

"The History Of American Trotskyism"

SEE PAGE 6

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AUTO CONFERENCE URGES STRIKE VOTE

FIRST-HAND REPORT

Class Conflicts In Italy Today

Editor's Note: This report is dated Rome, June 8 and was therefore written just before the fall of the Bonomi cabinet.

The history of the Bonomi Government since its inception has been that of crisis following crisis.

Composed of six parties representing divergent social classes and divergent groups within those classes, completely dependent for its source of power on the Anglo-American military occupation forces.

Economically the country is on the verge of bankruptcy. Inflation is rife, produced, in the first place, by the rate of exchange imposed by the victorious Allies on vanquished Italy.

Workers Want to Break With Capitalists

The current crisis had its origin directly in the "liberation" of Milan, Genoa, Bologna, Turin and the other cities and towns in Italy's industrial heartland.

Meanwhile, Messrs Togliatti and Nenni, leaders of the Stalinist and Socialist Parties, respectively, hastened to Milan to check their impetuous followers.

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NEW YORK SWP ISSUES STATEMENT ON ELECTION

The New York Local of the Socialist Workers Party, which is running two candidates in the forthcoming New York City municipal elections, this week issued a statement defining the broad issues around which the party's official campaign platform will be built.

TEXT OF STATEMENT

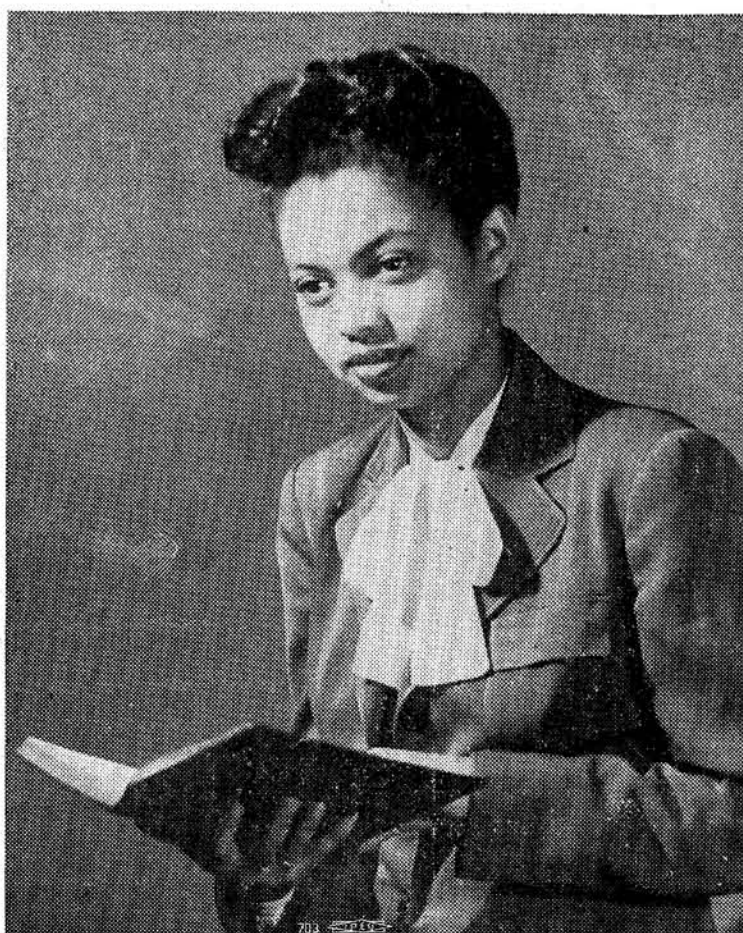
Wall Street's political parties are equally responsible for plunging the United States into the catastrophe of the Second World War.

ending bloodshed. That is why both Republicans and Democrats support peacetime conscription and the Prussianization of American youth.

The American Labor Party and the Liberal Party are simply

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Trotskyist Candidate for N. Y. City Council



LOUISE SIMPSON

European Peoples Ready for Socialism

"All of depressed and discouraged Europe is ripe for Communism," declared Representative W. Sterling Cole of New York, to an AP correspondent in Washington on June 13.

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

Reaction Hounds The Trotskyists Thruout Europe

Capitalist reaction in Europe, aided and abetted by the Stalinists, has unleashed a campaign of persecution and repression against the partisans of the Fourth International.

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

ARRESTS IN FRANCE

2. Confirmation has been received of widespread arrests of members of Parti Communiste Internationaliste (Internationalist Communist Party) in France and the suppression of its organ, La Verite. Censorship still veils the details, but a letter from Paris warns of the danger that the Stalinists may succeed, under the auspices of the de Gaulle government, in staging a frame-up trial of the well-known Moscow type in which the attempt will be made to link the Trotskyists with the Nazis.

3. The most terrible news comes from Greece. Stalinist murder gangs in that country, during the period of fighting against the British troops and their Greek puppets, took advantage of the situation to round up and murder a hundred Trotskyists.

4. In Italy, until recently, even the Stalinist hoodlums had to behave within certain limits toward working-class opponents

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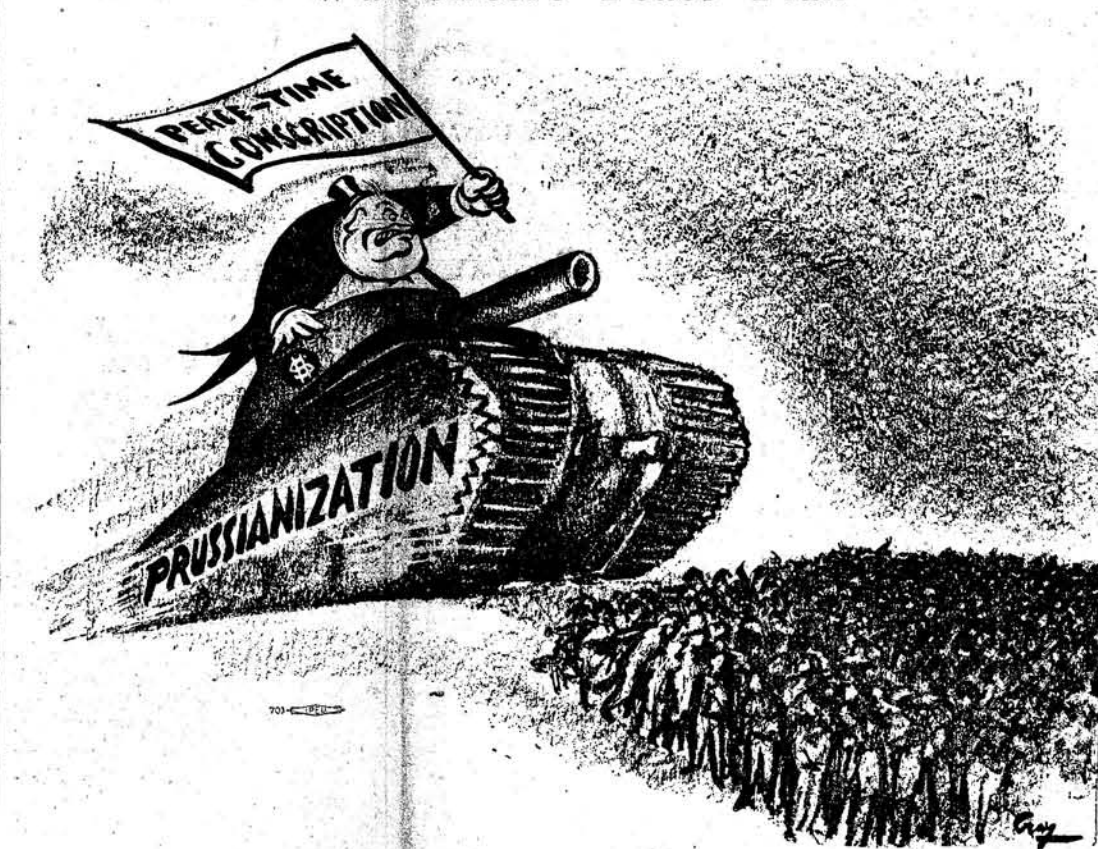
Housing Project Bars Negro Vets

One more proof of the fact that Negro soldiers returning from the war which was supposed to spread the "Four Freedoms" all over the world, will find very little freedom at home, comes in the revelations about the Federal Housing program.

PM's reporter, W.H. Baldinger, in a story in the June 15 issue, tells of an interview with FHA authorities in Washington D. C. in which he was told very frankly that the new government project at Paisley Woods, near Arlington, Va. would be restricted to whites.

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

Wall Street's "Peace" Plan



Brass Hats Push Legislation To Militarize American Youth

By Joseph Hansen

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

The capitalists want huge "peacetime" armies to put down working class revolutions and colonial rebellions. Maj. Gen. William F. Tompkins, for instance, advocated that "the trainee should be put in a reserve corps for five years" after completing his year of training. Thus out of a six-year stretch, a youth would spend only one year "training" but five years "serving."

WAR UNENDING

Wall Street has no other perspective but unending war. They want peacetime conscription as part of their preparation for the Third World War. Secretary of War Stimson admitted as much in his testimony June 15: "We have no right to gamble on the hope that our country for the third time will have even the little breathing space she has had in the last two wars."

The ultra-reactionary Chamber of Commerce backed up the warmongers with the declaration June 14 that "a year of compulsory military service for America's young men would be good

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Text Of Detroit UAW Conference Resolution

The full text of the resolution on strike action to smash the Little Steel formula, adopted by the June 14 regional conference of over 400 UAW-CIO local officers, in Detroit, reads as follows:

WHEREAS: Congress made provision guaranteeing the Corporations social security during the reconversion period by underwriting their profits and the Office of Price Administration has granted price increases to all consumer and food industries to guarantee profits, and

WHEREAS: The thousands of UAW-CIO members have been thrown out of work and weekly earnings of additional thousands have been drastically cut as a result of the reduced work week, while the cost of living continues to sky-rocket, forcing real wages of the workers lower and lower, and

WHEREAS: President Truman announced at the June 7th conference that the hated "Little Steel Formula" is to be maintained, while at the same conference he announced that he was in favor of immediate salary increases to Congressmen of 150%, which will come out of the workers pay checks as hidden taxes, and

WHEREAS: The UAW-CIO maintenance workers have had legitimate demands of industry-wide wage stabilization at increased rate of pay kicked around for over two years and finally denied them, and

WHEREAS: The United Mine Workers have demonstrated that it is possible to obtain substantial increases in pay as proven by their last negotiations, and

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED: That we go on record in favor of the 30-hour week at no reduction in take-home pay, and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED: That we call upon the International Executive Board of the UAW-CIO to take the first practical steps in this direction by instructing all Local Unions and Corporation Departments to immediately initiate negotiations for instituting the 40-hour week at 48 hours of pay, that is, with a 30% hourly rate pay increase, and

IN THE NEWS

For 'Fair' Price-Gouging

Speaking before a Senate hearing on price control Senator Taft of Ohio recently stated he was for "the prevention only of unfair price inflation."

The Two Big Questions

All edicts to the contrary, fraternization between Allied troops and German civilians is "widespread and increasing," reports Daniel De Luce, AP correspondent, from Germany, June 12. "I have yet to meet a soldier, whether he comes from London, the Mississippi Valley or the Alberta wheatfields, who wants the ban (on fraternization) continued... With Americans, Britons and Canadians the two big questions are the same: When do we go home? When can we fraternize legally?"

