidate the underground party in Russia and confine all activity to Czarist "legality." Lenin fought this proposal and its proponents savagely, because it signified a renunciation of revolutionary work and organization. He denounced them as "liquidators." So naturally, when we came forward with a proposal to liquidate the underground party in this country, the leftists with their minds in Russia mechanically transferred Lenin's expression and denounced us as "liquidators."

## Appeal to Fourth Congress

So we went to Moscow to fight it out before the Communist International. That was the first time I met Comrade Trotsky. In the course of our struggle we tried to get support from individual members of the Russian leadership. In the summer and fall of 1922 I spent many months in Russia. For a long time I was somewhat of a pariah because this campaign about "liquidators" had reached ahead of us, and the Russians didn't want to have anything to do with liquidators. Unacquainted with the situation in America, they tended to be prejudiced against us. They assumed that the party had really been outlawed; and when the question was put to them they were inclined to say off-hand: "If you cannot do your work legally do it illegally, but you must do your work."

But that wasn't really how matters stood. The political situation in the United States made a legal Communist Party possible. That was our contention, and all further experience has proved it. Finally, I and some other comrades met with Comrade Trotsky and expounded our ideas for about an hour. After asking a few questions when we had finished, he said, "That is enough. I will support the 'liquidators' and I will talk to Lenin. I am sure he will support you. All the Russians will support you. It is just a question of understanding the political situation. It is absurd to bind ourselves

in an underground straitjacket when it is not necessary. There is no question about that."

We asked if he would arrange for us to see Lenin. He told us that Lenin was ill but, if necessary, if Lenin did not agree with him, he'd arrange for us to see him. In a few days the knot began to unravel. A Congress Commission was set up on the American question and we went before the Commission to debate. Already the word had passed down that Trotsky and Lenin favored the "liquidators" and the tide was turning in our favor.

In the discussion at the Commission hearing Zinoviev made a brilliant speech on legal and illegal work, drawing on the vast experience of the Russian Bolsheviks. I have never forgotten that speech. The memory of it serves our party in good stead to this day and will do so in the future, I am sure. Radek and Bukharin spoke along the same lines. These three were in those days the representatives of the Russian Communist Party in the Comintern. The delegates of the other parties, after full and thorough debate, gave complete support to the idea of legalizing the American Communist Party.

## The Party Becomes Legal

With the authority of the Comintern World Congress behind the decision, the opposition in the United States soon subsided. The Workers Party, which had been formed in 1921 as a legal extension of the Communist Party, held another convention, adopted a clearer program and completely replaced the underground organization. All experience since 1923 has demonstrated the wisdom of that decision. The political situation here justified legal organization. It would have been a terrible calamity and waste and crippling of revolutionary activity to remain underground when it was not necessary. It is very important that revolutionists have the courage to take those risks which can't be avoided. But it is equally important, I think, that they have enough prudence to avoid unnecessary sacrifices. The main thing is to get the work done in the most economical and expeditious manner possible.

A final remark on this question: One little group remained unreconciled to the legalization of the party. They were going to remain underground in spite of us. They were not going to betray Communism. They had their headquarters in Boston and a branch in Cleveland. Every once in a while through the years we would hear of this underground group issuing a pronouncement of some kind.

Seven years later, after we had been expelled from the Communist Party and were organizing the Trotskyist movement, we heard that this group in Boston was somewhat sympathetic to Trotskyist ideas. This interested us, as we were badly in need of any support we could get.

On one of my visits to Boston the local comrades arranged a conference with them. They were very conspiratorial and took us in the old underground manner to the meeting place. A formal committee met us. After exchanging greetings, the leader said, "Now, Comrade Cook, you tell us what your proposition is." Comrade "Cook" was the pseudonym he knew me by in the underground meeting. He was not going to trifle with my legal name in an underground meeting. I explained why we had been expelled, our program, etc. They said they were willing to discuss the Trotskyist program as the basis for unity in a new party. But they wanted agreement first on one point: The party we were going to organize would have to be an underground organization. So I passed a few jokes with them and went back to New York. I suppose they are still underground.

Now, Comrades, all this is a sort of background, an introduction to the history of our Trotskyist movement. Next week I will deal with the further development of the Communist Party in the early years prior to our expulsion and the reconstitution of the movement under the banner of Trotskyism.

(To be continued next week)



# 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.

## Wage-Cuts

The U. A. W. - C. I. O. locally has accepted the down grading of workers in the aircraft industry. The Stalinist leadership of this union has gone further to the right in support of the imperialist war than the conservative leadership of the International Association of Machinists. The Stalinist U.A.W. leadership has agreed to wage cutting in the industry. But the conservative International Association of Machinists leadership, under the pressure of the rank and file, was forced to withdraw from the Southern Calif. Aircraft Industry Area Re-study Committee, and the West Coast Aircraft Committee, a setup of the War Labor Board, both of which have endorsed down grading for the workers in the Southern Calif. aircraft industry.

L. T. Los Angeles

## Army 'Democracy'

It is common knowledge to anyone who has served in the armed forces of the United States that democracy is something to forget about when he has been recruited. His feelings toward the war, toward the peace, or any intelligent manifestations whatsoever are not invited, and moreover, it is outright dangerous to express them openly. It is not the duty of cannon-fodder to think, but only to obey orders.

We've frequently heard, from so-called candid observers of the liberal press, that the American "GI" doesn't know what he's fighting for.

