

NEXT WEEK:
"Native Fascism Rears Its Head In America"
FIRST OF A SERIES BY JOSEPH HANSEN

THE MILITANT

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BRITISH WORKERS VOTE LABOR TO POWER

SWP Demands Job Guarantees

NEW YORK, July 30 — Farrell Dobbs, representing the National Committee of the Socialist Workers Party, today sent the following telegram to Robert F. Wagner, chairman of the Senate Banking Committee. Senator Wagner heads a sub-committee which is holding a two-day preliminary hearing on the full employment bill.

Robert F. Wagner
Chairman, Senate Banking Committee
Washington, D. C.

The Socialist Workers Party condemns the complete failure of Congress to pass full employment legislation before adjournment. Congress did not fail to provide billions of dollars in tax "relief" for giant corporations who have been piling up enormous profits since the outbreak of the war.

Now these Congressmen are taking two-months' vacation without considering legislation to relieve the hazards of unemployment during reconversion. Yet increasing numbers of plants face shut-downs. Millions of workers face loss of jobs.

To guarantee an adequate number of jobs, the Socialist Workers Party places before your Committee the following proposals:

- (1) The continued operation of all idle plants by the government;
- (2) the establishment of workers' control over these plants, since only the workers are interested in expanding production to the maximum.

If this proposal is placed into effect, these plants could produce consumer goods that would quickly rub out wartime shortages. They could provide immediate work for all those who need jobs, including the mounting number of returning veterans.

FARRELL DOBBS
For National Committee, SWP

Negroes Prefer Death To Camp Dix Brutality

Reminiscent of the wave of suicides under Hitler's iron heel are the reports of outrageous treatment of 1,400 Negro soldiers at Fort Dix, N. J. resulting in attempts of some of them to commit suicide. Sergeant Ralph Luckett, attached to the 83rd Signal Heavy Construction Battalion and Private Charles Coleman, Company A of the same battalion, both felt death was preferable to the brutality of their white superiors, according to the July 28 *People's Voice*.

News of the intolerable conditions for Negro soldiers at Fort Dix is only now "seeping through the heavy, double-barrelled veil of army censorship and whitewash." Some of the soldiers are petitioning Negro organizations for help.

Sergeant Luckett, in charge of quarters at a hospital dispensary, on June 29 took an overdose of sleeping tablets and put GI soap under his armpits. He used the soap because he thought it would slow down his heart action and render him more susceptible to the sleeping tablets. He was discovered in a semi-conscious state by other men working in the dispensary and rushed to Tilton General Hospital where he remained in the same state until the following day. He declared that he

"would rather die than be a member of the SS."

Luckett again attempted suicide on July 1 while at the hospital. But instead of investigating the intolerable conditions at the camp, Army authorities confined him to the psychopathic ward of the hospital.

SECOND ATTEMPT

Private Charles Coleman was given severe "company punishment" on July 1 because of a small infraction of the rules. His extra duty was to mop the mess hall, then dig a large trench. According to Coleman this was "the worst of a series of injustices," and he decided death was preferable to increasing punishment. He drank a bottle of gentian-violet, a poisonous antiseptic dye that is applied to the feet for the prevention of athlete's foot. Coleman, like Luckett, blamed the attitude of white officers toward Negro soldiers for the trouble at the camp. Like Luckett, he has also been confined to the psychopathic ward.

Many men of various units have complained of mistreatment and injustices against the Negro heavy construction battalions as a whole. The persecution against them can be judged by the fact that 300 of the 1,400 Negro soldiers were court martialed during the six months between Jan. 1 and June 1, 1945.

NEGRO WRITER RELATES FACTS IN NIGERIA STRIKE

By George Padmore

Reprinted from the London Tribune, July 13, 1945
Last Saturday, thousands of angry Nigerian strikers, at a mass rally at Lagos, swore "by mother Africa and the departed spirits of our ancestors that we shall never surrender until the Government grants us our legitimate demands." During the past three weeks over 150,000 native employes have been out on strike for a minimum wage increase of 2s. 6d. (roughly 50 cents) per day to meet the rise in the cost of living.

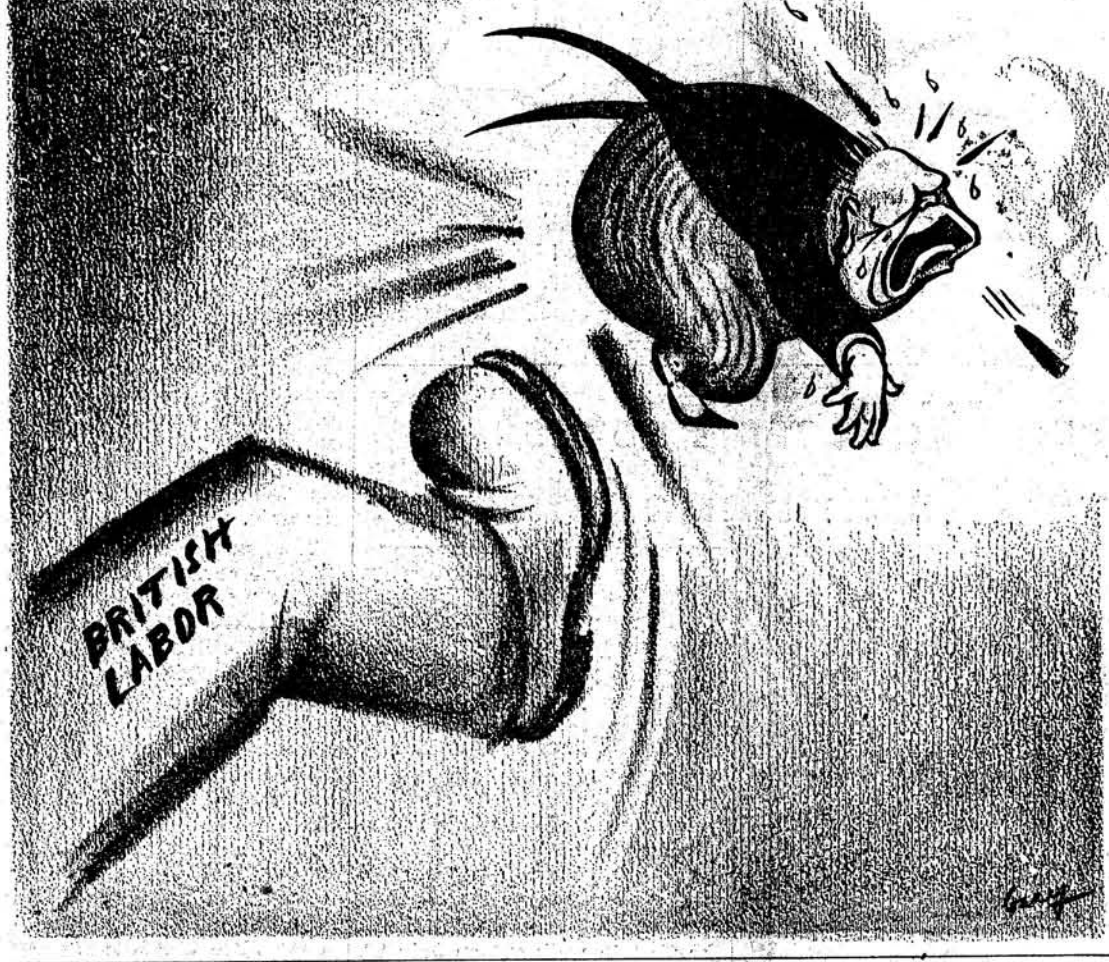
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A recent appeal by the African Civil Servants' Technical Workers' Union, addressed to the Governor, Arthur Richards, pointed out that before the war workers lived in families of three or four, with children, in rooms some of which measured 10 ft. by 10 ft. This was a direct result of the miserably wages paid by the government. Today, the situation is aggravated by an abnormal rise in rents. Prices of foodstuffs and imported goods have soared, stocks are scarce, the health of the community is becoming impaired, victims of T.B. are increasing from day to day. The appeal ended: "Have we

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Giving Him the Boot



General MacArthur Represses Filipino Guerrilla Fighters

By Li Fu-jen

The pattern of Allied "liberation" made familiar in the countries of Europe — disarmament of the masses and the installation of servile puppet governments to frustrate the popular will — has unfolded swiftly in the wake of American reconquest of the Philippine Islands.