ARMY PATTERN

"The great forces necessary in war," he said, "must be produced through a citizen military training system in time of peace... Pay must be nominal. There must be no attempt to compete with industry in the matter of wages... Psychological indoctrination and

(Continued on page 4)

"Let's Have It In"

Senator McKellar, president of the Senate, who draws \$15,000 annual salary for his post, voted in committee against an additional \$2,500 "expense account" for Congressmen. The same bill provided McKellar, as president of the Senate, with \$15,000 additional for "office help." When this item was read off for final vote in committee, without hesitation McKellar said: "I think you'd better leave that in. I won't use it unless I have to, but let's have it in."

Between Wars

"Administration leaders assured the nation today that there would be no economic collapse during the reconversion period... Throughout the period between wars, the emphasis will be easing up government production control to let the forces of free enterprise and competition get back to work." (Indianapolis Times).

No Discrimination -- But

The Beverly Hills (Hollywood) Chamber of Commerce and Civic Association is a sponsor of the Mayor's Community Council on Anti-Racial Discrimination. A committee of the chamber, headed by Harold Lloyd, wrote residents of Beverly Hills to advise them that the "original deed restrictions" on their property had expired. "Our committee has been formed to renew the original restrictions," said the letter, advising the recipients to sign a statement saying that they wanted their residential areas to be owned and occupied exclusively by those of the "white or Caucasian race."

Detroit Local Leaders Demand Action Program

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

By John Saunders

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

20,000 Goodyear Rubber Workers Strike in Akron

By JOSEPH ANDREWS

Special to THE MILITANT

AKRON, O., June 18 (By Wire) — Some 20,000 Goodyear Tire and Rubber Workers early yesterday walked out on a strike officially called by the executive board of Local 2, CIO United Rubber Workers.

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

SOLID ACTION

For the third time since 1935 the huge furnace of the Goodyear Rubber plant was down. But unlike the events in all previous Goodyear strikes, there were no battles on the picket lines. There were no cops attempting to smash them. The strike was impressively strong and militant.

This walkout followed an NLRB strike vote on May 28, when the Goodyear workers voted 3 to 1 in favor of strike action

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With only 20 dissenting votes this meeting called upon the UAW International Executive Board to petition the NLRB to conduct a strike vote in all UAW plants under the terms of the Smith-Connally Act in order to "guarantee success of their negotiations" for a "30% hourly pay increase."

This conference is one of a series of regional meetings called by the UAW International at the insistence of the local union presidents who a month ago demanded this opportunity to discuss and change the present do-nothing policy of the leadership.

Roused by the drastic cutbacks, smaller pay checks as the result of the reduced work week, growing mass unemployment in the face of price increases readily granted by the OPA, and huge profits guaranteed to the big-business hogs, the workers in the shops are clamoring for action.

RESIST COWARDLY ADVICE

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

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Chicago Drivers Walk Out, Defy Army Strikebreaking

CHICAGO, June 18 — Defying government attempts to whip them back to work with the use of 5,000 troops, some 13,000 truck drivers today continued their militant strike begun Saturday after the government "seized" all trucking lines and threatened the workers with fines and imprisonment under the vicious Smith-Connally anti-strike law.

Government officials, army brass hats and big hauling firms are working hand in glove to smash the morale of the strikers. Several hundred troops were put on to drive trucks today, but between 12,000 and 13,000 trucks are admitted to be tied up. Army-driven trucks, as strikers pointed out, were largely empty.

JOIN WALKOUT

Thousands of members of Local 705, AFL Teamsters, have joined in the walkout initiated by the 6,000 members of the Chicago Truck Drivers' Union, independent. Their action of solidarity with the independent union drivers has been taken in direct defiance of the condemnation of the strike by the AFL Teamsters local leaders.

They have also given the only fitting reply to AFL Teamsters President Tobin who recently said that any member of his union who refused to break a picket line was "yellow."

The strike was called in protest against a WLB decision rejecting the independent union's demands for a \$5 wage increase for a 48-hour week. The WLB granted a \$4.08 increase for 51 hours, which the union voted down last week. These Chicago drivers get overtime only after 51 hours, instead of the standard 48 fixed by the government.

Following a previous week-long strike, the independent union drivers returned to work on May 23 after the government first "seized" the struck lines and when the WLB intimated it would reconsider and grant the union's demands.

STRIKEBREAKING DRIVE

A vicious campaign of government strikebreaking is under way. Ellis T. Longenecker, Office of Defense Transportation official in charge of the "seizure," today said: "The Army will break the strike." He stated further that he has proposed the drafting of strikers under 38 to be put in the Army tomorrow and be put behind the wheels of trucks the next day.

Strikers are militantly resisting attempts to operate scab trucks. Some ten strikers were arrested and have been held without charge since Saturday. But the number of strikers has grown from 6,000 to 13,000 since Saturday.

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Akron Goodyear Workers Strike Rubber Plants As Grievances Pile Up

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

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

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

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

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

Goodrich Men Show Militant Attitude

AKRON, June 5 — Twelve hundred Goodrich workers dealt a stiff blow to attempts to defile the militancy of Local 5, CIO United Rubber Workers, when at a mass meeting yesterday they voted overwhelmingly to reinstate two tire division committeemen who had been removed by the local union executive board for "violating the no-strike pledge."

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

MEETING CALLED

This action further aroused the tire builders, who backed up their committeemen by demanding their reinstatement before the division went back to work. The problem had been satisfactorily settled with the company. To get the men to return to work Saylor was forced to call the mass meeting. The meeting witnessed a rousing display of militancy and sound unionism, especially by the tire division workers.

Saylor led off with a report

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

The tire builders at the mass meeting gave Saylor a fitting reply. Committeeman Nichols, of the tire division, gave a sober factual report of the grievance which resulted in the walkout. He explained that the company had attempted to force tire builders working on a big tire to accept inexperienced and untrained helpers, just hired off the street, 16 or 17-year-old boys.

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

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

The tire builders refused to work with the inexperienced hands and were sent home by the foremen. The company finally agreed that it was wrong, and agreed to train men for the job or to use experienced workers. But when the tire builders learned that their committeemen had been removed they knew they had another battle to win — a battle for decent unionism.

TEN TO ONE VOTE

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

Sherman Dalrymple, URW International President, spoke after the vote was taken. The militant spirit of the meeting prevented him from speaking as he usually does. He did not mention the no-strike pledge, pleading only "For God's sake, let there be no departmental walkouts. If you must have a fight, let it be done by the local union as a whole." He of course urged that there be no walkouts, but made no threats, and stated he was satisfied with the decision of the meeting.

Rubber Workers Call Stalinists 'Union-Wreckers'

AKRON, June 5 — The flagrant anti-union campaign begun by the Stalinists in the United Rubber Workers Goodyear Local 2, when they attempted two weeks ago to prevent an NLRB strike vote from being taken after it had been voted for by a huge majority at a mass meeting of the local, was answered in fitting terms by the meeting of 1,200 Goodrich Local 5 URWA workers who jammed the Akron Armory Sunday, June 4.

Following is a resolution introduced at this meeting by George Bass, executive secretary of the Akron Industrial Union Council, and passed unanimously:

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

WHEREAS: The disruption campaign initiated by George F. Boyer, executive board member of Goodyear Local 2 and 20 local union members, by means of a newspaper ad and radio talk sprung on the very eve of an NLRB strike vote to be taken by the membership, played directly into the hands of the Goodyear corporation and weakened the union in its attempts to put pressure on the company to cease wage cuts and anti-union practices, and

WHEREAS: This attempt to sow confusion and uncertainty in the union ranks at the 11th hour before a strike vote was in direct violation of the will of the membership of Local 2 which had voted in a huge mass meeting to endorse the holding of a strike ballot, and

WHEREAS: The sinister and treacherous methods of Boyer and his group is typical of the party-line followers of Earl Browder and his gang of union wreckers who are the worst enemies of the labor movement within its ranks,

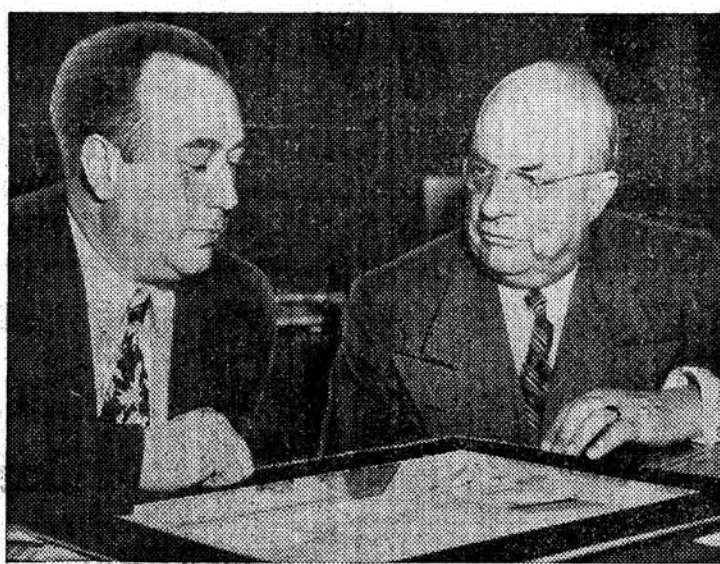
THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED: That Local 5 support President C. V. Wheeler, the majority of the executive board and the membership of Local 2 in repudiating and condemning the union busting campaign of Boyer and his group, and **BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED:** That we serve notice on these union-busting elements who are trying to weaken the URWA in its attempts to defend itself against company inroads on union standards, that we will not tolerate their methods or their kind. We believe in union solidarity in the face of company attacks, and we will not sit idly by while Boyer and his type try to confuse, weaken or split the ranks of unionism in this critical period, and **BE IT FINALLY RESOLVED:** That copies of this resolution be sent to the Goodyear Local 2, Firestone Local 7, General Local 9, to International President Sherman Dalrymple, to the Akron Industrial Union Council, and to the public and labor press.

Erwin Baur of Budd Local 306 showed the bankruptcy of the International leadership when he lashed out at Thomas and held his arguments up to ridicule: "The majority resolution contains all the good things except for one item. It does not show us how to obtain them. Yet it has been done. The miners did it twice. Did they do it as Thomas suggests by running to Washington? Was their union smashed because they used their most potent weapon? The demagogic appeal by Thomas was not borne out by the truth. Unless we implement this resolution with strike action and thereby give it 'urgency,' it is not worth the paper it is written on. What other method has the leadership to offer? No other method has been suggested."

This speech set the tone for the discussion and local president after president echoed these sentiments. Bill Jenkins, president of Chrysler Local 490, took another dig at Thomas when he assured the conference: "I have heard too much about irresponsible people who are out to wreck the union. But the fact is that the NLRB will not act until it is pressured, till 'urgency' arises. We need teeth in the resolution so that our officers can get what they need when they argue with the boss."

Matt Hammond, president of

Pleads With Plutocrat



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

DETROIT AUTO PARLEY DEMANDS STRIKE VOTE

(Continued from page 1)

igan area, likewise voted to rescind the no-strike pledge.

A MILITANT TONE

The Detroit conference was a business-like affair from start to finish. The local officers knew exactly what they wanted and had no difficulty seeing thru all attempts of the UAW leadership to keep them from expressing their will. They disregarded the cowardly advice of UAW President R. J. Thomas not to be "rabble-roused into a strike at this time," lest such action "smash this union." And they overruled chairman Richard Leonard, co-director of the Detroit West Side Region, when he attempted to declare the minority resolution calling for mass strike action out of order.

This resolution, originally submitted by the Dodge Local 140 delegation, was introduced by Mike Novak, Dodge Local 3 president, in his report for the minority of the conference resolutions committee. The resolutions committee had been hand-picked by Leonard.