I would like to quote from one soldier who had witnessed a real discussion group that the army allows only in "fatigue" (shell-shock) hospitals:

"One has only to speak up at a discussion meeting and every-one flocks to you after it is over to ask 'what did you think of this,' or 'what do you think of that.'"

He described a discussion period held last week: "A captain spoke about the San Francisco Conference and what we have to look forward to. His attitude was that we have to be optimistic. One old-timer stood up and predicted another war within twenty-five years, against Russia - then he advocated a navy double the size of any other country, and the like.

"Of course he was confused, but at least he didn't believe the soap that was being peddled by the captain. At the end of the officer walked out, very much chagrined because there wasn't one soldier in the place who thought that the Conference would bring peace."

Yes, the soldier of today is old enough at least to have experienced the aftermath of the last war. He is skeptical and cynical about high-sounding phrases.

B. Kingsley Cleveland

## Militant Readers

I have been following the Militant sub campaign with great satisfaction. The addition of thousands of new readers has an important historic meaning. For the first time in years in this country there is a favorable mass response to, and interest in, genuine Marxism, that is, Trotskyism.

Heretofore many workers have been repelled from politics because of the stench from the graft and corruption that comes from the capitalist parties. So widespread is this feeling that the Democratic and Republican party candidates for president last year had to pretend they were not seeking the nomination and that they merely permitted themselves to be "drafted" for office.

The present war and the depth of the world-wide crisis make it increasingly difficult for smooth-tongued capitalist politicians to hide their real intentions and program. They are forced more and more into the open where everyone can see just what interests they serve: the Wall Street barons.

No man or woman can escape from politics today. Those who for one reason or another decline an active, conscious part in political life thereby surrender the right to have a voice in deciding their own fate. They allow others to decide things for them and against their interests.

Politics invades all spheres of life today. Officials decide where a man may work (or fight) and set rigid limits to his pay. They set prices, taxes, quantities of goods to be produced, methods of distribution and so

on. An examination of any average day's activities shows that at every step the government has interfered to regulate virtually everything. Nothing and no one is free from politics.

We are in a new period in the development of the working people. A great shift is taking place. The American worker is not content to be worked six long days or nights a week and on Sunday have some preacher call him a miserable sinner and threaten him with all the tortures of hell. He is looking for a way out of the terrible chaos of wars, death, depression and unemployment which is all capitalism can bring.

The American working class has never been corrupted by the treachery of the Social-Democrats. The Stalinist poison has had its terrible effects on comparatively few workers. The workers have a great tradition of militancy and struggle. Out of their ranks a broad layer of educated Marxists will rise to take its place alongside the already established Trotskyist Vanguard.

In this growing interest in socialist ideas The Militant is playing an important role. It is the organizer of the new recruits to the revolutionary ranks. Moreover, it is the Marxist educator of its new readers. The Militant is an indispensable weapon in the hands of the working people. They will read it in increasing numbers, learn from it and contribute their knowledge and experience to it. These are necessary steps in the building of the revolutionary party that will reorganize the world for socialism.

M. A. New York

## Protests Slaughter

The Soviet Union is no longer at war. But the capitalist United States government is still fighting against the capitalist Japanese government. Our working class brothers of Japan and the United States are dying for the sake of their capitalist masters. Let us appeal to the workers over the heads of our government to put an end to this slaughter. It is not our war. We no longer fight to preserve the gains of the October Revolution in the Soviet Union.

This is the time for a bold and fearless policy. Lenin would have called for an immediate end to this war. We can follow no other course. It is the sacred duty of the Socialist Workers Party to adopt as its immediate slogan—"Stop the murder of our working class brothers! End the imperialist war!"

J. G. Brooklyn, N. Y.

## Appreciation

My husband and I both read the Militant and have been reading it for a long time now. We both like it very much. When it was only a four page newspaper, we used to fight over who'd get it first. Then it became a six page paper and I got the middle page. But even though my husband reads faster than I do, we didn't come out even.

Now it's an eight page paper and we're very happy. As soon as the Militant comes in, he gets the outside part and I get the inside. The only trouble with that is that I have to read the "continued on the inside" parts to him and we still don't come out even. But we both agree that your new eight-pager is better than ever. We're looking forward to a ten page Militant.

M. R. Toledo, Ohio

## Union Lesson

At my union meeting last night, I learned a very instructive lesson. I'd like to pass it on to my brothers and sisters in other unions.

Last week the workers at Lockheed Aircraft Corporation voted two and a half to one in favor of strike. One of the reasons was the fact that for two years the company has refused to yield in negotiating 39 sections of the contract with the union. Many of these sections merely represent standard provisions of old contracts.

Yesterday and today the eight lodges of the union (IAM No. 727) have been meeting to ratify or reject the contract finally negotiated by the Senior Board of 727 and the company. (Ten sections still remain disputed and will be thrown into the lap of the pro-company War Labor Board.)

At first it seemed that the overwhelming pro-strike vote

had prompted this contract "victory," but at the Lodge "B" meeting, a very startling fact was revealed. The entire group of 29 disputed sections was agreed upon three days BEFORE the strike vote took place, with overwhelming gains for the company and serious losses for the union. The final agreement represents, in the words of a former senior board member who openly expressed his disgust during the meeting, "one step forward, and three steps backward."

The lesson is a very significant one. The union "leaders," having no faith whatever in the rank and file, rushed to finish negotiations at any cost BEFORE the strike vote, fearing that they would be left out on a limb if the workers voted "no." The "unexpected" demonstration of the militancy of the ranks has left the frightened leadership with nothing to offer but a markedly poor contract.