American forces under Gen. Douglas MacArthur made a landing on Lingayen Gulf, on the northern coast of the main island of Luzon, last January. When they reached their first objective, the town of San Fernando to the south, they found that Filipino guerrillas had already driven out the Japanese garrison and set up their own administration. MacArthur promptly liquidated this administration.

Within six months of the Lingayen landing most of the Philippines were freed of Japanese control. American troops and Filipino guerrilla fighters cooperated in the campaign. The American press was filled with true accounts of the magnificent Filipino struggle against the Japanese violators which had continued throughout the three years of Japanese occupation of the islands.

What the press did not reveal was the swift and ruthless destruction of the guerrilla organizations, the liquidation of local administrations which they had set up, and the arrest of their leaders. A tight censorship instituted by MacArthur has prevented the facts from becoming generally known. But from fragments of news contained in letters which escaped the censor's eye and from conversations with returning newspaper correspondents, this writer has been able to piece together a picture of what has occurred.

PM SOLVES UNEMPLOYMENT -- GIVES VETS FREE WANT-ADS!

In a mood of patriotic benevolence, or possibly a desire for publicity, New York's liberal daily PM has inaugurated a free "job-wanted" ad column for returning veterans. Beginning in a modest way on the 4th of July, they got 14 customers for this service. Two weeks later, on July 19, "business" increased 500 percent, with 70 such ads appearing.

Usually the people who advertise in "situation wanted" columns are unemployed executives trying to convince some coupon-clipper that they can clip the coupons more efficiently. And PM's first batch of ads were just this type. All professional and college people.

Landlords' land and its distribution among the landless farmers. In many districts large-scale confiscations occurred.

The popularity of such a program will readily be seen when it is borne in mind that landlordism in the Philippines, as in China, is the greatest scourge endured by the predominantly

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IN THE NEWS

Man the Dikes!
"British Leftist Victory Leaves U. S. Last Barrier"—headline in the Washington (D.C.) Times Herald.

Top Priority
The War Production Board issued a steel allocation order for \$16,000 worth of leg irons and handcuffs annually for use in South America and Africa by private companies, including Firestone and Ford. (Akron Sentinel).

The Shape of Things
A special court has been created in New York City, to be known as the "Chief Magistrate's Term." It can be convened, says Chief Magistrate Edgar Bromberger, by him or by Mayor F. H. LaGuardia, "on any day and at any time or place within the city of New York, in their, or either of their, discretion." Specifically, he pointed out, it can be convened in instances of mass arrests, "street disturbances such as riots, or strikes."—Associated Press.

Allowed — or Told?
"The emperor can help to keep Japan from falling into chaos, torn by riots and revolution... the Japanese are likely to be allowed to retain their imperial form of government."—United States News.

What Kind of Victory?
When Congress virtually killed the Fair Employment Practices Committee by cutting its funds to the bone, the Stalinist Daily Worker hailed this as "a victory for the right of Negroes, Jews, Mexicans and other minorities to work without discrimination." But on July 26, FEPC Chairman Malcolm Ross announced that five field offices will close next month and the national staff will be reduced by more than 50 percent as a result of cuts in its budget. The offices to be closed are in Cleveland, Cincinnati, Kansas City, Pittsburgh and New Orleans.

Tory Reactionaries Stunned By Defeat; Masses Elated Over Landslide Victory

Liberal Party Melts Away As Middle Class Swings To Labor; Arena Is Clearing for Showdown Fight
By RALPH GRAHAM

The great British working-class has swept the reactionary Tory government of Churchill out of office. A labor government, under the Premiership of Clement Attlee, is installed in the classic birthplace of capitalism for the first time in history. The ballot boxes of the July 5 general elections were opened on July 26. Count of the votes revealed a veritable landslide to the Labor Party.

With results of 13 scattered districts to be announced later, the vote gave the Labor Party 390 seats in a House of Commons which will have a total of 640 members. In the last Parliament, the Labor Party had only 163 seats and in its greatest previous triumph, in 1929, it had 288. With 390 seats out of 640 in the present Parliament, the party has a substantial majority over all other parties.

Wright Aero Local Decides to End Seven-Day Strike

BULLETIN
On Tuesday of this week, three days after the striking workers returned to the plants, the Wright Corporation commenced laying off workers, singling out chief stewards, shop stewards and committeemen who were alleged to have "taken an active part in instigating and carrying on" the strike last week.

The seven-day mass protest strike, involving 30,000 workers, which shut down five North Jersey plants of the B-29 Wright Aeronautical Corporation, ended on July 27.

At a noon meeting held in the headquarters of Local 669, CIO United Automobile Workers of America, over 4,000 workers voted to end the work stoppage after the union officials, headed by president McGrail, promised that Steward John Potts would be reinstated. They reported that the company had informed them that a grievance committee would sit immediately to review the case. The company promised that the expired contract would remain in force and no discriminatory action would be taken against any of the strikers.

MANY GRIEVANCES
The protest action was caused by an accumulation of grievances of the workers against the corporation, culminating in the firing of Potts, veteran of World War I, without cause and in violation of contract. The company has refused to sign a new contract, although the union began negotiations 30 days before the old contract expired in October, 1944. Instead of granting the union a new contract, the company began firing union men and stewards.

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The official tabulation, minus the 13 districts still to be announced, shows the relative position of the various parties:

Party	Members	Popular Vote
Labor	390	11,962,678
Conservative	195	9,018,235
Liberal National	14	768,341
Liberal	11	2,280,135
Independent Labor	3	46,679
Communist (Stalinist)	2	101,390
National	1	147,997
Common Wealth	1	110,634
Independent	10	545,862

Almost 25,000,000 votes (the United Kingdom has a population of 47,000,000) were cast in the election. As the tabulation shows, nearly half of the total was cast for the Labor candidates. The Conservative (Churchill, Tory) Party lost 130 seats to the Labor Party, but the latter lost not a single seat to the Conservatives.

TORIES CRUSHED

The crushing character of the Tory defeat is further shown in the fact that Birmingham, great steel and heavy industry center and traditionally a Tory stronghold (it was the home of the Chamberlains who "represented" it in many Parliaments), was swept into the Labor fold. Churchill himself secured re-election in his predominantly middle-class constituency of Woodford, but even there 10,500 persons out of 38,000 voted against him. His son, Major Randolph Churchill, and his son-in-law, Duncan Sandys, were both defeated.

How annihilating is the Tory

defeat can be seen from the fact that leading ministers in Churchill's cabinet failed to get re-elected. Among them were First Lord of the Admiralty Brendan Bracken, Secretary of State for India Leopold S. Amery, War Secretary Sir James Grigg, Minister of National Insurance Leslie Hore-Belisha, Minister of Education Richard K. Law, Minister of Aircraft Production Ernest Brown, Minister of Works Duncan Sandys, Secretary of Air Harold MacMillan, Home Secretary Sir Donald Somervell.

The decisive and crushing defeat of the Tories acquires all the more significance when it is remembered that the elections took place on the very morrow of the victory of the Allied imperialists over their German adversaries. Churchill personified that victory. Yet the vapors of patriotic imperialist propaganda (Churchill appealed to the voters to keep him in office until the war with Jap-

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Tammany-Stalinist Deal Unshaken, Says Simpson

NEW YORK, July 30 — A rift between the Stalinists and the corrupt Tammany machine will not follow Tammany's withdrawal of its endorsement of the Stalinist candidate for City Council, Benjamin J. Davis, Jr. This opinion was expressed today by Louise Simpson, Trotskyist candidate for City Council.

"The Stalinists made a deal with Tammany," she said; "and they will carry it through to the end. On July 22 Davis formally accepted the Tammany nomination. Two days later the Daily Worker editors insisted this endorsement represented 'grass roots support from the people.' They claimed that Tammany's designation of Davis 'strengthens the candidacy of Gen. O'Dwyer.' But the very next day O'Dwyer forced Tammany to repudiate its endorsement of Davis. Thus O'Dwyer, it seems, is opposed to the 'grass roots' sentiment of the people.