Following the lead given in a resolution passed a week ago by the Briggs Local 212 Executive Board, the delegates were determined to implement their demands by the use of their most potent weapon. Even the resolutions committee majority resolution reminded the International leadership that "the United Mine Workers have demonstrated that it is possible to obtain substantial increases in pay."

STORM BREAKS LOOSE

There was no difference between the majority and minority resolutions for a 30% increase in pay and for immediate reduction in the work week to 40 hours as a first step in obtaining the 30 hour week. The defeated majority resolution, however, omitted any reference to strike action to back up this demand. A veritable storm broke loose when the two resolutions hit the floor.

Art Hughes, president of Dodge Truck Local 140, who sponsored the minority resolution at the conference and who successfully appealed the ruling of the chair to declare the minority resolution out of order, called for action by the delegates. "There are still leaders who are hamstringing rank and file workers on the equality of sacrifice program. It is high time that we get up on our hind legs and demand what we want for our people in the plants."

Erwin Baur of Budd Local 306 showed the bankruptcy of the International leadership when he lashed out at Thomas and held his arguments up to ridicule: "The majority resolution contains all the good things except for one item. It does not show us how to obtain them. Yet it has been done. The miners did it twice. Did they do it as Thomas suggests by running to Washington? Was their union smashed because they used their most potent weapon? The demagogic appeal by Thomas was not borne out by the truth. Unless we implement this resolution with strike action and thereby give it 'urgency,' it is not worth the paper it is written on. What other method has the leadership to offer? No other method has been suggested."

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Matt Hammond, president of

Bell Aircraft Fires Unionists For Sit-In Protest

BUFFALO, N. Y., June 9 — Continuing its attack on Local 501 UAW-CIO, Bell Aircraft Corporation last Wednesday fired eighteen men and women all of whom, except two, are union committeemen or stewards. Included in this number is one of the two vice-presidents of the union, Anthony Marino. Those fired were part of a sit-in protest involving over one thousand workers in the Buffalo and Niagara Falls plants on May 28. The protest took place when the company flagrantly violated the seniority clauses of the contract. The sit-in compelled the company to notify within twenty-four hours the eight thousand being laid off. The company's original intention was to let these workers wait a week while the plant was closed down for inventory before they would know whether or not they still had jobs.

BLOW AFTER BLOW

The firings took place when the workers returned to work, Wednesday morning. It is reported that the company plans additional firings in the near future.

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

Many of the 2,600 foremen in the plant will take over the jobs of union members who have less seniority. From all accounts it appears that Bell's last army contract for target planes has been cancelled. This means additional layoffs. It is likely that the plant will shut down entirely, a possibility raised in The Militant articles several weeks ago. At best, Bell will continue to operate on a greatly reduced basis with the work being done mainly by ex-foremen.

SPEAK FOR STRIKE

A stewards' meeting was held the day the firings took place. A number of those present spoke for strike action as the only possible means of halting the union busting drive of the company and putting those fired back to work.

An international representative and most of the local officials present spoke against this action and urged that the matter of the firings go to arbitration. After considerable discussion the workers voted without enthusiasm to send the matter to arbitration.

STALINISTS AGAINST

Michael Lacey, president of Chevrolet Local 235, expressed surprise that the handpicked resolutions committee should omit the last resolve calling for strike action in view of the overwhelming support the minority resolution had received at the president's meeting the night before. "Are we going to continue to retreat, retreat?" he asked the delegates. "I'm tired of having to retreat." Mike Novak, Dodge Local 3 president, and Hill of the same local both showed that the only way to get results was to get rid of the no-strike pledge.

Only one local officer dared to speak against the minority resolution. John Anderson, Stalinist president of Local 155, pleaded with the delegates that the referendum vote taken before Hitler was defeated was still binding. He also stated that this was not the time to strike. Showing his confusion due to a possible shift in the Stalinist line, he assured the meeting that he was "not a prophet as to the future."

The delegates gave a fitting answer to the Stalinist line of betrayal as well as to the cowardly cringing of the top leadership. They remained unimpressed by Thomas's plea that "You are striking against the government. You cannot in time of war strike against the government." This group of local officers has come to realize that the government is nothing but an agency of the employers.

They did take for good coin Thomas's statement that "not a single individual on all the Washington boards could give us a single answer to any one of these pressing problems." They therefore saw no need to go hat in hand through the same farcical procedure.

REUTHER'S DEMAGOGY

The mood of the local officers forced Walter Reuther to "rabble-rouse" the conference. He spoke of two standards in Washington, one for the workers and one for big business. "Why is this?" he asked. "Because the powers that be are exerting pressure that Washington understands and yields to. We too

TRADE UNION NOTES

By Joseph Keller

Open-Shop Victory

One of the most dangerous assaults against the trade unions is the campaign throughout the state legislatures for laws banning closed shop contracts. Two states, South Dakota and Florida, already have such measures. Last week, on June 12, a three-man federal court in Tampa, Florida, dismissed a temporary injunction secured by the AFL and 56 of its affiliates against enforcement of the closed shop ban. The court ruled that such an anti-labor restriction was "constitutional."

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

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

Scandal of Willow Run

There is growing resentment in the ranks of the CIO Automobile Workers against the conduct of President R. J. Thomas and other top officials following the closing of the Willow Run bombing plant and the firing of 21,000 workers. Thomas has put forward as his "solution" an appeal to the war profiteer, Henry J. Kaiser, to secure the government-owned plant for a song and "give" the workers jobs.

An article in Spicer Unit News, organ of Spicer Unit, Toledo Local 12, UAW-CIO, comments: "One of the planks in the program of the UAW Veterans Administration calls for the government ownership and operation of these government owned war plants. Why is not this solution brought forward by the International Board today? Or what plank put in the program because it sounded pretty rough and might serve to convince a few people that there was fight in the old boys yet? The call for government operation with the full weight of the rest of the union pledging support to the displaced workers of solidarity with a program of fight, would place the blame squarely where it belongs. The government in spite of the pressure of its business advisers would be forced to take action. The scandal of Willow Run and its thousands of cast-aside workers should be broadcast till it scandalizes the nation."

How quickly and harshly the government acts to crush workers on strike against unjust rulings of the WLB! How slowly and cautiously it moves against employers who defy the government by refusing to concede even the meager gains for workers that the WLB in a few instances has yielded under pressure.

10 Years Ago In The Militant

JUNE 15, 1935

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

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

Vincent R. Dunne, upholding the Trotskyist position, posed the tasks of a revolutionary party in municipal elections. He declared: "The Communist Party today is no more the party of Lenin than the Republican Party is the party of Lincoln."

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

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

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TROTSKY'S PREDICTION ON STALINIST SHIFTS

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

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

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

The Roots of Degeneration

Ten years ago it was predicted that the theory of socialism in one country must inevitably lead to the growth of nationalist tendencies in the sections of the Comintern. This prediction has become an obvious fact. But until recently, the chauvinism of the French, British, Belgian, Czechoslovak, American and other communist parties seemed to be, and, to a certain extent, was, a refracted image of the interests of Soviet diplomacy ("the defense of the USSR"). Today, we can predict with assurance the inception of a new stage. The growth of imperialist antagonisms, the obvious proximity of the war danger and the equally obvious isolation of the USSR must unavoidably strengthen the centrifugal nationalist tendencies within the Comintern. Each one of its sections will begin to evolve a patriotic policy on its own account. Stalin has reconciled the communist parties of imperialist democracies with their national bourgeoisies. This stage has now been passed. The Bonapartist procurer has played his role. Henceforth the communo-chauvinists will have to worry about their own hides, whose interests by no means always coincide with the "defense of the USSR."

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

The Downward Course of Stalinism

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

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

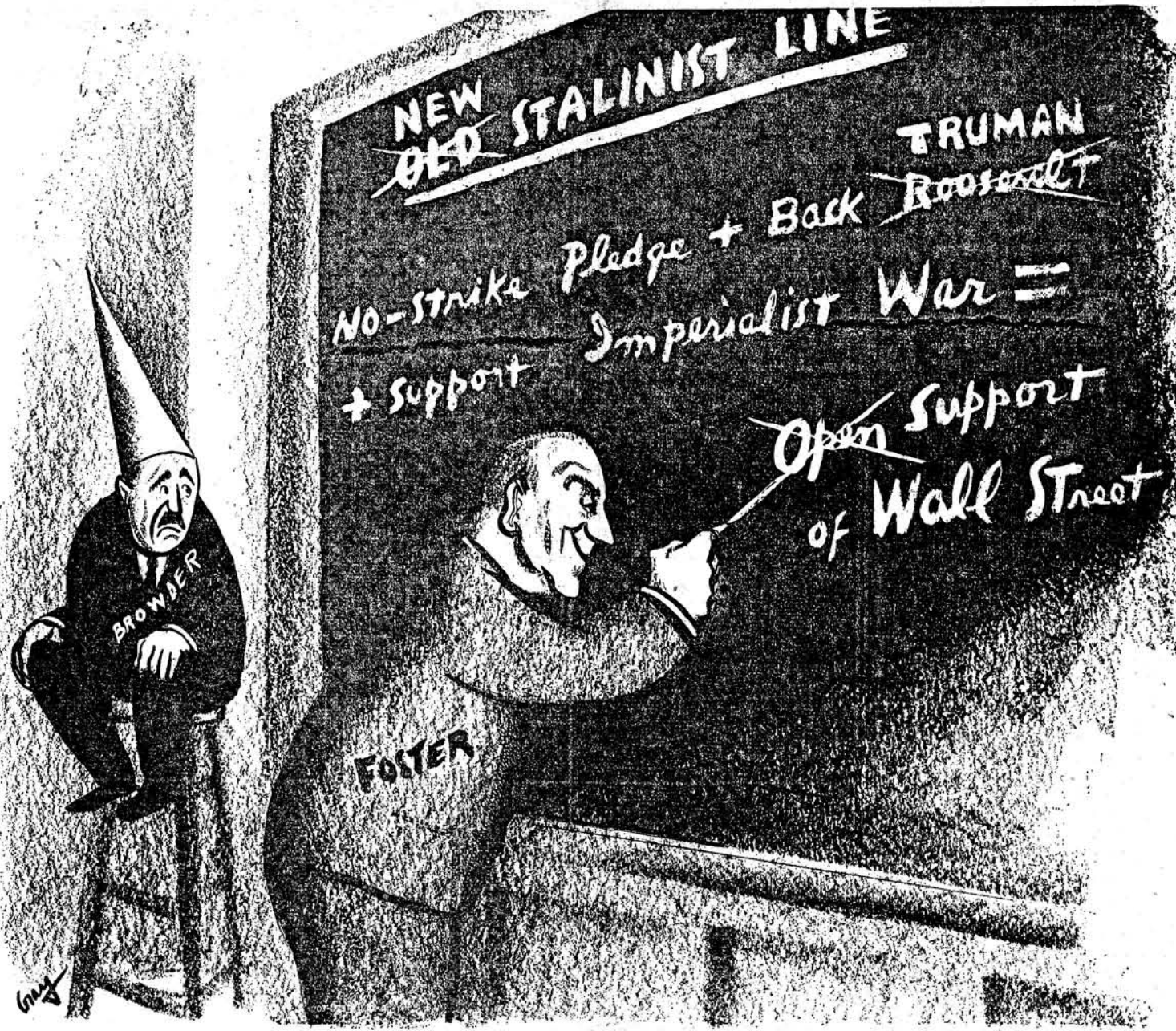
On the contrary in countries of the hostile camp, i.e., precisely where Moscow will be in greatest need of defenders, the ex-communist parties will be found completely on the side of their imperialist Fatherland: this course will be infinitely less dangerous and far more profitable. The ruling Moscow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

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LAYOFFS -- HOW TO FIGHT THEM

Speaker: ROBERT CHESTER
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Discussion Refreshments

It's Still the Same Answer



New York SWP Statement On Elections Outlines Fundamental Campaign Issues

(Continued from page 1)

shadows of the Democrats and Republicans. They have taken as their major task the collection of working class votes for capitalist candidates.