100 Per Cent Unionist Los Angeles

## U. S. Labor Needs Its Own Party

Winston Churchill's resignation as Prime Minister of England has served to emphasize the fact that proper representation in government is a factor to be recognized rather than ignored. Labor in England, under Ernest Bevin, its representative in British parliament, was able to bring such tremendous pressure to bear on the Tories as to compel their leader to "call it a day."

It is plainly obvious therefore that labor in the United States has an object lesson to learn from this latest development. Considering the overwhelming numbers of American workers as compared to British workers, it seems an absurdity that in this day and age there is no representation in Washington that offers the least protection to the rights of labor.

Bear in mind, Mr. Editor, and I hope you will make it plain to all readers of The Militant, that in the months ahead over a million and a half servicemen will return to these shores, and after the parades, music, flag waving and shouting have subsided, these men will be in quest of a job. There has been no preparation made on the part of the government or industry that will care for the needs of these people and the civilian population as well. Therefore, what with the present rate of cut-backs, layoffs and the slow motion of reconversion, this nation will be face to face with a condition that will be disturbing.

Furthermore, the disillusionment on the part of the average serviceman as to the G.I. Bill of Rights will soon serve also to create a disquieting situation.

Is it any wonder then that labor's most important duty and its crying need is the formation of a Labor Party that will adequately protect its rights.

The boss class in the United States that has grown over-corporate, over-stuffed and over-glutted from the profits of war, is bent upon the total destruction of the labor movement. This fact is borne out in the many acts of deliberate and flagrant violation of the provisions of signed contracts with the various labor unions. Neither the National Labor Relations Board nor the War Labor Board seems capable of coping with the situation and this is easy to understand when one looks at who constitutes the personnel of these agencies.

R. A. Robinson Brooklyn, N. Y.

## The Internationale

In memory of all those who have died in all wars, what do you say to printing all the verses of the "Internationale" on the front page of The Militant in a suitable frame?

M. M. Minneapolis

## "Is Crew Behaving?"

I am a merchant seaman and an incident occurred aboard ship, which I think shows without a doubt which side the Coast Guard is on.

When our ship came into port a Coast Guard officer came aboard and asked the mate if the crew was behaving. But he didn't ask the crew if the mate or the officers were behaving!

It's things like that which show what side the government is on. And yet some people try to tell me that the government looks after its seamen.

A Seaman Los Angeles

# Carlson To Speak On Women In Prison

## Grace Carlson One Of The 18 In Minneapolis Labor Case

The Minneapolis Labor Case, involving the imprisonment of 18 leaders of the Socialist Workers Party and Minneapolis Truckdrivers Union Local 544-CIO, represents for American labor during World War II what the imprisonment of the great Socialist leader Eugene V. Debs meant in the First World War. In both instances the American capitalist ruling class and its government agents struck a savage blow against the working class by framing up and imprisoning its most conscious, devoted and revolutionary leaders.

The Minneapolis case arose out of the historic struggles of the Minneapolis Truckdrivers Union, beginning in 1934. Under Trotskyist leadership this union won a series of smashing victories against the open-shop bosses and established the strongest union in the Northwest. But the leadership, from the first, had to struggle also against President Daniel J. Tobin, czar of the AFL Teamsters International.

Thus, in June 1941, while American capitalism and its government were clearing the decks for dragging the American workers into the war, the hostility between Tobin and the militant unionists of Local 544 came to a head. Local 544 by a majority vote severed its connection with Dictator Tobin and his AFL union and joined the CIO. Tobin immediately appealed to President Roosevelt for help.

## RAIDS AND ARREST

The president of the Teamsters Union and the President in the White House combined to try to crush the new union and at the same time deprive the Trotskyist Party of its leadership because of its uncompromising opposition to the imperialist war. Attorney-General Biddle of the Department of Justice sent his G-men to raid the SWP headquarters in St. Paul and Minneapolis. Then followed the arrest and indictment of the leaders of the Socialist Workers Party and of Local 544-CIO.

After a five-week trial, the 18

headquarters at 160 Fifth Ave., New York City. After the Circuit Court of Appeals upheld the convictions, the U. S. Supreme Court three times refused to review this important case. Thus it virtually upheld the Smith Act and placed a legal weapon in the hands of capitalist reaction for further witch-hunts against militant trade unionists and other working class political parties. On December 31, 1943 the 18 began to serve their prison sentences.

The struggle to free the 18 became an inseparable part of labor's resistance to Wall Street's offensive against labor. Rallying behind the fight to free the 18, over 600 labor, Negro and progressive organizations representing 6,000,000 members, protested the imprisonments and demanded the repeal of the Smith "Gag" Act. Through their support of the Civil Rights Defense Committee, relief was provided for the 18 and their families while they were in prison.

The 18 remained behind bars for their full prison sentences minus the usual deduction for "good behavior." Six were freed on October 20, 1944 and 12 were released on January 24, 1945. Among the latter was Grace Carlson, whose nation-wide tour is announced in this issue.

WORK OF CRDC  
The defense of the 18 was conducted by the Civil Rights Defense Committee, with national



The Militant Army is growing by leaps and bounds. Every week letters pour in from our readers, enclosing subscriptions for their friends.