"If endorsement of Davis constitutes a test of progressiveness, then O'Dwyer must be placed in the camp of reaction. But the Stalinists criticized neither Tammany nor O'Dwyer. This can mean only one thing. The Stalinists intend to remain in the Tammany

5,000 Signatures Still Needed for Dobbs

The number of signatures on petitions to place Farrell Dobbs on the ballot as Trotskyist candidate for mayor is now 10,326. The goal set is 15,000. On July 29 the campaign for signatures to place Louise Simpson on the ballot got off to a good start with 700 signatures. Although only 2,000 are legally required, Local New York of the Socialist Workers Party has set as its minimum goal 4,000 signatures for Comrade Simpson.

camp and continue their support of reactionary capitalist candidates, no matter how contemptuously they are spurned.

"Go Back To Sweatshop And Home" Bosses, WMC Tell Women Workers

By V. Grey

According to War Manpower Commission figures, there are already half a million unemployed women in this country. Women in industry, like the Negroes, are "last to be hired, first to be fired." Only a couple of years ago these same women were lured into the factory by enticing ads and big promises. "Be a welder! Earn big money! Vacations with pay!" and so on and so forth.

But today 500,000 women are pounding the pavements. They are facing a long, long vacation, most of them. No rest at the seashore, no lying in a canoe looking lazily at the sky. But an unpaid vacation, a sweating vacation in the cities, filled with trudging days and worried nights.

They performed jobs that women were never built to do. Heavy foundry jobs where they breathed the foul air that makes strong men faint, steel plant jobs where they breathed the 300-degree breath of the steel furnaces.

The so-called light jobs in aircraft were no cinch either. Labor laws that protected women workers were relaxed by state legislatures, scrambling to serve the wartime needs of big industry. Polishing and grinding magnesium parts and breathing the poisonous magnesium dust, for example, is no joke for anybody either male or female. Some states have had laws against women doing this work. These laws have been disregarded. Some states have had laws against women lifting any weights above 50 to 60 lbs. These laws went by the board in the hectic profit-mad war period. Women lifted all kinds of heavy castings, machine parts, etc. in so-called "light" industry, often hurting themselves badly.

Jobs That Made Them Nervous Wrecks

The women now thrown on the scrap-heap by industry are by no means the same women who entered the new, glittering female employment offices so short a time ago. What with the constant pounding of machinery and the constant clamoring of their children, many married women are already nervous wrecks. Others have damaged lungs, fallen arches, varicose veins.

And what is the capitalist solution for the unemployed women? Do the employers perhaps plan on creating new office jobs at decent pay? Do they contemplate hiring women at union wages to do the light detail shop work that these same bosses praised them for so much a short time ago?

Margaret A. Hickey, chairman of the Women's Committee of the War Manpower Commission in Washington gives the answer in a rather tactful manner: "Are women going to be sitting on benches in employment offices when they ought to be learning new skills?" she says. (N. Y. Times, July 13.) Miss Hickey may be disturbed, like many employers, because women want to draw unemployment insurance for a couple of months, small though it is, rather than go to work for wages that are still smaller.

She doesn't pause to enumerate the "new skills" or explain what factories are hunting for women with these "new skills." She doesn't—for the very simple reason that there aren't any! The only "new skills" are in reality the very old skills of unskilled slavery work. The idea seems to be that women who learned riveting and welding in a few days will need a long apprenticeship in the art of washing dishes!

But this is only the smooth talk of a social worker. The real capitalist device is this: "Go back to your kitchen where you belong! And if you can't get along on your husband's or father's wretched post-war income, get a job as a waitress, laundry worker or servant, for \$5 or \$10 a week."

The 'Back to the Kitchen' Baloney

And of course the capitalist knows very well that no working class family can get along any more on the income of one male worker. The high prices the capitalist charges and the low wages he pays compel every member of the family to go to work. The women simply cannot stay in the kitchen even if the kitchen were the little paradise for women that all the capitalist stooges claim it is.

While women in industry have suffered worse than men in many ways, this "back to the kitchen" baloney is no chivalrous gentleman's slogan designed to protect the "little woman" from the evils mentioned above.

Not at all! It is a calculated and vicious slogan that, translated into class language, means this: "You are an inferior. You must work for lower wages. The labor shortage is over. You must do a man's job but not at a man's pay. You must work for non-union pay. And finally, you must do your best to break the unions. And you will work not just eight hours a day in the factory but ten and twelve hours, for straight time, scab wages."

This is a challenge to the labor movement. The trade unions cannot afford to let it go unanswered. The working class can allow this to go on only at its own mortal peril, for a blow at women workers is not just a blow at part of the working class, and hence to the whole class, but it is a wedge driven into the heart of it to split it wide open.

The labor movement should fight for the rights of women in the same way and for the same reasons that it should fight for the rights of the Negro people. Both women and Negroes are oppressed. Given the worst jobs and the lowest pay. They are treated this way not because they can't do "better" jobs, not because they are used to getting low pay and don't mind it, but because the capitalist class hopes in this way to keep labor from uniting to better its conditions and establish socialism.

DETROIT AUTO MILITANTS REJECT LEWIS AS POSSIBLE HEAD OF UAW

By H. MASON

DETROIT—At a meeting called for the purpose of inviting John L. Lewis into the leadership of the UAW, 50 militants, representing 8 different locals throughout the city, after discussing the question for over two hours,

190, and others, who felt, as M. J. Cavanaugh, Executive Board member of Local 235 expressed it, "our leaders in the International UAW are just a bunch of dumb clucks."

The meeting was surprised when a member of Briggs Local 212 took the floor to oppose the motion. He pointed out that the intent of the motion, that is, to change the leadership of the union, was good, but they were going about it the wrong way.

As he put it, "to throw this idea into the membership of the UAW might result in a fight making the Homer Martin days look like a tea party." He went on to state, "our job now is to see that our union holds a convention in spite of the Office of Defense Transportation ruling banning one, and we'll get rid of our officers there."

When this idea, far more practical for a solution of the problem, was echoed by a member of Diesel Local 163, a motion made to table the question was passed overwhelmingly.

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voted it down after realizing the consequences of such a move.

Hardly waiting for the previous speaker to finish, each man would jump up, to denounce from top to bottom the do-nothing policy of the International leadership of the UAW. These men were rank-and-file members and local officers of Chevrolet Local 235, Diesel Local 163, Packard Local



LEWIS

ard as part of its whole union-busting drive.

Cramp Shipyard Workers Protest Arbitrary Lay-Offs In Philadelphia

PHILADELPHIA, PA., July 22—The very existence of Local 42, Industrial Union of Marine and Shipbuilding Workers, CIO, is threatened by the method used by the Cramp Shipbuilding Company in a layoff this past week.

Twenty-six workers in the electrical department were laid off on the vague and trumped up charge of "inefficiency."

Most of those laid off had two to four years seniority and many were active in union affairs. The layoffs were made in complete disregard of union agreements on seniority.

The electrician shop steward and the chairman of the grievance committee acquiesced in the layoffs. It might have slipped by without notice if a storm of protest by rank-and-file had not caused the president of Local 42, John McBride, and the official board, to intervene. They went into the yard and vigorously protested the company's action.

Cramp officials blandly admitted that the contract had been violated and then promptly notified the men and the union that they were fired for inefficiency instead! This was a further breach of the contract, which permits discharge without specific cause only during the first three weeks of employment.

Obviously the Cramp company was challenging the union to do something about it and was confident that the union would not move. That this company move

can be used as a precedent to get rid of union men during the present wave of cutbacks in Cramps and other yards as well is apparent to all union men. Even IUMSWA national president John Green, when he met with Local 42 leaders and members, declared that the move was serious enough to make him want "to pull the string."

However, up until today the only action taken by the union has been to refer the case to arbitration. The local already has an 18-month backlog of arbitration cases. Incidentally, in addition to the prospect of long delay and uncertainty of arbitration, a new arbitrator handles Cramp cases. He is the notorious William Simplins, former chairman of the Shipbuilding Stabilization Commission. In that capacity he issued the infamous wage-cutting order that precipitated a series of walkouts by piece-rate departments last spring.