To solve the burning problems of the postwar period, labor must begin by opposing these reactionary and perfidious political machines in the service of Wall Street.

1. For working class political action!

The modern battles of labor are being fought out more and more on the political field. To support any of the boss politicians or boss parties is to stab labor in the back. Build an independent labor party! Take labor's fight into the halls of the legislatures and Congress! Establish a workers' and farmers' government!

2. Continue to operate the government-built plants!

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

During conversion to peace-time production, the government protects the profits of the bosses. But the workers are left to starve. The worker's income must be insured during this critical period! Keep every worker on the payroll at his full rate of pay!

3. Full employment and job security for all workers and veterans!

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

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

The bosses and their politicians hope to divide the workers by setting nationalities and colors against each other. Despite all their election promises to institute fair employment practices, they continue the vicious Jim Crow system. Defend the Negroes' right to decent jobs at decent wages! Unite the labor movement by fighting segregation and discrimination everywhere!

5. Safeguard the American workers' standard of living!

The Washington bureaucrats promised to keep down the cost of living. But prices have skyrocketed beyond reach of the average family. To preserve the standard of living, institute a sliding scale of wages! Increase wages to meet the increased cost of living!

The black market is depriving the working class family of more and more food. Meat is rapidly becoming a luxury available only to those rich enough to afford private locker refrigerators in the country or to eat in swank restaurants. Smash the black market system fostered by the Wall Street politicians! Organize consumers' committees to check prices and stop the diversion of goods into the black market!

Bad as the housing shortage was at the beginning of the war, it has since steadily worsened. Arrogant landlords cut down on services and chisel on rent contracts. Only an adequate program of government housing projects can ease the intolerable situation. Expand housing in ratio to growing population needs. Replace the slums and firetraps with modern low-rent apartments! Make work for the building trades! Build homes instead of bombers!

Transportation facilities have gone from bad to worse. The unprecedented number of train wrecks is only one indication of wartime deterioration. Prevent wrecks from spreading to New York's suburbs! The safety of the public requires immediate replacement of all worn-out equipment! Expand transportation to eliminate dangerous congestion!

6. Tax the rich, not the poor!

During the war, Big Business has rolled up the most phenomenal profits in all history. Yet the staggering burden of taxation to pay for the war has been placed on the backs of the poor. Confiscate all war profits! An end to all taxes on incomes under \$5,000 a year!

7. Make New York 100 percent union!

Government bureaucrats and trade union officials carrying out the no-strike pledge have paralyzed the labor movement. Without the no-strike pledge the bosses could not have maintained the wage freeze. Rescind the no-strike pledge! Withdraw union representatives from the employer-dominated War Labor Board! Put union men in office who will represent the workers in labor disputes! Free the trade unions from the shackles forged by Big Business!

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

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

9. A working class answer to capitalist militarism!

Under the pretext of providing military training for the citizenry, Wall Street wants to Prussianize the United States. Give them a working class answer! Let military training be placed under the strict control of the trade unions. Counteract the hate propaganda of the mushrooming military caste through trade union supervision of military education. Provide trade union wages for all workers in the armed forces!

10. Hands off the European and colonial peoples!

Wall Street intends to put down working class revolutions wherever they appear. That is why they want to continue policing countries overseas indefinitely. Withdraw the Allied occupation troops! Support the revolutionary struggles of the workers in other lands!

11. For a socialist society!

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

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

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Diary of a STEEL WORKER

By Theodore Kovalesky

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

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

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

But when Jerry left, he was told that his old job would be waiting for him when he came back home again. And I suppose that made him feel a little safer, a little more secure in his worried thoughts of unemployment after the war. Some guys wouldn't have anything; they'd be broke and out of a job. But it was in the bag for Jerry. They'd promised him, hadn't they?



ONE OF WAR'S HUMAN WRECKS

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

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

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

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

THE BOSS HAS NO USE FOR HIM

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

Pretty soon Jerry was back. His body shook even worse than before, and his voice was terribly indistinct. In his eyes you could see indignation and anger. And there was fear, too, that was not much concealed.

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

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

Shift Foreseen In Wage Policy Of NMU Leaders

NEW YORK, June 18 — The first step in the "wage policy" of the Stalinist leadership of the National Maritime Union (NMU) appeared near an end last week as the American Merchant Marine Institute (ship operators' association) announced that more time is needed to "study" the union's wage demands.

The union negotiating committee countered with a proposal that the operators meet with them on Tuesday, June 19, and be prepared "to state positively whether or not they will seriously negotiate with the NMU on its proposals." This was followed by the threat that unless the operators give a flat "yes" or "no" answer, a second step will be taken. This second step was described in the NMU Pilot, June 8, which said that if the operators fail to respond, "certification of the case to the National War Labor Board must follow swiftly."

WAGE DEMANDS

In a wire to AMMI President Frank J. Taylor, the NMU negotiating committee called attention to the fact that the Maritime War Emergency Board will meet shortly to consider elimination of the Atlantic war bonus for seamen. The NMU is demanding that before bonuses are cut out in Atlantic waters wages for merchant seamen be brought up to the level of other industrial workers. This demand includes:

- (1) The 55 cent hourly minimum wage for the lowest rating aboard ship, ordinary seaman.
- (2) The 40-hour week for all ratings.
- (3) Wage increases, based on the 55 cent minimum for ordinary seamen for all ratings.
- (4) Time and a half for Saturdays and double time for Sundays.

time bonuses, amounts to a 100% increase in the pre-war base pay for merchant seamen. Notoriously underpaid before the war, able seamen worked a 56-hour week at sea for \$72.50 a month. Wartime wage increases brought this base pay up to \$100. The war-risk bonus of 100 per cent doubled this in certain zones, especially those designated as "dangerous."

The Stalinist leaders of the NMU are trying to convince the membership that the wage increase can be won within the framework of existing government arbitration machinery and wage formulas. This is the real meaning of their "wage policy."

As reported in the Pilot, at the June 7 meeting of the union, John Rogan, speaking for the negotiating committee, "emphasized that wires should continue to insist to the MWED in Washington that the bonus cut be postponed while the negotiations with the operators are in progress, and declared that we must stress the responsibility which the operators and government bear to guarantee a living wage for the seamen and their families."

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

Ask Your Shopmate to Subscribe to The Militant

Brass Hats Pushing Peacetime Draft

(Continued from page 1)

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

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

WEAK ANSWER

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

Hines, however, betrayed the interests of the labor movement when he conceded in principle the demands of Wall Street. He advocated the maintenance of an "army," an air force and navy adequate to make our views on national and international policies respected, to safeguard our possessions and to perform our responsibilities as a member of any world-wide organization that is dedicated to peace." This is precisely what the militarists want!

USE RACE SLANDER IN HOSPITAL PROBE

By Grace Carlson

Failing in his attempts to whitewash the responsible Veterans' Administration officials, Representative John Rankin, chairman of the House Veterans Committee is now trying to inject the race issue into the investigation of conditions in veterans' hospitals. At the conclusion of the committee's hearing on June 14, at which Colonel Louis Verdel, manager of the Veterans Mental Hospital at Northport, N. Y. confirmed earlier revelations of brutal treatment of veteran patients there, the Jim Crower from Mississippi burst out with:

"It is a disgrace that the War Dept. should send bigger troops into our Veterans Administration Hospitals to be mixed up with white nurses and with officers who cannot enforce discipline." This was in reference to Col. Verdel's testimony that 130 Negro soldiers have been attached to the Northport Hospital as attendants and that 13 Negro soldiers have recently been court-martialed for alleged mistreatment of veteran patients there.

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

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

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

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

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

UTOPIAN DEMAND

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

The fat-headed proposals of the AFL and CIO bureaucrats deserve nothing but condemnation by class-conscious workers. The militarists cannot be answered by Utopian proposals to reduce arms, give up military training. The real answer to the militarists is first of all ruthless exposure of their real purposes. They want armies to put down revolutions. They want armies to maintain Wall Street's plunder and profits.

In order to achieve emancipation the working class needs military training. But it is the duty of labor's representatives to demand that military training — at government expense — be placed under control of the trade unions. "Psychological indoctrination," etc. cannot be left to labor-hating Jim Crow Wall St. servants. The unions need control to make sure military training does not become training against unionism.

There is no other effective answer to the Wall Street militarists.

Will A "Baby Bonus" Safeguard Child Victims Of Profit System?

By Grace Carlson

On April 6 of this year, Senator William Langer introduced a bill into the Senate providing for the payment of "baby bonuses." Under the terms of his bill, parents of a first child would receive \$500, of a second child, \$750, and of a third child, \$1,000.

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

BIRTHS DECLINING

Langer's proposal to reward parents for having large families is intended, no doubt, to deal with the fact that the birth rate in the United States is declining. The 1940 census showed that there were almost 3,000,000 fewer children under five years of age in the country than there were in 1930. It is expected that the 1950 census will show a further decrease in the number of children, as well as a reduction in the number of youths, 10 to 19 years. Like Mussolini in his time, Langer is probably beginning to worry about where American imperialism will get cannon fodder for its next war!

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

really sincere about aiding parents, he would be trying to help workers get higher wages, so that working-class parents could take proper care of the children they now have. Every year, thousands of the ill-fed, ill-clothed, ill-housed children of the poor are driven into early graves in this "land of the free and the home of the brave."

Take just one childhood killer — rheumatic heart disease. At the ages of 10 to 14, it is the leading cause of death; between the ages of 15 and 25, it is second only to tuberculosis. The annual death toll from rheumatic heart disease is 30,000 each year. Many other hundreds of thousands became cripples for life —

heart cripples — because of rheumatic heart disease infection.

THE POOR SUFFER

But, according to the eminent authority on chronic disease, Dr. Ernst Boas: "Rheumatic heart disease would largely disappear if decent housing and wages became the order of the day." Surveys among school children in New York City, Boston and Philadelphia have shown that rheumatic heart disease is eight times more frequent in children attending school in the poorer districts than in those attending private schools.

A germ or a virus causes rheumatic fever but poor living con-

ditions — damp or overcrowded sleeping quarters, inadequate diet, lack of sunshine, poor ventilation — are known to be predisposing factors. Many early cases of rheumatic fever go unrecognized because the main symptoms, pain and swelling of the joints, are often dismissed as "growing pains." In about 90 percent of the cases of rheumatic fever, the heart is damaged and rheumatic heart disease results. The more attacks of rheumatic fever the child has, the greater the damage to the young heart.

Like tuberculosis, rheumatic heart disease requires long, costly medical care, and, also like tuberculosis, this disease strikes most often at the children of workers least able to pay for these services. Even fairly well-paid workers find it impossible to pay for this expensive but essential medical care for their sick children. Free public health facilities for the proper care of rheumatic patients are totally inadequate. The result is that thousands of children with early rheumatic heart disease, who might be restored to a near-normal life by proper treatment, develop serious heart conditions and die prematurely.

Hope for rheumatic heart sufferers is said to lie in the use of sulfa drugs to prevent recurrences of the rheumatic fever attacks. Now if there were only a drug to abolish the damp, dark, over-crowded tenements in which rheumatic fever is born and flourishes! Millions of babies would be saved and grow up to be strong and healthy men and women. We wouldn't need any "baby bonuses" then.