L. G. of St. Paul writes: "I am a new subscriber to your Militant paper and enjoy same very much. I attended one of the Militant meetings in St. Paul. Mrs. Schultz was our speaker. She asked us to get some new subscribers. I am enclosing money order for \$1.25. Please send the six-month subscription to the new subscribers listed below."

A. R. of West Toledo: "A neighbor let me read your paper. So I thought that I would try the paper. Enclosed is coupon and 25 cents, for which send me 26 issues."

J. W. of Charlotte, Pa.: "The \$1 is payment in full for my subscription to The Militant for one year (not only six months). And the 25 cents is for the subscription enclosed. I shall try to sell more subs."

A. I. M. of Johnson, Rochester: "Dick, a 15-year old youngster, was in a grinding shop talking to the owner of it. He came from Germany some years ago and they started talking on Socialism. He said he was interested in socialism. Dick talked on with him the best he could; he pointed out that Stalin is not for the working people, that he moved over with the capitalists and that Norman Thomas swung over with the war machine. Dick also told the man he could get him a good socialist paper. He ran home, talked it over with his mother, and took The Militant back to the grinding shop. About an hour later, back he came with the sub, tickled pink, and said, 'I just had to do something for the party. And I am going to join the party someday.'"

Harry Robinson of Newark sends a good suggestion: "As the paper's circulation continues to grow we are starting to see evidence of it being spread around the city by our new readers. I encountered the most recent example of this while boarding a bus the other day. As I did so I noticed that the driver had a copy of the paper tucked behind his seat. In response to my query he said that he had picked it up on one of the seats, glanced through it, and then had put it away to read when he finished his run. "This incident served to remind me that the practice of leaving your copy of The Militant on buses after you finish reading it is still a good one."

A report from Dave Jeffries of New York indicates an upward trend in newsstand sales of The Militant: "Newsstand sales have been rising steadily for the past few weeks. Total sales have climbed from 159 five weeks ago in a steady progression - 182, 185, 195, and this week 206. This is particularly encouraging since the average sales for the previous three months had been about 160. Both the 14th Street

and 42nd Street stands have shared in the rise, the former climbing from an average 78 to 92 and the latter from 82 to 95 copies a week. One newsstand has increased its bundle and another expects to increase shortly."

## Boston SWP Opens New Headquarters

BOSTON, May 27 - The Boston Branch of the Socialist Workers Party tonight celebrated the opening of its new headquarters at 30 Stuart St. with a house warming party. New readers of The Militant as well as old friends of the SWP joined in an evening of dancing and entertainment. A humorous skit was performed, and refreshments served.

Proceeds of over \$30 will go toward the upkeep of the attractive new headquarters and the extension of branch work in Boston.

## Pioneer Notes

The two pamphlets on the Negro struggle—Negroes in the Post-War World and The Struggle for Negro Equality—are in constant demand by the branches of the Socialist Workers Party. Orders for large quantities come in almost every week. The Cleveland branch, which utilized these pamphlets during the recently concluded subscription campaign of The Militant, wrote: "Please RUSH 100 Struggle for Negro Equality pamphlets. Almost every other subscriber in the Negro neighborhoods takes one (with very little time lost from the sub campaign). We've also sold Socialism on Trial and Labor Party with good success."

From Boston: "Kindly send us 50 copies each of Struggle for Negro Equality and Negroes in the Post-War World. We sold out all we had in stock (\$4 worth) at a meeting held in Boston by the March-on-Washington movement recently."

The fine propagandist value of these pamphlets is also appreciated and put to use in the more isolated and politically backward sections. A reader in Arkansas wrote us: "As soon as I get to work I will be able to buy a supply of material. You can imagine just how remote one might feel here from actual industrial unpleasantness, and the personal experiences are so few because of the accepted mode of things—hence to interest people here one should be much more enlightened than I, but I will, I must try!" This reader then sent in the names of 17 friends to whom copies of the two pamphlets on the Negro struggle were to be sent, and remarked, "These are people I'd like to win and I want to begin right at their doorstep!"

(Continued from page 1)  
She was educated in St. Catherine's College and the University of Minnesota where she earned her BA, MA and PhD degrees.

For two years she lectured in the Department of Psychology of the University of Minnesota. Then for five years she held the post of Vocational Rehabilitation Counselor of the Minnesota State Department of Education.

## HER LABOR RECORD

Comrade Carlson inspired and educated men and women workers alike and was rewarded by their confidence and respect. She was a charter member of Minnesota State Employees Union Local 10, for four years a delegate to the St. Paul Trades and Labor Assembly, a member of its Educational Committee for three years, and twice a delegate to the Minnesota State Federation of Labor conventions.

She has been prominent in labor defense work as a member of the National Committee of the Workers Defense League and was active for several years in the St. Paul Branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. In 1943 she was elected a delegate to the National Convention of the NAACP in Detroit.

Grace resigned in 1940 from the Minnesota Department of Education and ran as Socialist Workers Party candidate for U. S. Senator. She received over 5,700 votes, more than the combined votes of the Stalinist and Socialist parties.

## SENTENCED TO PRISON

On December 8, 1941, the day that America officially entered the war, Grace and 17 other Trotskyist leaders and members of Minneapolis Truckdrivers Local 544-CIO were sentenced to federal prison terms for opposition to the imperialist war and for their revolutionary socialist ideas.

In the two years during which the case was appealed through the courts, Grace, who was out on bail, continued her working-class activities. In 1942 she ran for mayor of St. Paul on the SWP ticket and received 3 percent of the total vote cast. Her last posts, before going to prison, were Minnesota State Organizer of the SWP and later organizer of the New York City SWP local.