Many good union men realize the futility and even danger of permitting this case to wait for arbitration. But so far, even the progressive leader, President McBride, has been reluctant to recognize that a fight is necessary.

Meanwhile, the 26 men and women are out of work or forced to take lower paying jobs in other industries. The other 9,000 still working in the yard, feel insecure regardless of their seniority.

NEWCASTLE STEEL UNION LOCAL FORCES REHIRING OF NEGRO

By Fred Rayburn

NEWCASTLE, Pa., July 18—Local 2646, United Steel Workers, CIO, last night scored a complete victory over the Standard Steel Spring Company, forcing the bosses to rehire with full back pay Charles Watson, a Negro employee fired without cause. In a splendid demonstration of solidarity, the local had walked out on strike last Saturday, July 14, to demand his reinstatement.

Not since 1919 has this town seen a major steel plant shut down by strike action. The combined forces of the company, the government, army brass hats and CIO bureaucracy could not break the militancy of the workers.

When Watson was fired early last week, the company agreed to reply to a protest of the union grievance committee by noon of Saturday, July 14. The promise was broken and the workers walked out.

On Saturday evening, a mass meeting of the membership was held at the United Labor Club, without the attendance of Jack Grittle, local director of the CIO. Unanimous agreement was voted on two demands: "No work until our fellow-worker is put back to work with pay for time lost. No further discharges by the company without union consultation."

WIN BOTH DEMANDS

At a second meeting on Monday the workers were subjected to a heavy barrage of patriotic oratory by Army officers, a Labor Commissioner from Pittsburgh named Ward, a labor stooge named Myers who is supposed to represent labor on the War Production Board, Jack Grittle, and a former president of Local 2646, John Oberleitner.

The local voted by a large majority to return to work on Tuesday after assurances that the company would meet union representatives on the same day. Both demands of the local were won, hands down!

The successful strike grows out of a long history of Gestapo tactics by the company. Sick workers were snoooped upon and questioned by company cops. Seniority was constantly violated. Laborers were suspended for three days for refusing jobs for which they were physically unfit, on the basis of a complicated rotation system. Today the workers are back, with their jobs protected and the solidarity of white and Negro workers cemented still further.

End to Shortage Of Food Sought By Boilermakers

An organized campaign to "bring some action to bear" on the acute food shortage in the Pacific northwest area has been opened recently by Local 104 International Brotherhood of Boilermakers, Iron Ship Builders, Welders and Helpers of Seattle, Washington. The action is supported by the Aero-Mechanics, Metal Trades Council and various other local lodges. It is part of the nationwide protest against the scandalous and unnecessary shortage of proper food for workers in industry.

The average meat consumption in the United States this year, according to a Washington D. C. dispatch, is estimated at 120 pounds per person, against 149.5 last year. It is even lower than the average of 125.6 during the depression years of 1935-1939.

"According to reliable sources there seems to be plenty of beef on the hoof throughout the U. S. Our problem is to get this beef off the hoof and on the table," states the 104 Reporter of July 19. It points out that workers are now putting in longer shifts, ten or twelve hours and upwards.

Local 104, Boilermakers has a Food Committee which is requesting the cooperation of union members in its postcard campaign. The campaign is to be launched in the yards and plants and the postcards distributed to the workers through the shop stewards.

The general demands expressed on these cards are: "Nationalize the meat packers for better meat distribution." "Allot more meat to the critical war industry areas." "Longer work hours call for more red points." The postcards are addressed to Senators Warren G. Magnusson, Hugh Mitchell and Representative Hugh Delacy and others in Washington, D. C.

"By the common action of the workers in this area, we may be able to put more meat on the table," stated Joe Leavy, member of the Food Committee.

Wright Workers Decide to End Seven-Day Strike

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ards as part of its whole union-busting drive. Plant No. 7, Wood-Ridge, N. J. comprising some 17,000 workers, from which Potts was fired, was the first to walk out on July 20. It was followed by Plants 1 and 2 in Paterson, Plant 3 in Fairlawn and Plant 4 in East Paterson, completely tying up the entire production.

ALL THREATS FAIL

Threats of reprisals against the workers failed to break the protest action. The company threatened the workers that the existence of their union was in danger. They said that a government agency would take over the five plants. Draft boards were ordered by Col. Edgar N. Bloomer, state director of Selective Service, to reclassify all workers exempted from military service because of their war work. The WLB threatened to refuse to act on the local's new contract which is coming up before the board next Tuesday.

The workers were confronted with the greatest difficulties they ever had to face in this strike. Against them were not only the company and government agencies but their own union officials who played a weak and cowardly role. From the very beginning these officials tried to drive the workers back to the plants. Members of the Communist Party (Stalinist) tried to smear the strike and blame it on racketeering elements. The Daily Worker set the tone for the Stalinists and carried on open strikebreaking agitation.

Despite all these difficulties the workers remained firm. Only the promises of their union officials that grievances would be adjusted and that Potts would be reinstated caused them to vote to go back to work.

White and Negro Workers Protest Toledo Jim Crow

TOLEDO, O., July 22—A mass meeting of 300 Negro and white workers, today protested vigorously against discriminatory policies of Toledo corporations. Organized by the union committee of the Mass Movement League, a fighting Negro organization, the meeting was held under the joint auspices of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Mass Movement League, the Ministerial Alliance, and the CIO Fact-Finding Committee.

Emmett Wheaton, chairman of the CIO Fact-Finding Committee, and a long-time militant fighter for Negro equality, chaired the meeting at the Frederick Douglas Community Center. The main speaker, John Holly of Cleveland, president and founder of the Future Outlook League, discussed "Negro Labor at the Crossroads." Robert Burkart, editor of Spicer Union News, organ of Local 12, UAW-CIO, and a member of the NAACP Toledo executive board, also spoke. All of the speakers called for strengthening the unions by abolishing discrimination and urged Negro workers to take a more active part in union affairs.

ACTION DEMANDED

The meeting passed a resolution demanding that the UAW International take immediate action to settle grievances on job discrimination. "Negro workers at the Chevrolet Motor Corporation in Toledo are still being denied upgrading by management," the resolution charged. "Many workers of 15 and 20 years' seniority are still restricted to menial and low-paying jobs. The same conditions exist in the Champion Spark Plug Company, Auto-Lite Company, and many other plants."

Also approved was a resolution protesting to the British Embassy at Washington against the recent arrest of ten strike leaders of the Nigerian labor movement, and the threatened persecution of Nnandi Azikiwe, Nigerian Negro editor who is personally known to leaders of the Mass Movement League.

All speakers at the meeting supported the candidacy of J. E. Simmons, co-founder and director of the Mass Movement League, who is running as an independent for the Toledo City Council.

Fourth International

Current and back issues may be obtained by sending 25 cents in stamps or coin to:

Business Manager, Fourth International, 116 University Pl., N. Y. 3, N. Y.

TRADE UNION NOTES

By V. Grey

Methods and Methods

The Toledo Union Journal of July 20 throws a headline and an article full of bouquets at UAW District Director Richard Gosser, listing his long and glorious wartime record of getting fired militants back to work. His most recent achievement was the reinstatement of Lucille Bowes, fired office worker of the Spicer plant.

The article happens to note that 6,000 Spicer workers were striking in sympathy with Miss Bowes. Toledo workers may think the strike had something to do with Gosser's latest success. But it is only mentioned to show how much money Gosser saved 6,000 people by settling the strike!

Strikers might reflect that they needn't have struck at all, thus saving still more money... But perhaps they had more confidence in their own strength than in miracle man Gosser.

Those Meat Points

The miner's strike for meat points really started something. Way out on the West Coast the Boilermakers' Union in Seattle is also going to town on this issue. Here is an editorial excerpt from the 104 Reporter:

"How can industry and government, who incidentally, I don't think are going hungry, or working 10 to 12 or 16 hours a day at hard manual labor, expect the working people in this area to keep up their speed and drive without enough food?"

"Let us, the Boilermakers' Union formulate some constructive plan if we have to force it with every weapon we have. The miners through good concentrated action got 50 more red points a month. Are we so dumb or so complacent that we must sit idly by and be given the scraps... Now is the time to get active and get some food, or to find out why!"