Rising Living Costs Rob Railroad Workers Of Meager Wage Gains While Owners Reap Enormous War Profits

By Jack Pearson

ST. PAUL, Minn. — The workers on the American railroads are wondering what has happened to their standard of living. The pay raise that was given them in 1943 was not even up to the Little Steel formula and has been wiped out long ago by the increased cost of living. The main reason for the failure of the railroad workers to make better gains is the splitting up of the workers into all kinds of craft unions which are once again split into individual roads. To make matters worse, the Railroad Labor Act binds even these crafts and local unions to long periods of bargaining with different boards and referees appointed by the President.

A worker told me it takes two years to go through this procedure, and even then the President can declare an emergency, take over the roads, and through a commission give the workers what he thinks he can get by with. If they don't like it, they will have to start the whole procedure over again.

BOSSSES DOING NICELY

The bosses' side of this picture gives us an entirely different story. The Association of American Railroads reported a gain in profits for March, 1945 over March, 1944 of 16%. After deducting all charges, there was left \$62,800,000, a tremendous sum for one month's business. The carriers, through their stooges in Congress and with the help of their labor lieutenants in the Railway Labor Executives Association, have brought a bill into the House of Representatives which would give them even more profits. This bill frees the railroads from land-grant restrictions and permits carriers hauling government freight and passengers to charge full rates.

GRACE CARLSON'S TOUR SCHEDULE

CITY	DATE
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	Monday, July 2
Pittsburgh	Tuesday, July 3
Akron	Thurs., July 5
Youngstown	Sat., July 7
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
Plentywood	Sunday, Aug. 19
Twin Cities	August 22

Congressman W. R. Poage (Dem.-Tex.) declared: "It would cost the Army and the Navy \$350,000,000 a year to cover additional costs of carrying war materials and troops."

In the bill is a provision directing the Interstate Commerce Commission to review rates in the light of additional revenue that will be received by the railroads. This is meaningless because, according to Senator Poage, "The carriers operate the commission almost as successfully as they run their own trains."

BOOSTING CHARGES

Congressman Michael J. Kirwan (Dem.-Ohio) said that the government is now paying a half million dollars freight charges on a trainload of munitions from Ohio to Texas. Under the proposed bill, the charges would be boosted to a million dollars. Congressman Joseph P. O'Hara (Rep.-Minn.) brought out that since 1940 the carriers had "cleaned up" \$3,000,000,000 (billions) above their fixed charges, an all-time high.

Rail Worker Submits Union Program For Discussion

(For the benefit of our many readers in the railroad industry, we are publishing in full an informative letter The Militant received this week from a railway worker in Minneapolis. It is of particular importance because it contains the program recently endorsed by St. Paul Lodge 814, Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen, a leading progressive lodge. This program reflects the growing sentiment among railway workers for a progressive program leading to more union democracy, unification of the rail unions, more militant policies and independent labor political action.)

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

IMPORTANT PROGRAM

The program appears to us to be of general importance to all railroad workers and it is for this reason that we submit it to The Militant for publication. Here is the program: 1. We want officers' salaries reduced to the union scale of wages, plus all necessary itemized traveling expenses when away from home on union business. We reject the theory that

leaders of labor should enjoy privileges and comforts denied to those they are supposed to lead. 2. We want more democracy and economy and less dues in our union.

3. We want our laws amended and changed to remove all censorship of our magazine by the union officials. We want the editor to have full charge and supervision of the magazine and be responsible to, and elected by, the convention.

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

END THE RITUAL!

5. We want all ritualistic mummery eliminated from our meetings and conventions. Instead of wasting our time in instructing new members on the secret work, we should teach them why it is necessary for workers to have labor unions. 6. We favor industrial unions instead of craft unions and will support any move in that direction.

7. We want support from all our union officials for the elimination of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers as a rival union by amalgamation or absorption. 8. We want no passing of conventions. The passing of local

elections is illegal. There is no constitutional provision for the cancellation of a local election. We want a convention held at least every two years. Most good and active unions hold a convention every year. We want representation at conventions reduced to about 300 delegates. The present conventions are too big and unwieldy to function properly and too expensive for a small union.

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

MINIMUM WAGE

10. We want a schedule provision which will guarantee a daily minimum wage for each 24 hours that men have to spend on the extra list without being called for duty. Good wages and conditions for those who toil at productive labor should be the first charge on every industry.

The Lodge 814 letter with the above program ends with the following paragraph: "We ask you to study the above reply and program carefully, and if you do, you will find that Lodge 814 is in the very forefront of progressive thought and action. We need more such lodges in the B. of L.F. & E. to help us move railroad unionism about 50 years closer to the twentieth century."

Brother labor progressives, let us have your reactions to the proposals in the program of Lodge 814 of the railroad engineers. Use the columns of The Militant for this purpose. Hundreds of railroad workers throughout the country now read The Militant and they can be reached with progressive ideas on how to improve the union movement on the railroads through the pages of this good working-class paper.

C. D. Minneapolis

The NEGRO STRUGGLE

by CHARLES JACKSON

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

The Bitter and the Sweet

Every Negro worker is well aware of a contradictory situation which exists in the labor movement today regarding the official union attitude toward discrimination. While the UAW-CIO and other progressive unions have been forging far ahead of the social stream in the matter of Negro equality, many backward unions, mostly affiliated with the A F of L, have been attempting to hold back the tide of progress by either barring Negroes from membership or accepting them only in a Jim Crow auxiliary.

This type of discrimination has been practiced in many A F of L locals on the east and west coast as well as in the Railroad Brotherhoods. As a result of testimony of five Negro truck drivers before the National Fair Employment Practices Committee in Detroit on June 2, a similar situation was revealed in the Teamsters Union, Local 299, A F of L.

REFUSED JOBS

The FEPC, acting in its investigative capacity, heard all five drivers — with from four to ten years' experience — charge that they were refused jobs with eleven different trucking companies because they were not members of Local 299. They also charged that Local 299 had refused them membership solely because of their color. In some cases the union heads told them flatly that Negroes could not join and in other cases they were given the run-around and thus barred in an indirect manner.

James Hoffa, head of Local 299, who has consistently refused to admit Negroes and has boasted that he wouldn't let newspapers or government agencies "tell him how to run his union," refused to appear to defend his reactionary position after determining that the FEPC had no subpoena power.

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

For example, at a recent interracial conference in Detroit, Gloster Current, executive secretary of the Detroit branch, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, accused the American Federation of Labor of barring Negro union members from the restaurant at the Labor Temple. Such actions undermine the faith of the Negro workers in the whole labor movement and play right into the hands of the enemies of all labor.

On the other side of the balance sheet, however, we find the CIO not only maintaining the fight against racial discrimination, but widening its scope.

According to a report adopted March 13, 1945 by the National CIO Committee to Abolish Discrimination, this organization reaffirmed "its unwavering opposition to discrimination against the Negro people or the people of any other minority." At its Seventh Constitutional Convention it adopted a resolution recommending that all "CIO unions seek the incorporation into collective bargaining agreements of a provision that no person seeking employment shall be discriminated against because of race, creed, color or place of origin."

The Anti-discrimination Committee of the CIO states in plain language in the report that "our ultimate goal is full economic, political and social equality for all groups." Although the roots of the CIO are not grounded in the social field, yet the committee realizes that it is sheer folly to fight simply for equality on the job and at the voting booth and at the same time to accept or ignore the rank branding of the Negro workers as inferior by discrimination in "housing, public transportation, public recreation, hotels, restaurants, public schools and other facilities used by the public and supported wholly or in part by public funds." Economic, political and social equality are inextricably bound up together. So says the CIO. And the CIO is right.

DIVIDED POLICIES

Here is one segment of labor, then, accepting discrimination and thus aiding the reactionary boss class, while another group is more strongly forging the links of working-class solidarity. What is to be done about it? Can we trust "anti-discrimination" agencies of the capitalist government to crush this tendency when that same government fosters discrimination in all its own departments, INCLUDING ITS ARMED FORCES IN A WAR FOR SO-CALLED DEMOCRACY? History says no!

Labor must solve its own problems. The progressive unions must show the rank and file of the backward ones that this policy stands to weaken and destroy the entire labor movement. One union must help another throw off reactionary leadership if either is to survive.

Pioneer Paragraphs

THE IMPERIALIST STRUGGLE FOR MASTERY OF FAR EAST

The inter-imperialist struggle for the domination of China is at the same time a struggle for the mastery of the Pacific, in which the two principal contenders are Japan and the United States. Given her involvements on the European continent, the Mediterranean and the Near East, Great Britain is greatly handicapped in any attempt to defend single-handedly her position on the Asiatic continent. The Pan-Asian movement fostered by Japanese imperialism and aimed at driving England out of her favored position in China and eventually also in India, cannot be effectively resisted by the British forces alone, especially under conditions which render unlikely the solidarity of all parts of the British Empire in a war against Japan.

While the biggest and most important rival of American imperialism in the East remains Great Britain, the most immediate opponent of the United States in that part of the world is now Japan. The question of the war between Japan and the United States for the domination of the Pacific and the Far East is therefore at the top of the order of the day... Thus, the very magnitude of the problems of American imperialism, the world-wide scope of its interests and the foundations which underlie its power, dictate to it a vigorous and relentless policy of expansion. Moreover, they make it the principal motive force in propelling the capitalist world towards another war and the firmest brake upon the revolutionary movement of the world proletariat and the liberation movement of the colonies and half-colonies.

(From "The Founding Conference of the Fourth International," pp. 91-92. Pioneer Publishers, 1939.)

LOS ANGELES

SOCIALIST YOUTH CLUB FORUM
Topic: "Atrocities—Who Is Responsible; The Nazis or the German People?"
Speaker: LEO FRUMKIN
232 S. Hill St., Rooms 200-202
8:30 p. m.
Discussion Refreshments

AN INVITATION

We invite all readers of THE MILITANT to attend

The "Send-Off Social" for GRACE CARLSON

To Mark the Beginning of her National Speaking Tour

Surprise Features
Dancing - Songs - Refreshments

Saturday Evening, June 23

116 University Place, New York City

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

Editor's Note: Another letter on the subject of the bombing of Japanese cities appears in the Workers' Forum on page 7.

FAVORS MASS KILLINGS

Editor:

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

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

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

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

they should certainly feel sorry for what they themselves started.

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

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

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

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

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

Very truly yours,
H. G.

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

JOSEPH HANSEN'S REPLY

Editor:

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

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

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

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

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

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

nation, would live together in friendship and work together to elevate all mankind.

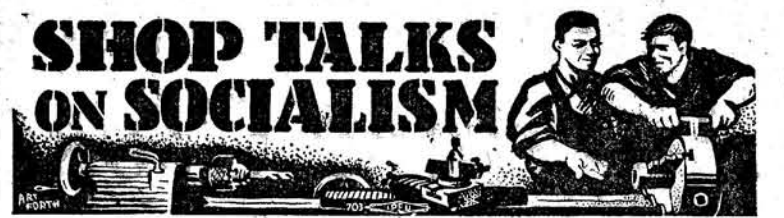
When H.G. says that the Japanese masses are so great that they could not have been forced into war against their will, he might ponder over the fact that the American people were jockeyed into the present war although 70 percent of them voted, in poll after poll, against going to war. How did this happen?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

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

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

Joseph Hansen

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



By V. Grey

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

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

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

Plenty of Dirty Jobs

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

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

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

Cleaning Up the Capitalists

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

The only dirty work will be the job of cleaning up the filth the capitalists have left behind—like clearing up the debris from their terrible war.