On December 31, 1943 Grace

was sent to the Federal Reformatory for Women in Alderson, West Virginia to serve her 16-month prison sentence. Upon her release on January 24, 1945 she returned to her life and work in the Socialist Workers Party. Grace Carlson is a true continuator of the traditions of revolutionary women of the past and a banner-bearer of revolutionary socialism in the American labor movement.

## Carlson Tour Schedule

CITY	DATE
Allentown,	Tuesday, June 19
Philadelphia,	Wednesday, June 20
New York,	Friday, June 22
Newark,	Sunday, June 24
Boston,	Tues. - Wed. June 26, 27
Rochester,	Fri. - Sat. - June 29, 30
Buffalo,	Sunday, July 1
Pittsburgh,	Tuesday, July 3
Youngstown,	Thursday, July 5
Akron,	Friday, July 6
Cleveland,	Sunday, July 8
Toledo,	Monday, July 9
Detroit,	Tues. - Wed. July 10, 11
Chicago,	Sat. to Mon. July 14 to 16
Milwaukee,	Tuesday, July 17
St. Louis,	Thursday, July 19
Los Angeles,	Thurs. to Wed. Aug. 2 to 8
San Francisco,	Fri. to Sun. Aug. 10-12
Seattle,	Tues. to Thurs. Aug. 14 to 16
Missoula,	Friday, Aug. 17
Flintywood,	Sunday, Aug. 19
Twin Cities,	August 22

**The Russian Revolution**  
Two Lectures  
by  
**James P. Cannon**  
30 Pages 10 Cents  
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116 University Place  
New York 3, N. Y.

**FIGHT FOR THIS PROGRAM:**

- 1. Full employment and job security for all workers and veterans!**  
A sliding scale of hours! Reduce the hours of work with no reduction in pay!  
A rising scale of wages! Increase wages to meet the increased cost of living!  
Operate all government-built plants under workers' control!
- 2. Independence of the trade unions from the government!**  
Rescind the no-strike pledge!  
Withdraw union representatives from the War Labor Board!
- 3. Organization of the war veterans by the trade unions!**
- 4. Full equality for Negroes and national minorities! Down with Jim Crow!**
- 5. Working class political action!**  
Build the independent labor party!  
Establish the workers' and farmers' government!
- 6. Tax the rich, not the poor!**  
No taxes on incomes under \$5,000 a year!
- 7. A working class answer to capitalist militarism!**  
Military training of workers, financed by the government, but under control of the trade unions!  
Trade union wages for all workers in the armed forces!
- 8. Hands off the European and colonial peoples!**  
Withdraw the Allied Occupation Troops from Europe!  
Solidarity with the revolutionary struggles of the European and colonial peoples!

**Join the Socialist Workers Party!**  
SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY  
116 University Place  
New York 3, New York

I would like:

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

Name .....

(Please Print)

Address .....

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



# THE MILITANT

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



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

— Leon Trotsky

## Strikebreaker Tobin

The latest order of "Czar" Daniel J. Tobin to the 630,000 members of the AFL Teamsters International is to "disregard picket lines." Writing in the June issue of *The International Teamster*, Tobin says: "Most of those fellows who refuse to go through picket lines are yellow. It takes a real man to go through a picket line when he is ordered to do so by his International Union."

Teamsters are being ordered to go through not only the picket lines of outside unions but even their own! Teamsters' President Tobin writes: "Even if one of our own local unions is involved, before a sister union stops in sympathy with the union on strike, it must obtain the permission and sanction of the International Executive Board."

Knowing that rank and file teamsters, with their long tradition of class solidarity in strike struggles, would rebel at being forced into a strikebreaking role, Tobin resorts to flag-waving and to threats. The no-strike pledge is a "solemn and binding obligation" says Tobin. It must be upheld "until the wicked, monstrous savagery of Japan is overcome."

Those Teamsters Union members and officials who are not impressed by such hysterical patriotic appeals by Tobin are confronted with this open threat: "I am telling you now that you had better watch your step in sympathetic strikes and keep away from them."

Tobin is no amateur at "cracking down" on trade union militants. He was the chief instigator of the frame-up which sent 18 leaders of Minneapolis Truckdrivers Union, Local 544-CIO, and the Socialist Workers Party, to prison last year under the infamous anti-labor Smith "Gag" Act.

Coming from such a strikebreaking, frame-up artist as Tobin, the new definition of a "real union man" given in the June *International Teamster* will not strike a responsive chord in the hearts of honest trade unionists. Says "Czar" Tobin, "The man who observes the laws and rulings and decisions of his superior officers in the union is the real union man." But real union men do not go through picket lines — even on the orders of a bureaucrat like Tobin!

## French "Democracy"

The persecution of the French Trotskyists reported on the front page of this week's *Militant* serves to expose the mockery and fraud of the era of "democracy" which was supposed to have dawned in France with the coming of General de Gaulle. Thus repression at home goes hand in hand with the slaughter of the colonial peoples of Algeria and Syria.

De Gaulle's regime more and more openly reveals itself as a military-police dictatorship which acts as the political instrument of the big capitalists who yesterday collaborated with Hitler and today collaborate with Anglo-American imperialism against the French masses. This regime has worked to disarm the FFI partisans who fought so heroically against the Nazis. It has restored to power the Vichy police which acted as bloodhounds against the people for the Gestapo.