Subject: Deficits

Boris Shishkin, AFL economist says, in discussing "Your Post-war Job": "It will take from two to three years after the war to make up the deficit in textiles. This means full employment (in the textile industry) for at least that long."

He omits to explain that capitalism doesn't produce to "make up deficits." It produces to

sell on the market at profit. A great many people will have a "deficit" of clothing after the war. But they are also going to have a "deficit" of spending money.

Maybe Their Chance

Secretary of Labor Lewis Schwellenbach has asked Senate and House labor committees to fix up a law creating a couple of assistant secretaries of labor. Being just an assistant may not sit so well, but Lewis, Murray and Green may now get the chance they've always dreamed about—the chance to become full-time capitalist stooges right in the president's cabinet.

Didn't Make a Name

According to a recent Gallup poll, 45 percent of the population still think John L. Lewis is head of the CIO. Apparently Philip Murray, the labor statesman of the No-Strike Pledge, hasn't made much of a name for himself.

Big Business Watches

Last week's meeting of the International Executive Board of the UAW-CIO was carefully watched by Big Business. In spite of the Thomas-Reuther-Addes arrogance toward the rank and file, the bosses understand very clearly how much explosive force is gathering under their bureaucratic seats. In Business Week, July 28, the magazine in which the capitalists think out loud, is the following:

"The delicate time fuse whose tick can be plainly heard by employers of the more than a million members of CIO's United Auto Workers kept on ticking this week. The explosion was again deferred as the union's executive board, meeting in Minneapolis, decided to keep in effect—for the present, at least—the union's no-strike pledge."

"UAW's national officers voted to continue the pledge in force in the face of mounting demands from the membership for revocation."

Detroit, the article warns, "has not yet seen the spectacle of General Motors, Ford and Chrysler strike-bound at the same time. That may be in the cards when UAW declares officially that it is ready to support strike action for 'sufficient cause'."

SWP BRANCH ACTIVITIES

AKRON—Bi-monthly forums are held at 405-06 Everett Bldg., 39 E. Market St.

Friday, Aug. 10—"The Labor Party Victory in England." Speaker, D. Swanson, 8 p. m.

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

MILWAUKEE—Visit the Milwaukee branch of the SWP at its headquarters, 926 Plankinton Ave., Room 21, any evening between 7 and 9:30 p. m.

NEWARK—Lectures are held weekly at the Progressive Workers' School, 423 Springfield Ave., at 8:45 P. M. Friday, Aug. 10: "Significance of the British Labor Victory." Speaker, Joe Ford.

NEW YORK—All branches: Saturday, Aug. 4: Members and friends of SWP will meet at 116 University Place at 6 p. m. to gather signatures on local election petitions. Friends of The Militant are invited to an informal gathering at Chelsea Workers Center, 130 W. 23rd St., 8 p. m.

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

August 10: Grace Carlson will speak at Druids Temple, Unity Hall, 44 Page St., 8 p. m. August 11: Informal reception for Grace Carlson on Saturday evening. Meet her personally at San Francisco School of Social Science. Dancing, refreshments.

SEATTLE—Grace Carlson will speak on Wednesday, August 15 at New Washington Hotel, Stewart St. at 2nd Ave., 8 p. m. TACOMA—Hear Grace Carlson on Friday, August 17 at 8 p. m. at Odd Fellows Hall, 6th and Fawcett Sts. TOLEDO—Forums held every Sunday evening at 905 Jefferson Ave., Room 304. All Militant readers, friends invited.

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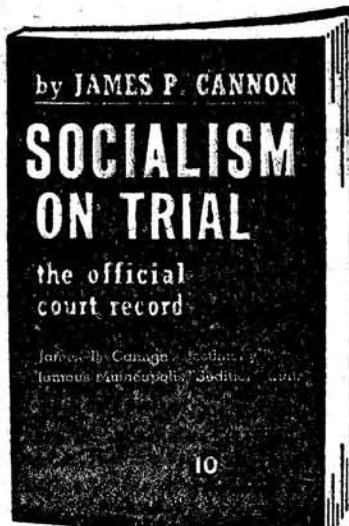
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Congressmen At Work

By Joseph Hansen

After six years of the Second World War, a few of Wall Street's political hatchet-men are beginning to express apprehensions quite at variance with the gilt-edged propaganda of Big Business about boundless peace and prosperity in the postwar world. Senator Brooks of Illinois, for instance, on July 18 indicated a troubled mind: "I think we have finally come to the ugly realization that we cannot harness the resources of the world and train the manpower of the world to destroy, without having to face the fact that there will be an aftermath which will be almost as ugly as the war itself was... There is no question that we have literally blown Europe to the ground. There is no question but that we will burn Japan to the earth. When the war is over the loss of resources in human lives, in displaced peoples, and in property rights will leave this world in a greater chaos than it has ever known in all of its history..."

Senator Downey of California, his imagination stirred, perhaps, by the uneasy observations of his colleague, conjured up a frightening possibility: "The world has endured six long, long years of war, of exhaustion, starvation, disease, death, and sorrow. And now, as the European phase has drawn to a bloody close, and the climax in the Pacific approaches, men all over the world—tired men, bitter men, desperately hopeful men—are asking themselves: Have we really won?"

Cigars and Punk

These two political representatives of American capitalism are not the only ones in Congress deeply concerned about the burning problems of world politics. The July 18 Congressional Record printed for posterity the following remarkably illuminating interchange between Representative Gross of Pennsylvania and one of his esteemed fellow politicians on the superiority of the nickel cigar over more expensive brands: "I hold in my hand several cigars... This is a 6-cent cigar and used to be the good York County 5-cent cigar... I can take a match and light this cigar. After it is started I can lay it down and take a bath and shave and have a cigar that is still burning. That is good tobacco in a well-made cigar... Every extra cent I have to pay for the cigar I have to have an extra match to keep it going. It takes 50 matches to keep a 50-cent cigar going. They do not smoke. The tobacco will not burn... Why, I could light this cigar and show you what a nice white ash it makes. I can smoke it about half way and all that ash will still be on it. It is just exactly the kind that John Marshall and Joe Cannon and Andrew Mellon and all those great men in our national life spoke about."

"Mr. REED of New York. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?" "Mr. GROSS. I yield." "Mr. REED of New York. May I suggest to the gentleman that punk will burn while you are shaving." "Mr. GROSS. Yes; punk will burn."

Tosses Bouquet to Stalin

Moscow will be pleased to learn that Generalissimo Stalin has found an ardent admirer in Wall Street's Congress. Jew-baiting, Negro-hating, Jim-Crow-advocate Rankin of Mississippi, in cultured language typical of the decayed Southern Bourbon aristocracy, expressed his appreciation of Stalin's Christian-like quickness on the draw: "Communism is the most dangerous influence in the world today. I am talking about the communism of Leon Trotsky... Remember that these white girls who were herded into this subway, or air-raid shelter in Stuttgart and raped at the point of Communist bayonets, were not responsible for the war which Hitler waged. My God!... Remember... this... high-class anti-Hitler doctor in Stuttgart... These communistic brutes stood him against the wall and made him watch these black apes rape his wife and daughters... Remember, they closed every church in Russia, killed their ministers, and murdered millions of Christian men, women, and children when Trotsky was in power. When Lenin died Trotsky thought he was going to take over. But Stalin 'beat him to the draw.' Stalin happened to be born a Christian. He was educated for the priest-hood in the Orthodox Russian church, and when he began to remove the commissars from the army, restore military discipline, and open the churches, then a wave of Communists headed for America."

Guilt Conscience

The overwhelming majority of these capitalist politicians, who recently raised their own salaries by a cool tax-exempt \$2,500, apparently feel that they have worked so hard in Congress this year they are entitled to at least a two-months summer vacation. Representative Bailey of Pennsylvania, however, seems to suffer slightly from twinges of conscience: "I do not want to appear too critical in this matter nor do I want to criticize any one individual—I do think it unwise at this time in view of the increased unemployment and of the added possibility of a sudden collapse in the Japanese war effort that this Congress should take a 2 months' recess and leave a matter of so grave importance as this subject to the uncertainty of the future."