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

Trotskyists In Europe Persecuted By Reaction

(Continued from page 1)

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

WORKERS' PROTEST

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

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

The editorial is a call to the Belgian and other European workers to solidarize themselves with the workers of Germany against their common oppressors. Commenting on the anti-democratic rule imposed in both the Anglo-American and Red Army zones of occupation, the editorial states: "Jingoes will applaud and will see in these inhuman acts a just turn-around, a merited punishment. If it were only a case of cornered Nazis! But it is the whole German people which is put outside the pale of humanity and rendered responsible for the crimes of Hitler and world capitalism."

SOLIDARITY URGED

The editorial firmly declares its own policy:

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

"Complete solidarity with the German workers. This must be our watchword."

In France, the arrest of the Trotskyists was preceded by a vicious slander campaign in the Stalinist press, designed to make it appear that Trotskyism and Nazism have something in common. That Hitler beheaded Trotskyists, that Trotskyists were shot as resisters in the Nazi-occupied countries, the Stalinist liars know very well. They know equally well that Nazism is an

STALINIST BIRDS OF A FEATHER

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

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

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

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

instrument of capitalism, whereas Trotskyism stands for socialist revolution. But the Stalinists, allied with the capitalists, cannot tell the truth about their revolutionary working-class opponents. Typical of the Stalinist-inspired slanders against the Trotskyists is the following which appeared in the French Stalinist-controlled weekly, "J":

STALINIST LIES

"We learn that a satanic agreement has been reached between Trotskyism, this kind of anarchy of the Fourth Fascist International, and Nazism pure and simple which still hopes to survive by underground work in various countries. The Germans are proposing to assimilate themselves all over the world with the Trotskyists, that is to say the anarchists, enemies of communism in every country and who are certainly responsible for the death of the Russian ambassador to Mexico, Oumanski."

To any informed worker this stuff sounds like mad drivel, but the Stalinists understand the principle of propaganda which Hitler enunciated: if you repeat a lie often enough, you will get people to believe it.

The same kind of Stalinist slander campaign has now begun in Italy. Rinascita, monthly organ of the Italian Communist Party, publishes in its April, 1945 issue an article entitled "Old and New Ways of Trotskyist Provo-

cations." To the usual stuff about the Moscow trials, it adds one new charge: that the Trotskyists caused the fall of Madrid. How and why? No explanation, because there is none. It calls two Trotskyist leaders, Mangano and Girona, "paid agents of the Fascist Ovrá" (Mussolini's police). Were this true, quite apart from the fact that they would immediately be subject to arrest, the Stalinists need only appear and make the charge against Mangano and Girona in front of the workers' organizations to which the two belong. But the Stalinists don't do this because it is a lie made up of whole cloth, one of a thousand such lies which they spread in the hope that something will stick.

TROTSKYISM GROWS

The real aim of the article becomes clear after many pages when, at the very end, it states: "Trotskyism becomes particularly effective and harmful when it succeeds in calling up an echo in the very ranks of our party when it finds in our own ranks uncertainty, disorientation and deviations whereon it can lean and which it can use as a lever."

In other words, the sincerely revolutionary workers in the Communist party are finding their way to Trotskyist ideas, that is, they want a revolutionary policy and not one of collaboration with the capitalists and Prince Umberto.

To halt the turn to revolution-

Suppressed Belgian Trotskyist Paper

Nouvelle série. — No 21. Prolétaires de tous les pays, unissez-vous! 31 Mars 1945. Cinqième année. PROLETARIAT DE TOUS LES PAYS, UNISSEZ-VOUS! 31 MARS 1945. CINQUIÈME ANNÉE. Cinqième année. PROLETARIAT DE TOUS LES PAYS, UNISSEZ-VOUS! 31 MARS 1945. CINQUIÈME ANNÉE.

LA VOIE DE LENINE

Organe central (bi-mensuel) du Parti Communiste Révolutionnaire (trotskyiste) section belge de la IV^e Internationale

Solidarité avec le Proletariat Allemand!

Que va-t-il se passer en Allemagne? Que va faire le prolétariat allemand? Telle est la question que se posent ardemment tous les travailleurs conscients, à l'heure où les formidables événements militaires qui se déroulent à l'Ouest et à l'Est semblent annoncer un dénouement proche. Sommes-nous à la veille d'un nouveau 1918, d'un nouveau soulèvement du peuple allemand qui balayera la racaille hitlérienne et la réaction militariste capitaliste...

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

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

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July 8
"Dollar Diplomacy in South America"
Speaker: H. MASON

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CLEVELAND

GRACE CARLSON

Sole Woman among the 18 Socialist Workers Party leaders Imprisoned in the Minneapolis Labor Case will discuss "WOMEN IN PRISON" Chairman: T. GRANT, Organizer SWP Cleveland Local Slovenian Home, 6417 St. Clair Avenue Hall No. 1 Upstairs Sunday, July 8, 8 p. m.

Italian Political Crisis Grows As Workers Advance Closer To Revolutionary Struggle

(Continued from page 1)

agreed upon . . . a government of six parties with the "Socialist" Nenni as Minister President in succession to Bonomi. The Stalinists and the Socialists are determined, at all costs, to avoid the "incubus" of power.

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

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

Frantic Politicians Seek Accord

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

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

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

In the meantime, complete economic chaos reigns in the land.

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

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

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

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

Bonomi, meanwhile, is growing "impatient" at the delay of the six parties in coming to an agreement. He is threatening to find a "neutral" to succeed him at the Quirinal. It is quite clear that if a "democratic" solution cannot be found through a settlement between the parties, then an open Bonapartist dictatorship will be imposed on the Italian masses. The economic crisis will be "solved" by slashing still further the standard of living of the workers. Italy's shortlived dream of "peacefully growing over" into democracy will belong to the past. But before the Italian ruling class can once more impose a naked dictatorship on the Italian masses, they will have to reckon with a working class which has learned many valuable

Mass Demonstration in Rome



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

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

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

GERMAN C. P. LEADER ADMITS FALSE POLICY TOWARD NAZIS

By Paul Abbott

Twelve years after Hitler's assumption of power, a leading German Stalinist has finally admitted the political bankruptcy of Stalinism in fighting the Nazis. Paul Krueger, former Communist member of the Wiesbaden City Council, according to a *United Press* dispatch of June 12 said that his party had been completely smashed by Hitler.

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

CP DECIMATED

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

Krueger lies deliberately when he says that "the rest of the world" did not take the Nazis seriously enough at the beginning. Trotsky did his utmost to arouse the Stalinists to the seriousness of the Nazi menace. In September, 1931, for instance, he wrote: "Fascism has become a real danger in Germany; it expresses the extreme hopelessness of the bourgeois regime, the conservative part played by the Social-Democrats in relation to that regime, and the incompetence of the Communist Party to shake that regime. Whoever denies that is either blind or boastful."

In a series of pamphlets Trotsky hammered on the mounting danger. In October, 1931 he predicted: "The advance of the National Socialists to power means, above all, the extermination of the flower of the German proletariat, the break-up of its organizations, the destruction of faith in itself and in its future. In view of the much greater ferocity and bitterness of social antagonisms in Germany, the hellish work of Italian Fascism will probably appear mild and almost humane when compared with that of German National Socialism."

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

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

Remmele followed up this stupid declaration with the following prediction: "We are the victors of the coming day; and the question is no longer one of who shall vanquish whom? This question is already answered (Applause from the Communists). The question now reads only, 'At what moment shall we overthrow the bourgeoisie?' . . . We are not afraid of the Fascist gentlemen. They will shoot their bolt quicker than any other government (Right you are! from the Communists)."

Headless of Trotsky's warnings, the Stalinist leaders permitted Hitler to take power without a fight. Even a year later, as their ranks wilted under the persecution of the Gestapo, the Stalinist leaders continued to denounce Trotsky.

In December, 1933, the Thirteenth Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Communist International passed a resolution on "Fascism, the War Danger, and the Tasks of the Communist Party" in which they declared: "The policy of the German Communist Party was unconditional faith in correct reform, during and after the Hitler overturn."

Now, twelve years later, a German Stalinist leader confesses to a "fatal mistake." Thereby he confesses the hopeless bankruptcy of Stalinism.

The History Of American Trotskyism

HOW A NEW MILITANT LEADERSHIP AROSE IN THE PIONEER COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

By James P. Cannon

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

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

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

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

The Movement Evolves Through Experience

Once a movement has evolved through experience and through struggle and internal conflict to the point where it consolidates a body of leaders who enjoy wide authority, who are capable of working together and who are more or less homogeneous in their political conceptions, then faction struggles tend to diminish. They become rarer and are less destructive. They take different forms, have more clearly evident ideological content and are more instructive to the

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

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

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

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

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

struggle over the location of the party headquarters is really quite comprehensible if you go to the bottom of it.

A Struggle Between Two Tendencies

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

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

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

Early Leaders of the Communist Party

Now, these leaders whom I have mentioned—Ruthenberg, Lovestone, Cannon, Foster—these four people were always in the Political Committee of the party. These four people were always the recognized, authoritative leaders of the party; that is, they were leaders of factions which made them part of the leadership of the

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

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

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

(To be continued next week)

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WORKERS' FORUM

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

Advertisements in Socialist Papers

I was given the Labor Advocate by a friend. It is an organ of the Socialist Party of America. It's supposed to advocate socialism and to educate the workers for a socialist program. But when I read the paper and found 51 advertisements which are all capitalist advertisements, that makes me wonder how the workers are ever going to achieve socialism in a four-page paper of advertisements.

For the workers there are enough capitalist advertisements in the local capitalist press. Above all, I see they are all out for the year, they are not conducting themselves as they did before the war.

We also have another paper which is supposed to be a working-class paper, called the New Era, which is a Social-Democrat paper and comes out in support of capitalist candidates. This paper must be doing better with the capitalists than even the Labor Advocate because their paper consists of 94 advertisements. They must be running a race with the commercial bosses.

We have another paper which is called the Shopping Bulletin. It is an advertisement paper of the Advertisement Committee of Berks County. So I say, look out boys, you have competitors! Now, let's get down to business. I'm a reader of The Militant for the past two years, and I must say here is a real paper for the workers to read. And to think that it is an eight-page paper, with no advertisements but with articles that all workers like to read in a working paper. I am thinking of such articles as Shop Talks on Socialism, the Negro Struggle, also the Steel Workers. They are very interesting for the workers.

The program in general of the paper as a whole is just what the worker wants to read, and not advertisements in a working-class paper. I am not forgetting such articles that have just started in The Militant. They are the History of American Trotskyism and the betraying role that the Roosevelt New Deal has played towards the workers. With articles such as these I feel that The Militant should be the paper for all workers to read, with a program such as was laid down by Lenin and Trotsky and followers of the Marxist program, and not a program of capitalist advertisements.

W. Moore
Reading Pa.

Germany Today

Editor: My husband is in the Army of Occupation in Germany. He writes, "As you see from the heading, I'm in Germany and already we've started policing. I'm in a patrol that covers about one half a county 24 hours a day. The countryside is very lovely here and were it not for the terrific debris and ruins it would remind me of our lovely walking trips."

"The non-fraternization is tough on all of us. Can't smile, wave back at children, etc." Our daughter, age 14, was very shocked when she understood that the non-fraternization policy included not speaking to German children. It seems to us (my daughter and me) that it is hard enough having our men have to stay in Europe without having to suffer the hatred of the German population.

C. L.
New York

Living in Style

Editor: According to the papers, the delegates to the San Francisco conference are living in style at the best hotels and eating "typical American dinners" — oysters on the half-shell, sirloin steak and champagne. The average worker dining on hamburger or fish may feel a pang of hunger when he looks over this menu. But no one suffers quite as much as a waitress who serves a thick, juicy sirloin!