De Gaulle's government has not mitigated, much less solved, the critical problems of France. After ten months, inflation runs wilder than ever. The black marketers flourish under the kindly protection of de Gaulle. Unemployment is tremendous and the threat of outright famine grows more menacing to the working population with every passing day.

Opposition to these conditions is rising among the workers. Strikes have been sweeping the country from north to south. The Stalinist and Social-Democratic leaders of the trade unions are finding it more and more difficult to restrain this movement of mass protest.

De Gaulle proposes to deal with this rising movement of the hungry workers with the same

kind of repressive measures he is employing in the colonies. The jailing of the Trotskyists and the suppression of their paper, *La Verite*, (The Truth) are only the first steps in a calculated offensive against the entire working class. The French Trotskyists have been singled out for the first attack because they have been the most consistent defenders of the workers' interests and the most uncompromising opponents of de Gaulle's policies.

The dirtiest role in this assault upon the labor movement is being played by the Stalinist flunkies of de Gaulle. While the Stalinists strive to keep the masses from serious struggle against de Gaulle's hunger regime, they slander workingclass militants as "fascists" and "Hitlerites." They have been demanding that the government suppress the Trotskyists.

De Gaulle and the Stalinists will not succeed where Hitler and Petain failed. The French workers will rally to the defense of our persecuted comrades just as the American and British workers came to the defense of the Trotskyists persecuted and jailed by Roosevelt and Churchill. Capitalist persecution can not break the Trotskyist movement; it only serves to strengthen it in the eyes of the working class.

## Peacetime Censorship

With the ending of armed hostilities in Europe, war correspondents hoped the rigid Allied censorship would be lifted. Instead it has been tightened, and tightened precisely on news of the greatest importance to the labor movement—the news of political developments in Europe and the Mediterranean area.

When the protests of correspondents became embarrassing to the brass hats representing Anglo-American imperialism, they decreed May 30 that "censorship in this theater is hereby discontinued." In the very same sentence decreeing the end of censorship, however, they added an "except." The "except" includes "such matters of high military importance as may require reference to the Supreme Commander." Thus the decree abolishing censorship actually reaffirms the censorship!

The enemies of the workers and poor people need the censorship to cover up their nefarious deeds and deals. They screen events, carefully withholding the truth from the sieve. They pour in distortions and outright lies. The adulterated product that appears in dispatches is designed to bolster the puppet regimes and military dictatorships set up by the Allies. News about bloody repressions of the workers appears in the press mainly by accident. De Gaulle's reprisals against the Algerian people did not become known until a month after the event! The British imperialists in Greece sent out their own false reports of the civil war they provoked and prevented the press from even interviewing their slandered victims. Stalinism continues in the newly occupied territories the blackout on news it has maintained for years in the Soviet Union.

Freedom of the press — one of the freedoms promised in the Atlantic Charter — is a victim of the "peace" the Allies are inflicting on stricken Europe, just as it was a victim of war.

## Stalinist Cynicism

The Stalinists are posing as champions of freedom for the colonial peoples against the imperialist slavemasters of England and the United States. At the San Francisco conference the Soviet delegation has been pressing for a clause promising "independence" at some indefinite future to territories placed under international "trusteeship" in the projected "world security organization."

In its June 2 resolution announcing its new shift in line the National Board of the Communist Political Association complains that "the American delegation at San Francisco refused to join with the Soviet Union to pledge the right of national independence for mandated territories and colonies."

In the light of these words it is extremely instructive to note the position taken by the French Communist Party on the Syrian events. The French CP is the strongest Stalinist party in Europe. Jacques Duclos who gave the signal for the turn in the American Stalinist movement is one of its foremost leaders. Syria is a mandated colony which has long since been promised independence by the French imperialists. The Syrian people and its present government are now fighting for that promised independence against French troops.

But the Kremlin has friendly relations with the imperialist government of de Gaulle. The French Stalinists have supported that dictatorial capitalist regime from its inception. De Gaulle's savage repression of the Syrian people's fight for freedom has thrown his government into its gravest national and international crisis. Nevertheless, in obedience to Stalin's policy of backing de Gaulle, the French CP issued on May 31 a statement on the Syrian situation which simply echoed in a cowardly manner de Gaulle's brutal imperialist attitude. "Since Syrian and Lebanese independence cannot again be subjected to discussion," declared the French CP, "the Political Bureau regrets that certain moves should be interpreted in a manner prejudicial to our country."

And the June 5 *Daily Worker* reprints another statement of the same Political Bureau that the French CP "has decided to continue the party's collaboration in the government's tasks pending elections to the Constituent Assembly." The most pressing "government task" at the moment consists in the attempt to crush Syria's struggle for independence. The position of the French CP on Syria serves to demonstrate afresh how reactionary Stalinist policies really are.



"Poor Fifi had to eat chicken for three days — we couldn't get her roundsteak and she hates fish!"

## INTERNATIONAL NOTES

### Germany

A graphic report of the attitude of German workers towards Hitlerism and the Allied conquerors appears in the May issue of *Socialist Appeal*, official organ of the Revolutionary Communist Party, British section of the Fourth International. The reporter, A. Paton, is a Marxist journalist who was captured and served some months as a prisoner of war in Germany.

"The German workers wanted defeat," he declares. "And yet they had no illusions about the sort of peace that would follow an Allied victory."