Most of the Congressmen are taking off a few extra days to get ready for their two-months' summer vacation.

Maritime Commission To Give Ships Away

NEW YORK, July 30—While the National War Labor Board continues to stall on granting seamen a 55-cent hourly minimum wage another government agency, the Maritime Commission, has rushed ahead with plans to cut down the size of the U. S. merchant fleet and turn over to private shipping companies billions of dollars in war-built ships. The merchant fleet will reach an all-time peak of 5,500 ships by the end of this year. The single item of constructing shipyards to launch this vast fleet represents an investment of not less than two billion dollars. This is only a fraction of the huge sums poured into the maritime industry by the government.

that more than 75 percent of the present fleet will not be operating as American-flag ships. Ships needed for postwar shipping will be "sold" at "basic prices" figured on "the estimated postwar reproduction cost in a representative foreign yard." This in itself represents a colossal steal. But the fact that government operating subsidies paid to the private shipping companies during the life of a ship far exceed the cost price, converts this so-called "sale" of ships into an outright grant.

COMPANIES GET PICK The Harvard report recommends that American shipping companies be given their pick of the best war-built ships "immediately upon termination of hostilities with Japan," and that "cost of repair and conversion should be paid by the government." The remaining four thousand ships will be scrapped, offered for sale to foreign operators, or put in a "laid-up fleet." What will happen to the thousands of merchant seamen thrown out of work when three-fourths of the ships are gone is a problem not yet considered by the shipping "experts."

PROFESSORS CONSULTED The Maritime Commission is primarily concerned with ways and means of disposing of government-owned ships and shipyards. It therefore employed four members of the Division of Research of the Harvard Graduate School of Business Administration to prepare a report on "The Use and Disposition of Ships and Shipyards After World War II." The report of the Harvard professors revealed that only 1,325 ships will be needed for postwar shipping. This means

Reconversion — IV

Trotskyists Offer A Fighting Program

By Art Preis

While the top labor bureaucrats fear a fighting program, the union ranks everywhere are demonstrating their pent-up eagerness to battle for their rights. Ever wider sections of organized labor are raising demands, far-reaching in character. Since March 1945, a tremendous strike wave has swept the country. Within five months, more than a million workers from coast to coast have trampled the no-strike pledge into the dust. New heroic struggles—of Akron rubber and Detroit auto workers, Chicago truck drivers, New York newspaper deliverymen—have entered the pages of American labor history.

The protesting voices of other hundreds of thousands—the returning war veterans—the beginning to make themselves heard. Most of these veterans are workers, including many old unionists. They are finding the realities of their return far different from the glowing promises they received when shipped off to face mutilation and death while the profiteers at home coined billions.

TREATMENT OF VETS

They are discovering that the so-called "G. I. Bill of Rights" is a fraud. Veterans' hospitals have been exposed as cesspools of vile conditions. When veterans do get jobs, they quickly learn how the bosses have lied about the workers getting "rich" on war wages. And increasing thousands of them find decent jobs at living wages unobtainable.

Some 13,000,000 Negro people, the most oppressed section of the population, are fighting with ever more determination and courage against mounting discrimination and race hatred fostered by the white capitalist ruling class and their agents like the vicious Southern Democrats in Washington. Hundreds, perhaps thousands, of Negro fighters have been court-martialed for daring to insist on their rights in the Jim-Crow armed forces. The Negro people had to threaten a huge mass march on Washington to force even formal recognition of their right to jobs in war industries and compel temporary establishment of the Fair Employment Practices Commission. Always the "last to be hired and first to be fired," the Negro workers especially are today feeling the whiplash of layoffs, downgrading and wage cuts.

It is indisputable that the workers, Negro and white, and the returning veterans, want a program in their own interests. They are more than ready to militantly resist Wall Street's hunger scheme. They are eager to fight for a program which genuinely meets their needs.

SWP PROGRAM

From the beginning of the war, only one organization has consistently and boldly advanced an effective fighting program in the interests of the vast majority. That organization is the Socialist Workers Party, the American Trotskyists. Despite vicious wartime government persecution—18 Trotskyist leaders suffered federal imprisonment under the infamous Smith "Gag" Act—the Socialist Workers Party has persistently warned of the capitalist conspiracy to destroy the unions, drive down living standards and impose a post-war regime of hunger and regimentation.

Why, asks the Socialist Workers Party, must great government-owned plants like Willow Run be "junked"? Aren't there vast needs to be filled? There are, for example, huge areas of rotten, crowded housing which ought to be replaced by modern, pre-fabricated homes that plants like Willow Run could easily be used to build. Yes, these plants now destined for the scrap-heap could provide a thousand products that would make the workers' and farmers' lives better and happier. Plants, machinery, materials, workers—all are at hand.

Only one thing is lacking from the capitalist point of view—guaranteed profits. That—and that alone—is what now stands in the way of maintaining all the huge government-built-and-owned plants as humming, useful means of production and livelihood.

IT NEED NOT BE! Must millions of workers and their dependents face idleness, hunger and misery because the profit interests of a handful of non-productive parasites stand in the way? Must the workers, whose labor creates all, meekly submit to an outlived system in which the means to produce plenty are perverted to the interests of a profiteering few?

That need not, that must not be. To the monopoly profiteers who sabotage full production, the workers must answer: NO IDLE PLANTS! OPERATE ALL IDLE AND GOVERNMENT-BUILT PLANTS UNDER THE CONTROL OF THE WORKERS THEMSELVES! ELIMINATE THE CONTROL OF THE PROFITTEER-PARASITES!

During the war, the employers have intensified their efforts to divide and rule the workers by provoking race hatred and racial conflict. In Detroit, Philadelphia and elsewhere, corporation agents have directly inspired and organized anti-Negro violence.

AWAY WITH JIM CROW Against this vicious ruling class scheme to destroy labor unity through race prejudice, the white and Negro workers must

zoomed sky-high while wages remain frozen. At the same time, the average worker is turning out 30 per cent more production per hour than he did just four years ago. All this increased productivity has been siphoned off into capitalist profits. Now the workers are experiencing intolerable wage cuts through drastic curtailment of take-home pay. Such pay slashes must be combated by a rising scale of wages.

INCREASE WAGES TO MEET THE INCREASED COST OF LIVING! SMASH THE LITTLE STEEL FORMULA! A 30-HOUR WEEK If the employers want to fire workers while keeping others slaving away for inhumanly long hours, then the unions must demand:

A SLIDING SCALE OF HOURS! REDUCE THE HOURS OF WORK FOR ALL WITH NO REDUCTION IN PAY! FOR THE 30-HOUR WEEK WITH NO LOSS IN TAKE-HOME PAY! The American workers have the organized power to achieve these demands. But, as the Socialist Workers Party has emphasized, they cannot take even the first step forward in the battle for security unless they break all ties with the capitalist government and its war machine, unless they resist every attempt to curb their independence and freedom of action. To achieve an effective program on reconversion, the workers must completely re-

INDEPENDENCE OF THE TRADE UNIONS FROM THE CAPITALIST GOVERNMENT! Bound hand and foot by the no-strike pledge, strangled by the red-tape of employer-dominated government arbitration agencies, the workers have found themselves the helpless victims of the profit-mad corporations. Already, despite and against the opposition of their top union leaders, hundreds of thousands of workers have been "voting with their feet" on picket lines to smash the no-strike pledge.

For militant union action to halt the union-busting offensive of the corporations and government! At the same time, it is becoming crystal clear to the union ranks everywhere that the War Labor Board, propped up by the union leaders who serve on it, has become the chief governmental wage-freezing and strike-breaking agency. From every section of the labor movement, the cry is rising: Withdraw the union representatives from the War Labor Board! An end to reliance on the anti-labor government and its agencies! DIVIDE AND RULE An absolute prerequisite for successful struggle is the unity of the working class. Every device of "divide and rule" is being used by the capitalists to disunite the workers.