The public imagines that waitresses eat well. That is certainly not true of the waitresses at really luxurious hotels, who are never permitted to eat so much as a piece of bread or a bit of jelly from the regular kitchen. Waitresses and all other hotel employees eat at an employees cafeteria.

The food at such cafeterias is notoriously bad. At the Mark Hopkins, for example, the employees may have an appetizing choice of baked beans, spaghetti,

potatoes or tainted fish. To wash this down, they are offered sour milk instead of champagne. On other days different items may appear — tripe, green-looking tongue, pig knuckles, stew — in a stew one small tough piece of meat usually accompanies the sad-looking vegetables. As one waitress said:

"I wouldn't mind so much if the food they gave us was a day old, but when it's a week old. . .!" After a hearty dinner of this type, the waitress serves crabmeat cocktails, steaks, squab, strawberry shortcake and delicious French pastries. (Meals like this cost about \$5 per person. This does not include drinks or champagne at \$3.50 a pint.) One waitress developed such a craving for some banana cream pie that she stole a piece, ducked under a counter in the kitchen and gulped it in three bites.

"But," she said, "I had indigestion all night long!" The delegates probably have indigestion too — from stuffing down such huge quantities of food, and perhaps from worrying about the day when the workers will put an end to their feast.

Hotel Waitress
San Francisco, Cal.

An Achievement

Editor: I wish to congratulate you on the new eight-page Militant. It's a great piece of work — real working-class achievement. The sort of achievement that only the workers with a serious purpose and mission have the strength and ability to create. Keep up the yeoman work. Keep pounding and fighting. It is the only kind of pounding and fighting that can and will usher in a new world for the toilers.

Please extend my regards and revolutionary greetings to Kovalsky. He's a great proletarian artist. The canvas he paints of proletarian life is bringing understanding and light to the workers.

J. Russell Evans
San Francisco, Calif.

Stalinist Switch

Editor: After reading this and last week's issue of The Militant I am left with the feeling that some further explanation is due on the change in the Stalinist line. Stalinist parties in all lands outside of the USSR are nothing but agencies of the Kremlin's foreign office. They are used to further the reactionary foreign policy of the Stalinist bureaucracy without regard for the interests and welfare of either the Soviet workers or the workers in any other country. The American Stalinists have no policy or basic program other than one that serves to defend the interests of the GPU clique that rules the Soviet Union. To understand this real role of the Stalinist C. P. A. is the first task in approaching an analysis of its activities.

The various changes in past Stalinist lines can be explained only on this basis: That the Stalinist leaders here are completely dependent upon the wishes and plans of the Kremlin and have no independent policy whatever. Thus, in 1939 when Stalin consummated a pact with Hitler, the CP in accordance with Stalinist requirements labeled the British, French and U. S. imperialists and said little about the Nazis. In 1941 when the Nazis attacked the Soviet Union, the CP executed a flip-flop and went over to the support of Allied imperialism.

With the military defeat of German imperialism, the contradiction between capitalist economy and Soviet economy moves over to the plane of antagonism between the U. S. and the Soviet Union. This is the outstanding new feature in international relationship since the end of the war in Europe. Wall Street's plans to subjugate the entire world in the interests of American imperialism include the Soviet Union, which is today the chief stumbling block. American capitalism has "invested" some ten billion dollars in Russia in the form of lend-lease in the past 4 years. In its search for new fields of exploitation, Wall Street keeps an eye on the Soviet Union, with its great natural resources and large population. What could be better, from the standpoint of the American bankers, than to demand of Stalin the right to invest in Soviet enterprises as payment for their loans? Undoubtedly, behind the scenes, great pressure is being exerted upon the Kremlin to grant wide-spread concessions to Wall Street. Therein lies the basis for the current tension between Russia and the United States.

C. L.
New York

However Stalin, despite the bottomless depth of his perfidy, cannot yield everything to this pressure. The Soviet masses, victorious in the war, stand in the way. They did not sacrifice millions of precious lives and the fruit of many years labor only to see it grabbed up by American imperialism.

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

That is all there is to the change in the Stalinist line. The CP is being used as a pawn in Stalin's reactionary foreign policy. Instead of calling upon the international working class to come to the defense of the Soviets, as Lenin and Trotsky did after the last war, Stalin uses the CP as a blackmail instrument to further the interests of the bureaucratic clique he personifies.

The "new" Stalinist line is a trap and should be so explained. The CP is not going over to a revolutionary Marxist-Leninist policy at all — no more so than during the Stalin-Hitler pact period of 1939-1941. Tomorrow, when the international situation changes, another signal from the Kremlin will bring another zig-zag and leave those who follow the Stalinist line high and dry. A consistent Marxist-Leninist policy demands both an uncompromising opposition to American imperialism and to the reactionary bureaucrats in the Kremlin. Only the Trotskyists follow such a policy which is in the interests of the international working class and which alone can save the nationalized economy of the Soviet Union for Communism.

Milton Alvin
Birmingham, Ala.

A Tragic Story

Editor: Recently I read a tragic story in the daily paper. A returned veteran, who was the father of six children, purposely drowned himself and five of his children. His wife was in the hospital at the time with their sixth child.

A note written by him was found in his wallet. He said that the reason he was doing this was because he didn't want his children to go through what he had been through. This man is not out of the ordinary. Most servicemen are disillusioned with the plans made by the big powers for permanent peace. And they are so confused. Nothing seems sensible to them.

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

M. G.
Toledo, O.

Seen in India

Editor: I recently came across a letter, written by a soldier stationed in India. His brief but graphic account of what he encountered in a train ride through this huge hunger camp merits publication. He writes: "What I have seen in India is nothing for the English to be proud of. Never in all my life have I seen so many beggars as I have seen in a train ride through India. Our train would stop, and we had about one hundred of them on each side of the train. Most of them were sick with all kinds of diseases. The majority of them were two and three year old kids, all begging for chocolate and crackers. All of them were underfed and looked so starved that we gave them all we possibly could. The English really pay the natives bright wages. A laborer makes all of 17 Rupees a month (about \$5.25). I spoke to a station master who spoke a very nice English and graduated from a university. He makes 60 Rupees a month. Quite something!"

"If I would write you how the natives live here, you wouldn't believe me. Prince St. (a street in the slum section of Newark) would look like something out of this world. I also went to an English city and it was fairly nice, but nothing out of the way. Everything smells here most of the time and it stinks even in the city."

A. A.
Newark, N. J.

Somewhere in Germany

Editor:

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

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

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

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

A. C.
New York City

Disclaimer

Editor:

In my article as published in the June 9 Militant, appears the following sentences: "But Stalin and his henchmen abroad want to preserve capitalism. Stalin fears the socialist revolution just as the capitalists do."

I wrote the second sentence, but did not and could not write the first, which was added by the editors. Stalin fears the socialist revolution but that does not mean that he always and everywhere wants to preserve capitalism. As between socialist revolution and preserving capitalism, he chooses the latter. But a third alternative exists in the territories over-run by the Red Army, namely nationalization of property by totalitarian means which also crushes the workers' movement, i. e., crushes the socialist revolution.

It is not at all excluded that, if an open break develops in the Big Three, Stalin will end capitalist property relations in Poland, Yugoslavia, etc. There are indications that he is already doing so partially in Poland. Stalin's policy along such a line is basically no less reactionary than along the Big Three line. In either case it is totalitarian oppression of the masses. We must begin to warn the workers about this and not use formulations which do not prepare the workers for such an eventuality.

Felix Morrow

Fill a Need

Editor:

I have been following Grace Carlson's articles in The Militant with interest. They fill a definite need, I think. I am enclosing an article from the last issue of The Cooperator which might have some material that she could use.

As I recall, there was an article in The Militant earlier this spring (I don't recall who wrote it) about this vitamin scandal. It seems to me that it would be worth following up. The facts exposed in this article about the Vitamin D cartel and how these profiteers thrive while children starve would make any one's blood boil — certainly any parents.

M. P.
Ridgewood, N. J.

Chinese Arithmetic

Editor:

The June 2 issue of The Militant contained a letter from Chao Pao-tien criticizing Grey's column for referring to "Chinese arithmetic." Chao Pao-tien ascribes to that reference "an unmistakable symptom of that racial superiority attitude which the Trotskyists always condemn in others."

I think it would be a little nearer to the truth to say that Chao Pao-tien is suffering from an inferiority-complex; and my purpose in writing this letter is to demonstrate, if I can, the logic of using "Chinese" for comparison.

The first point to recall is that Grey describes the scratch-pad notations of a steel mill first helper as looking like "a cross between shorthand and Chinese arithmetic." Grey was pointing out that before the union came into the particular plant he is talking about, the first helper on the open hearth kept all the information about his job to himself, fearing to let anyone else in on the "secret" lest the boss put his brother-in-law or a special friend into the first helper's job.

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

So, I deduce from all this that Grey's emphasis was on the external aspect of the symbols of communication used by the first helper. Now, why did Grey use "Chinese" for comparison? Why not Greek or Sanskrit or Cuneiform or Urdu? Grey used Chinese because, paradoxical enough, it is familiar to most Americans. That

Lumber Workers Take Strike Vote

By Charles Hughes

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

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

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

A War Manpower Commission "order" to operate the mills on a 48-hour basis is supposedly in effect, but many mills are already operating only 40 hours. This means a wage cut of 20 percent through the elimination of Saturday overtime.

The cost of living, by government figures, is the highest in this area of any place in the country. The profiteers have based everything on the considerably higher wages the hundreds of thousands of shipyard workers in the northwest receive, and this works an even greater hardship on the lumber workers than on the latter.

Some idea of the profits the operators are making can be gained from the fact that in 1941 a government investigating committee reported their profits averaged \$5.40 per thousand board feet. This meant that they were pocketing at that time roughly one dollar for every dollar they were paying in wages. At the present time, union officials conservatively estimate their profits at \$8 per thousand, minimum.

Pioneer Notes

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

The second resolution in the pamphlet is entitled "The European Revolution and Tasks of the Revolutionary Party." Beginning with a detailed analysis of events in Italy since September, 1943, when the Armistice was signed between the Badoglio government and the Allies, it presents the full ghastly picture of just what Allied "liberation" has meant for the Italian workers.

Laying bare the Allied program of counter-revolution and exposing the treacherous role of the Committee of National Liberation and the Stalinists, the resolution explains that the support given by the Italian workers to the Social Democratic and Communist (Stalinist) Party "testifies to the fact that the Italian working masses desire a decisive revolutionary change. They give their backing and support to the parties that in their minds stand for Socialism and Communism, in the mistaken expectation that these parties will lead them in revolutionary struggle."

Thus the creation of a new revolutionary party becomes "the most immediate and unpostponable task for the Italian proletariat. . . The revolutionary workers party of Italy will be a Trotskyist party, because Trotskyism is the only movement of genuine Marxist Internationalism today."

"The party will explain that Italy can avoid famine and disaster only by a program that leads to the abolition of the capitalist system and the establishment of a Socialist Italy based on the workers' and peasants' councils; that only by a firm alliance with the revolutionary masses of the rest of Europe can the imperialist invaders be driven out."

Best wishes to you now and always as the only newspaper having the courage, decency, and international feeling to raise your voice against the slaughter of the workers in the cities of Japan!

Belle Montague
Cambridge, Mass.



The Militant is getting an excellent response among the Negro workers in Portland, Oregon. Our agent writes: "These 25 are all Negro subs and represent a canvass of about 30 families. Some of the five who failed to subscribe were too busy to talk and will be good for subs on a recall. We used The Militant of May 19 which had two articles besides Jackson's column on Negro discrimination, a cartoon, and an article against Jew baiting. We found this issue extremely effective."