A typical reaction is that expressed by "Julius, another old German laborer: 'The only value of the war to me has been to show me that all the people of Europe are pretty much the same, and have the same interests. In this mine we have Germans, French, Poles, Russians, Dutch, Danes, Serbs and English, and everybody—and they are all the same, and get on well together. It is big capital that makes them fight one another.'"

After a bombing of the small town where he was stationed, Paton and other prisoners of war were detailed to help repair the damage. Otto, a slater and plasterer, declared: "You got bombed in 1940, and we are getting it now. But you are not going to us, and we did not do it to you. It is big capital on both sides that does it."

As for the vicious atrocity campaign of the Allied propagandists, this prisoner of war who lived through the worst times of the conflict, has the following to say:

"Food got scarce, particularly during the last few months, when transport was in a chaotic state. But the German working class was living on practically the same diet as the prisoners—bread, potatoes and soup. They got the same quantity of bread and potatoes, and they drew their soup from the same kitchen as we did. Anyone who asserts that the German working class was living well, while the prisoners starved, is a liar."

"What about the general health of prisoners? When my particular batch arrived at Camp IV-B, Muhlberg on Elbe, in September last we remarked that we had seldom seen a fitter looking body of men than the prisoners who were already established there."

"Since that time, of course, German rations have gone down and down; but each cut in prisoners' rations was paralleled by a cut in civilian rations. And the civilians had no Red Cross parcels. Very often during the last few months the prisoners did not have them either because of the hopeless state of German transport. But that in itself did not create any 'living skeletons.' It was chiefly German political prisoners in concentration camps who were reduced to that state, for they had no 'protecting power,' and no agreement that they should get the same rations as the German army. To be sure, there were signs of undernourishment, chiefly manifest in the swelling up of legs and arms, the first degree of beriberi caused by Vitamin 'B' deficiency. But

that was only seen in a small minority of men, and those of whom I had any knowledge myself were quickly sent to a Stalag hospital for treatment."

"The British press has made much of 'German brutality.' But most of the cases they cite occurred in concentration camps. The torturers were Nazis; and the victims were German political prisoners. Undoubtedly, there have been cases of brutality against British and other P. O. W.'s. But they have been exceptional. The rule has been one of normal, decent treatment."

"I came away from Germany with a strong conviction that the German working class, far from being cowed and beaten, will soon be gathering its strength for a resumption of the class struggle," concluded Paton. "The German workers have been glad to see the end of Hitler's regime. But they have no illusions about the rule of Anglo-American imperialism. They are fully conscious of the role of 'Big Capital' on an international scale. The present period is one of waiting and watching."

### Paraguay

"Paraguayan laborers learned in March what it costs to strike against the Government of President General Higinio Morinigo," declares the May issue of *The Inter-American*. "Seven hundred union members who took part in the almost-general strike of late January were shipped off

to a concentration camp in the Gran Chaco.

"Even before that," continues the magazine, "the right of the unions to hold meetings was revoked, and their charters were suspended. Morinigo was reported in favor of sending the 700 participants back to their homes in the interior, but the matter was taken out of his hands by the pro-Fascist Aviation Chief, Major Pablo Stagni, and Marcos Fusto, head of the Paraguayan Gestapo."

"The concentration camp is located in the wildest part of the almost-waterless Chaco, some fifty miles north of Yrendague, which is itself about as isolated an outpost as can be imagined. What treatment will be accorded the erring laborers can only be surmised, but it is axiomatic that not even free men live well in the terrible sun-baked, insect-ridden region."

"This reprisal is the severest ever undertaken by the Morinigo Government. It is said to be part of a new wave of oppressive measures carried out by the small but powerful clique of Army majors under the influence of reactionary military elements in Buenos Aires."

### Egypt

While Churchill and Roosevelt were proclaiming to the world the many blessings of the Atlantic Charter, British imperialism cynically imposed rigid censorship to cover its brutal violations of democracy. A flagrant instance is reported for the first time by George Tucker in the June 3 New York Times.

In January, 1942 Egypt's Premier Hussein Sirry Pasha resigned. King Farouk chose for his successor Aly Maher Pasha, a man who had on occasion criticized the British.

The British Ambassador, Lampson, called on the King in February to tell him to get rid of this premier and to appoint one acceptable to the British—Mustafa Nahas Pasha.

The King politely refused. When the British Ambassador got tough, Farouk asked him to leave. The Ambassador thereupon called for help from Alexander Kirk, then United States Minister to Egypt. Kirk obliged by calling on Farouk and telling him Uncle Sam would be very pleased to see a nomination in accordance with British desires.

The British lion now decided to show its teeth. Ambassador Lampson arrived at 5 p.m. February 4, accompanied by Gen. Stone, commander of the British garrison forces in Egypt. Lampson laid two papers on the King's desk. "Here are two papers," he is reported to have said. "One calls for your immediate abdication. In that event a plane is waiting to take you to South Africa. The alternative is to name Nahas Pasha as Prime Minister."

New Zealand troops had meanwhile surrounded the palace. They overpowered the palace guards and two light tanks rolled up to the gates. As the King hesitated over the paper, the British Ambassador stepped to a window and drew aside the curtains so that the King could see his new guards and the tanks. Farouk took this subtle hint and signed the paper.

## QUESTION BOX

Q: Just how important is German industry for the well-being of all Europe?