LA GUARDIA

LaGuardia Orders Police Force to Suppress Beggars

Mayor LaGuardia, whose clownish courtings on the radio, screen and in the press are supposed to represent him as a great lover of the people, especially kiddies, once again shows his true role as a cold-blooded and cynical politician for the bosses. On July 22 he directed the police department to give "special attention" to the suppression of begging in the Times Square and Broadway area. He also ordered the subway police to tighten enforcement against begging.

The excuse given by the mayor is that army officials had complained to him that "service men were often imposed upon by beggars, whose hard-luck stories aroused their sympathies." It might be nearer the truth to say that the army brass hats and the Wall Street government stooges are fearful that the soldiers on furlough will see a preview of their own fate in the days of critical unemployment ahead.

Detroit Unionists Hold Protest Rally On Unemployment

By PHILLIP NORTH DETROIT, July 24 — A "reconversion demonstration" was held today in Cadillac Square, the traditional rallying ground of the auto workers in Detroit. The announced purpose of the demonstration, sponsored by the Greater Detroit and Wayne County Industrial Union Council, CIO, was to demand immediate reconversion employment and a 20 percent wage raise—40 hours work for 48 hours pay. C. P. Quinn, Stalinist-controlled president of the Wayne County CIO Council, acted as chairman. Principal speakers were UAW President R. J. Thomas and UAW Vice-President Richard Frankenstein.

Cadillac Square, scene of gatherings of over a hundred thousand auto workers during the turbulent days of their organizing drive, seemed almost empty. The crowd was estimated at from 1,200 to somewhat over 2,000 by the various Detroit daily papers. Actually it was in the neighborhood of 4,000.

MILITANT SLOGANS

Briggs Local 212 and Fleetwood Local 15 stood out both by the comparative largeness of their turnout and by the militancy of the slogans on their standards. They called for the "40-hour week at 48 hours' pay." They also had posters which read, "Back up our wage demands with strike action!" Another placard demanded "Operate all idle plants under trade union control!"

One placard asked the pointed question: "Is war the only answer to unemployment?" The weakness of the Stalinists, who dominate the CIO Council, and who labored hard to make the rally a success, was glaringly exposed by the small size of the turnout. It was likewise obvious that the cowardly policies of Thomas, Frankenstein and Co. cannot inspire the auto workers.



mendous giant, 16,000,000 strong, potentially the greatest force in the world, has demonstrated in the past a capacity for heroic struggle. Now American labor confronts the greatest struggle of all. If it retreats, if it compromises, if it yields to the deception and cowardly advice of its present bureaucratic leaders, if it bows before the "rights" of private profit and privilege, then disaster will befall. The American workers will be plunged into an abyss of misery and destitution. But if organized labor mobilizes its forces for a finish fight, if it exerts to the full its invincible power, if it cries "Halt!" to the tiny, selfish minority who up to now have controlled the people's destinies, then the road to salvation will open. Then the American workers will be able to build for themselves a new society of abundance and comfort and human decency.

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

VOTE TROTSKYIST! In the Coming New York Elections

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

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!

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! Replace the slums and firetraps with modern low-rent apartments! Make work for the building trades! Build homes instead of bombers!

Diary of a STEEL WORKER

By Theodore Kovalesky

His name was Frank Little, and we remember it. He was a fighter for his class, a man who gave up his life for his fellow-workers and went to his death with his mouth set in scorn for his oppressors.

Frank Little was a Wobbly. The IWW was his life, his love, his religion. The working class was his hope and his belief. He died as a soldier of his class and a martyr to his beliefs.

It was on the first of August, twenty-eight years ago. The world was boiling in blood and smoke. There were bombs and bullets and bayonets and torn bodies.

There was fire and the stink of burning flesh. There was hunger, and there were emaciated bodies with protruding bones.

Sam Gompers led the A. F. of L. He blinked like a fat old toad and said, "This is a war against war, that is what this war is. It is a crusade, a war of the enraged civilian population defending their menaced liberties and democracies. It is not a capitalist war."

But Sam Gompers, slouched at the podium, blinking like a great toad, lied as he spoke.



The Kind of War It Really Was

For it WAS a capitalist war. And Debs and the left socialists said it was a capitalist war. And the IWW said it was a capitalist war. They said, "Don't be a soldier, be a MAN. Join the IWW and fight for your class."

So the government persecuted the left socialists and the Wobblies. The government swung wide the doors of the prisons to admit the working class fighters.

And on the first of August, in that year of 1917, the Citizens' Alliance kidnapped Frank Little from his hotel room.

A mob of "outraged citizens," grocers, druggists, lawyers, little manufacturers, a mob of petty professionals and tradesmen swarmed howling into Frank Little's hotel room and dragged him out into the night.

For the outraged citizens were "patriots," and Frank Little and the IWW said it was a capitalist war. The outraged citizens were "decent" people from "good" families, and Frank Little wanted the workers to rule the world.

So in the darkness of night in Butte, Montana, they dragged Frank Little out of his room and tortured him. And when they had had their sport, they hanged him from a railroad trestle, and left his body dangling to greet the summer dawn and blight the summer day.

But in the midst of their triumph, they squirmed in the bitter flow of his scorn. For Frank Little made no outcry.

He Bore His Anguish in Silence With the strong courage of his ancestors, the Indian braves, Frank Little bore his anguish in silence. Half Indian, half white, "all IWW," he made no plea. He spoke no word. He did not scream, or moan.

And the "indignant citizens" felt his contempt and went on to greater atrocities until they grew weary of torturing him. And when their lust was sated, they put a noose about his neck and hanged him and then went home to their wives and children.

And now he lies in the earth, waiting for his brothers to avenge him. Today, twenty-eight years later, the world boils again in blood and smoke. Millions have died in torment, and millions more wander homeless and hopeless through ravaged cities and bomb-pitted countryside, hungry and ragged and diseased.

And again the ruling class has persecuted the workers who fought for truth and freedom. Seventeen men and smiling little Grace Carlson ate prison bread because they said to all the world, "This is a capitalist war."

And Bill Patterson, the miner, chafes in his cell, because he and his union brothers would not submit to the mine-owners' wartime attacks on the unions. And all over the world socialists and militant workers suffer privation and prison and death in the struggle for truth and freedom.

They fight and die for the cause that Frank Little fought and died for. And many now are the heroes that lie in the earth like Frank Little. They lie uneasily, waiting for the workers to avenge them by creating the Socialist society of truth and freedom and plenty.

DEGENERATION OF COMINTERN IS ANALYZED IN JULY F. I.

Featured in the July issue of the Fourth International, just off the press, is a historical review on the evolution of the Communist International. "Indispensable to a thorough understanding of the latest tactical shift of the Stalinists is the entire historical background of Stalinist degeneration," the editors point out. The material published is one of the official documents of the world Trotskyist movement and covers a period of about 17 years, from 1919 to 1936.

In this issue are two timely articles on the German events. One by John G. Wright is entitled: "The Rising German Revolution; Its Enemies, Betrayers and Villifiers." Felix Morrow's article is entitled: "Was the German Working Class Responsible for Nazism?"

In "Ministry-Makers and Leftist' Fakery," Hemu Kalani exposes the treacherous role of the Indian National Congress leaders who are accepting office under British imperialist rule. The Review of the Month includes an editorial on what the Daily Worker "Discussion" seeks to cover up, and an important analysis of the recent strike wave and the left wing in the American labor movement.

The second installment of Perspectives of World Development, a speech by Leon Trotsky in 1924, is published in this issue, which summarizes the Marxist approach to revolutionary situations. Other features include a contribution by William Simmons to the discussion on the problems of the European Revolution, and International Notes.

New York Mass Meeting JAMES P. CANNON National Secretary, Socialist Workers Party on "THE DOWNFALL OF BROWDER" FRIDAY, AUGUST 3, 8 P. M. WEBSTER HALL, 119 E. 11 Street Added speakers: Farrell Dobbs - Louise Simpson

British Workers Vote Labor Party To Power

(Continued from page 1) an was finished) could not deflect the British workers from their purpose.

LIBERALS SMASHED
Another significant feature of the elections was the ignominious defeat suffered by the Liberal Party, which lost seven seats and now has only eleven. This party, an anachronistic hangover from the "free trade" days when British capitalism was in its prime, put up 307 candidates and expected to stage a come-back. The workers crowded it to the wall. With class lines sharpening and hardening, there is no room for a middle-of-the-road capitalist party.