Portland has had a very large influx of colored people for the war plants, and discrimination here is very widespread and vicious, even drawing mild reproach from the local kept press, so you know it must be bad. Many restaurants and other business places have "white trade only" signs up, and the town is full of southern whites who are continually creating incidents of all sorts. The town was bad enough in the first place, the atmosphere being such that the Negro colony before the war only amounted to a few hundred, mainly railroad employes. One small local shipyard follows a "lily white" policy. It is the Navy's local pet, and it is quite probable that the policy stems directly from the super-reactionary admirals' clique.

"At any rate the Negro people here are burning with indignation, and they take Militant subs almost on sight."

An auto union militant in Detroit gives praise of the highest order to The Militant: "The cartoon which appeared in

The Militant and the Labor Party pamphlet, 'Live Plants, Dead Men; Dead Plants, Live Men,' is so impressive and so appropriate at this time that we would like to run it in our shop paper."

"The Militant is getting better all the time. The articles by Grace Carlson, V. Grey, and Theodore Kovalesky are excellent additions to the paper. Kovalesky is an artist of the pen; his stories reach not only the heart of the question at hand but the heart of the reader also. Grace Carlson's story on Fala's pups is one of the best stories of the year. Brilliant satire! When I read in Grey's column how a certain worker hid his chisels where the night shift wouldn't find them, it brought me up with a start. Here was a little simple act, so commonplace that we take it for granted, finding its way into print! It made me chuckle. Here, I said, is an authentic writer. He works in a factory and he keeps his eyes and ears open. His latest column is about the shortest explanation of capitalism I ever read. How can you miss the point?"

Doris Hilson of Akron reports subscriptions sold by new readers of The Militant: "One of these subs was obtained by a recent subscriber to our paper for a friend. Another reader, a militant woman rubber worker bought a subscription for herself and one for a friend. And one of the men in the shop with whom a comrade works has just received his first copy of The Militant since subscribing recently. He told the comrade that 'every worker in the plant should read this paper.'"

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Chairman: BILL GRAY

Western N. Y. SWP Organizer

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Questions

Discussion

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Operate all government-built plants under workers' control!

2. Independence of the trade unions from the government!

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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!

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

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8. Hands off the European and colonial peoples!

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THE MILITANT

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

Reaction In Belgium

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Poll Tax

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

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

Once more we are to be treated to the spectacle of the Senate majority permitting a handful of Southern "white supremacists," elected by a tiny minority of their constituents, to block the poll-tax bill or filibuster it to death.

The action of the House in passing the poll-

tax bill does not mean that the reactionary Congressmen have suddenly become "liberal" in their attitude toward racial discrimination. They have simply developed the technique for avoiding responsibility for its defeat. They are confident the Senate will do the job.

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

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

Patterson Case

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

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

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

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

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

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

A Class Difference

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

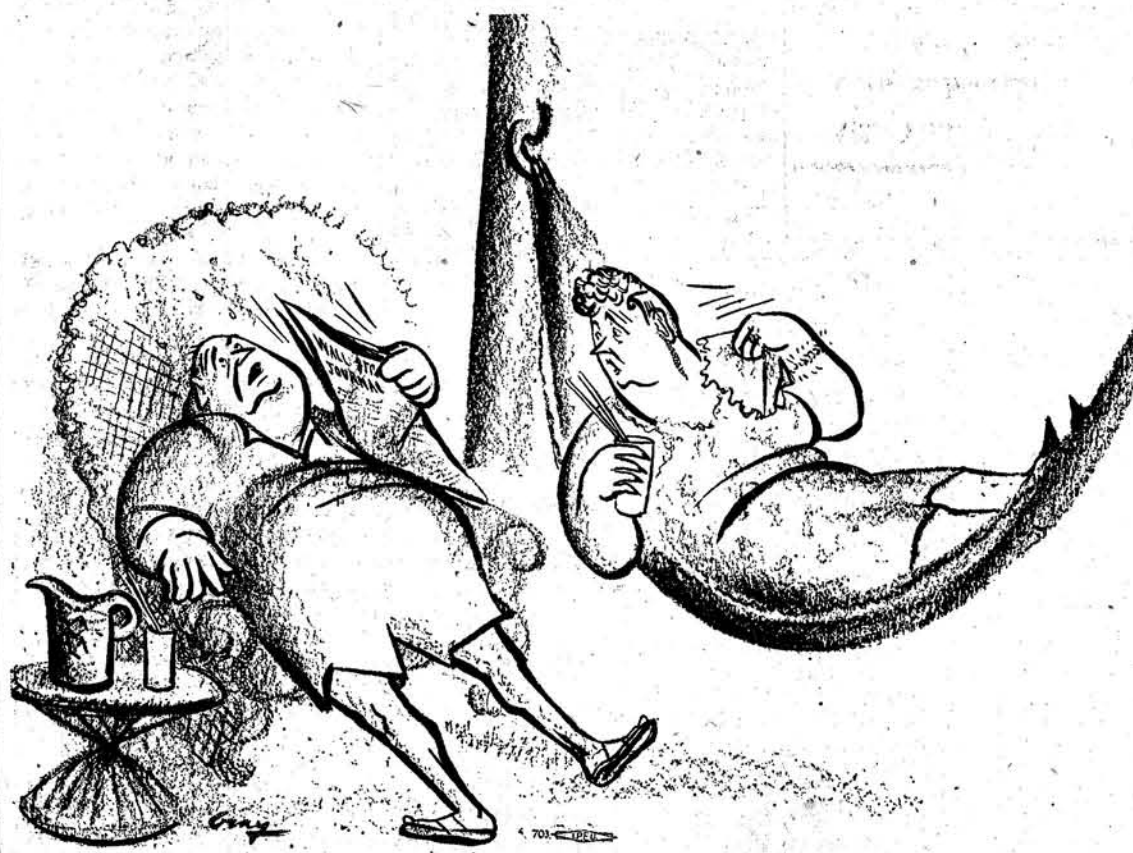
Our attitude toward the Stalinists proceeds from the opposite pole. The Trotskyists are the best defenders of the Soviet Union. We have never deviated from our struggle for the establishment of a world planned economy. We do not attack the latest maneuver of the Stalinists simply because it again evidences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

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

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

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

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



INTERNATIONAL NOTES

Italy

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

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

Togliatti, Stalinist leader, told a mass meeting in Rome that "the same old forces who permitted fascists to seize power are asking the Allies to remain in Italy. They are afraid of our party."

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

Soviet Union

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

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

Approaching as close as was safely possible, Farson noticed a contraption between the two sliding doors in the center of each car that resembled "the tails of salmon." Closer observation revealed them to be long V-shaped troughs made of two boards nailed together and used "as latrines for the poor wretches confined inside the dark cars." The only air or light that could penetrate the cars were two little apertures high up at either end—18-inch square windows.

them. No one looked at them. All day the faces remained at the windows; eyes that looked at passing life with a dejection beyond description. And all day the bustling Russians on that platform went about their business just as if that quarter-mile-long trainload of human agony was not there.

Why? Farson asks. He then makes a comparison with the way "in the old Tsarist days the Russian political prisoner, sent to Siberia, was regarded by almost everyone as a hero."

"But today — what happens? The prisoner is never seen. He is spirited away in the night. He vanishes from sight as quickly, and in some cases as finally, as a stone thrown overboard in mid-ocean. 'Forget him. Forget that he ever lived,' is the official Russian advice to everyone. He is gone."

Germany

In reports and editorials about violence, torture and brutality in Nazi concentration camps the capitalist and Stalinist press has been trying to pin responsibility for the atrocities on the German people as a whole. They carefully hide the fact that the bulk of the prisoners were German workers, Socialists and Communists, political opponents of the Nazi regime. The following facts spike the lies of the "babe" propagandists:

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

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

either communist or socialist.

Between 1933 and 1939 there were no foreign workers, no prisoners of war, no resistance fighters in German concentration camps. The British White Paper of 1939 disclosed that the British government was fully informed of the treatment of German political prisoners but had concealed the facts for diplomatic reasons.

The Swiss newspaper, *Zurich Weltwoche* (March 9, 1945), states that there were more than 100,000 Germans in Nazi concentration camps, divided as follows:

Buchenwald, near Weimar	40,000
Sachsenhausen, near Oranienburg	25,000
Dachau, near Munich	11,000
Neuengamme, near Hamburg	6,000
Gross-Rosen, in Silesia	4,000
Fallersleben, near Brunswick	4,000
Danzig-Stuthoff	4,000
Flossenburg, Upper Palatinate	3,000
Mauthausen on the Danube	3,000

Greece

The British Foreign Office has notified the House of Commons that it will maintain a hands-off policy in the case of three ELAS leaders sentenced to death by the Greek government. The present "neutrality" of the British government stands in revealing contrast to its attitude and actions in Greece last December. Then it moved in with lightning speed and with guns blazing. It had no "hands-off" policy where the protection of reactionaries, capitalists and its own investments was concerned. If the British government adopts a "hands-off" policy today it is only because it believes the terror regime of Voulgaris is competent to carry on the work of repression without British assistance.

The type of official persecuting Greek workers and peasants was revealed by a British government spokesman in the House of Lords. The present police chief in Athens is the man who served under the Nazis. The British imperialists cooperated with him against the Greek workers then as now. The Marquess of Normandy stated that the police chief "worked closely with a British secret organization and rendered us outstanding aid."

Great Britain

Bob Edwards, Independent Labor Party candidate for parliament, polled 13,722 votes against 16,424 for his Tory opponent in the recent Newport by-election. The large vote for Edwards is another indication of the movement to the left among the British masses. The election occurred prior to the dissolution of the Churchill coalition cabinet. Under the terms of the then prevailing "political truce," the Labor Party leaders supported the Tory candidate against Edwards. The vote for Edwards was part of the irresistible mass pressure that forced the Labor Party leaders to break their five-year old bedfellowship with Churchill's Tory Party.

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

Ask Your Shopmate to Subscribe to *The Militant*

How Maritime Commission Aided Ship-Owner Profits

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

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

Among other facts Aiken is expected to stress is that four reports by Comptroller General Lindsay Warren, which expose in detail the Maritime Commission's misuse of government funds on behalf of the shipowners, have been buried by the Senate Commerce Committee.

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

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

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

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

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

Weirton Steel Indicted In War Materials Fraud

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

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

They obtained an air conditioning plant, ornamental iron and stainless steel for lounges and bedrooms by claiming that this equipment was to be used for an "emergency hospital" at the plant. Assistant U. S. District Attorney E. E. Hamstead said the maximum penalty on each count was a \$10,000 fine. He didn't mention imprisonment. Even if the company was fined the maximum of every count — which is very unlikely — it would be just chicken-feed in comparison to its huge war profits.

Since 1936, the company has successfully defied numerous NLRB and federal court orders to cease interfering with the attempts of its workers to organize a union. Only last winter, hoodlums armed by the company severely beat up CIO organizers distributing leaflets at the plant gates.

Florida Union-Busters Use Race-Hate Technique

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

Take the case of the NLRB collective bargaining election recently held at the Hills Brothers' plant at Bartow, Florida. The CIO Food, Tobacco, Agricultural and Allied Workers' Union was bidding for the support of 400 workers, white and Negro. But the \$156-million citrus industry of Florida has developed quite a technique in its anti-CIO drive. Most of its methods are not unique, — appeals to "loyalty to your company," "defend your right to work," threats of closing down plants; "don't deal with outsiders."

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

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

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

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