A: Although Germany had only one-fifth of the population of continental Europe west of Russia, she produced about 60 per cent of Europe's coal, about half the pig iron and steel, over half the aluminum, 40 per cent of the cement, one-third of the sulphuric acid. Germany dominated all others also in the production of electrical machinery, machine tools, locomotives, scientific and optical instruments, as well as engineering of all kinds. Germany led Europe in terms of industrial management, skilled workers, research institutions, modern plant and organizing power. \*\*\*

Q: How much of India is ruled by native princes and do they have any independence?

A: The Indian princes rule over 93,189,233 people in an area of 715,964 square miles, but they are by no means "independent." They are just as much a part of the British Empire as the 295,508,722 people in an area of 865,446 square miles under the direct rule of the British imperialists. \*\*\*

Q: How many of the Japanese people in this country are citizens?

A: Of the 126,947 Japanese people in the U. S. proper, 79,642 are citizens and 47,305 are classified as aliens. Under the Oriental Exclusion Act, Japanese can be citizens only if they are born in this country.

## Surpluses in Peace and War Under Capitalism

That "free enterprise" monopoly capitalism has no means for maintaining production except through the destruction of the products created by labor in order artificially to keep a "market" is graphically illustrated by the aircraft industry.

The Aeronautical Chamber of Commerce of America, it was revealed on May 30, has addressed a plea to the War Surplus Property Board to scrap by reducing to metal all "unusable, obsolete and surplus military aircraft equipment."

Included in the billions worth of the finest aviation equipment in the world the aircraft profiteers want destroyed, according to H. M. Horner, president of the United Aircraft Corporation and chairman of the chamber's committee on surplus disposal, are half a million high-powered engines. These engines, built and paid for by the American people, he now wants "ploughed under" because American commercial needs after the war will be only 1 per cent of the supply on hand, or 5,000 engines.

So Mr. Horner proposes a "method of disposal" that would "tend to promote rather than destroy the markets of the aviation industry." Foreign markets, he admits, "won't dent the surface."

Where will the market come from? That's easy, says Horner. Melt down the present huge supply of planes for a "strategic reserve" of metals "which can be set aside and earmarked for war use only." Of those planes kept in military reserve, "not less than 25 per cent . . . should be replaced by new and improved models each year."

In short, the American people, far from being freed from the back-breaking burden of armaments, would be required every year to destroy a fourth of the war planes already produced and build the equivalent of another fourth to provide a "market" and profits for the plane manufacturers.

This is the plan of the capitalists to keep their profit system going. They have no idea of producing for the needs of the people. They look forward only to expanded militarism and more war, to planned destruction, in order that the few who monopolize the means of production may continue to have a profitable "market."

## How Bigger and Better Scarcities Are Made

How powerful financial speculators not only utilize scarcity, but create monopoly scarcity to force up prices of food products, was further demonstrated on May 28 when the War Food Administration moved for suspension of two corporations and four individuals from all grain contract markets for violation of the Commodity Exchange Act.

The WFA issued a complaint against the General Foods Corporation of New York and Rice & Co. of Chicago charging them with cornering 89 per cent of the total available and deliverable rye supply at Chicago in May, 1944.

According to the WFA charge, these leading food monopolies and speculators had manipulated the price of rye futures from December, 1942, to May, 1944, the time when the corner on the rye market was created.

Charles W. Metcalf, executive vice president of General Foods, admitted his firm "held a substantial inventory of rye," but "no corner." He said it was always "available . . . at market price." But since his company and the other defendants had a virtual monopoly on rye, and since the government has placed no ceilings on rye, it is clear who determined this "market price."

## Agricultural Barons Work To Undermine Wagner Act

A major drive is being unleashed by the big canning, food processing, dairying and other so-called "agricultural" interests to exempt their employees — estimated at about 3,000,000 — from the rights, guaranteed under the Wagner Act, to join unions and bargain collectively.

Spokesmen for the fruit and vegetable packing combines in California, Arizona, Texas, Florida, New York and other states last week stormed hearings of the House Select Committee to Investigate Acts of Executive Agencies Which Exceed Their Authority. They complained about the "unfairness" of the NLRB in holding collective bargaining elections in their industries and insisted that their employees don't come under the provisions of the Wagner Act.

Chairman of the committee is Rep. Howard W. Smith (D., Va.) who authored such vicious pieces of anti-labor legislation as the Smith-Connally anti-strike law and the Smith "Gag" Act of 1940. It goes without saying that Smith and his colleagues were most sympathetic and helped encourage the laboring packers to "prove" that the exploited workers in their industry weren't intended by Congress to secure the protection of the Wagner Act.

Since the Wagner Act does exempt actual agricultural workers, the packing, canning, and processing bosses are trying to claim that their workers are also "agricultural workers." In recent years, these workers have become increasingly unionized through bitter struggles and the CIO and AFL both have won numerous NLRB collective bargaining elections.

With the prompting of the House committee's attorney, John J. Wineberry, the packers complained that the NLRB was "helping to unionize" the workers by recognizing them under the Wagner Act. A spokesman for the International Apple Growers, Samuel Fraser, even bemoaned the fact that they had to hire union teamsters to haul fruit inside the New York city limits. He claimed such truck drivers were really "agricultural labor."

This drive to undermine the Wagner Act is a renewal of the one undertaken several years ago. At that time Congress rejected the Barden Amendment to exempt packers, canners and other food handlers and processors from the provisions of the Wagner Act. But the labor-haters scored a partial victory by securing exemptions under the Social Security and Walsh-Healy Acts. Now they are pressing to gain a complete victory and restore virtual slavery in their industries.