ATLEE

Among the defeated Liberals were the party's top leader, Sir Archibald Sinclair; Lady Violet Bonham Carter, president of the party; Sir Percy Harris, chief Liberal whip; Sir William Beveridge, author of the much-touted "Beveridge Plan" for social security "from cradle to grave" (the British workers know such security is possible only under socialism).

The tremendous Labor sweep was the culminating point of steadily accumulating revolt against capitalism in the ranks of the British workers. This revolt was evidenced last year in the great strikes of coal miners and workers in the engineering trades. The labor "leaders," however, had signed a truce with the Tories at the beginning of the war and entered into a coalition government with Churchill. They acted as strikebreakers.

At the Labor Party conference in 1944 there were rumblings of revolt against continuation of the coalition, but Labor "leaders" Attlee, Bevin and Morrison managed to keep the lid down. At the next conference, this last spring, the revolt reached boiling point and the delegates voted overwhelmingly to end the coalition. This precipitated the general election of July 5.

WORKERS IN REVOLT
The British workers are weary of the imperialist war. They are suffering severely under rationing and black markets. Mass unemployment is again on the way. There is a chaotic housing situation, with millions of workers living in slum hovels and bomb-blasted tenements. All Churchill could promise the workers was

a continuation of this state of affairs. Meanwhile the British capitalists are on the offensive against the labor unions. The British workers pressed for a radical program, of social change. The Labor Party conference this year adopted a program which calls for nationalization of the coal mines, power companies, public transportation, and that capitalist Holy of Holies, the mighty Bank of England. The program also provides for a vast government scheme of slum clearance and public housing. Britain's workers mean business. They have put the Labor Party in power with a thumping majority, expecting this program to be carried out.

Britain's working-class is one of the most class-conscious and politically educated in the world. It has experienced the harshness and cruelty of capitalism both in its heyday and decline. It understands the need for a socialist society. Held back until now by its own supposed leaders, it has now made an immense stride forward.

THE MIDDLE CLASS
In its great sweep to the left, British labor has drawn support from the hitherto conservative middle-class and from the rural population. "The middle classes revolted. This nation of shopkeepers' voted for socialization. Even the rural population abandoned its 'feudal inheritance,'"

wrote the N. Y. Times correspondent in London.

The acceptance of what is considered a socialist program by these intermediate class elements is a revolutionary sign of the times. It evidences a widespread repudiation of capitalism and a quest for a way out of capitalist anarchy. The middle classes of town and country have joined with the workers to deliver the first telling blow against capitalism.

In this election they have demonstrated their confidence in the ability of the working class to achieve a solution of the pressing social problems. Upon the energy with which the workers press for the realization of even the limited program on which they have sent the Labor Party into office, will depend the tempo of Britain's political development from now on.

Britain's capitalists expect revolutionary developments. And they are afraid. It was no accident that the London Stock Exchange slumped heavily when the election results were announced.



CHURCHILL

Railroad stocks tumbled because of the threat of nationalization. Industrialists followed suit and there was a flood of selling. These are comforting thoughts to Britain's capitalists. Nonetheless, they are decidedly nervous. The Financial Times, organ of British capitalism, declared that business and financial circles were "shocked" by the election results. "It must be hoped," the paper said, "the victors will not allow their great majority to persuade them to extremist courses."

But it was precisely in order to insure the carrying out of an "extremist" program that the workers voted the Labor Party into office. The Labor Party leaders, themselves, were "shocked" at the results. They had hoped to become merely the largest party in Parliament, with perhaps a bare majority, so that they could form a coalition with the Liberals. This was what happened in the elections of 1924 and 1929, when Laborite Ramsay MacDonald became Premier in Labor-Liberal coalition governments. MacDonald and his henchmen excused their failure even to attempt the carrying through of the Labor Party program by reference to their dependence upon the Liberals for a parliamentary majority.

to sidetrack the workers from the true socialist goal.

"Leaders of the Labor Party," a leading British industrialist said to a N. Y. Times correspondent, "are all men with cabinet experience, accustomed to the responsibilities of government. There is little danger of ill-considered radical policies sweeping the country. Members of my organization feel it is improbable that the (Labor) party will vote to take over any of the enterprises mentioned except fuel and power. They are so completely committed on the coal and electric power industries that it is impossible to see how they can avoid nationalizing them."

Nonetheless, the capitalists are very nervous. The Financial Times, organ of British big business, declared that business and financial circles were "shocked" by the election results. "It must be hoped," the paper said, "the victors will not allow their great majority to persuade them to extremist courses such as would aggravate world society."

ATLEE'S RECORD

The capitalists were comforted when Attlee, in his first statement after the election, pledged his government to continue prosecuting Britain's imperialist war against Japan. They remember that Attlee was Churchill's deputy prime minister and helped carry through Churchill's bloody suppression of the Greek masses in the interests of British imperialism. They remember, too, that Attlee attended the recent San Francisco conference and joined Eden and the rest of Churchill's delegation to vote down a proposal for the independence of the colonies — which means that the British Empire will be safe in Attlee's hands. They also remember that on the home front Bevin and Morrison, ministers of Churchill's cabinet and designated for posts in the Attlee cabinet, acted as strikebreakers against the coal miners and engineering workers only last year.

These are comforting thoughts to Britain's capitalists. Nonetheless, they are decidedly nervous. The Financial Times, organ of British capitalism, declared that business and financial circles were "shocked" by the election results. "It must be hoped," the paper said, "the victors will not allow their great majority to persuade them to extremist courses."

10th Anniversary Of Call For F.I.

Ten years ago, five working-class organizations called for the formation of a new world party dedicated to the socialist revolution. These five were the Workers Party of the U. S. A. (the American Trotskyists, now organized in the Socialist Workers Party), the Revolutionary Workers Socialist Party of Holland, the Bolshevik-Leninists of France, the Workers Party of Canada, and the International Communist League.

These organizations were isolated. They had but few members. They were poverty-stricken. They were the target of ferocious persecution. Yet they took as their task the overthrow of the most powerful system of exploitation history has seen — imperialist capitalism. They set out to organize a political party to accomplish this task on a world scale — the Fourth International.

Trotsky Was the Guide

Leon Trotsky was the guide in this historic step. When Hitler walked into power in Germany without the Social Democrats or Stalinists lifting a finger in militant struggle against the Nazis, Trotsky pronounced the Third International dead. The Second International had already been pronounced dead by Lenin at the beginning of the First World War.

In July 1935, the five organizations issued their manifesto calling for the new international. It was published in the August 3, 1935, *New Militant*. This historic document outlined with remarkable precision the political situation facing the revolutionary vanguard in Germany, Austria, Spain, the United States, etc. It still is as fresh and timely on the key questions as if it were written yesterday. Here, for instance, is a paragraph from its analysis of Great Britain:

"Should the electoral successes of the Labor Party raise it once again to power, the consequences would be not a peaceful social transformation of Great Britain but the consolidation of imperialist reaction, that is to say, an epoch of civil war, in face of which the leadership of the Labor Party will inevitably reveal its complete bankruptcy. The parliamentarian and trade union morons have yet to be convinced that the threat of Fascism in England is not less real than on the continent."

The War Predicted

The Manifesto predicted the outbreak of the Second World War in the following terms: "Threshing in the grip of insoluble contradictions, capitalism is preparing to plunge the peo-

ples into a new slaughter. Ministers and diplomats openly speculate whether the outbreak of the war will come in one or in three years from now. All the governments, vying with one another, are preparing the most destructive instruments, and thereby from every side they are hastening the explosion which may be immeasurably more frightful than the war of 1914-1918."

The Fourth International was not organized formally until September 3, 1938, when the Founding Conference was held "somewhere in Europe." Against tremendous odds, the correct program advanced by the Trotskyists forged ahead. In country after country workers took up the banner and began organizing sections of the Fourth International. Today the world capitalists hold Trotskyism in terror, while increasing sections of advanced workers recognize in its program the only hope for the future.

The decisive role of the Fourth International has not been better formulated than in the 1935 call for its formation:

Clarion Call to Vanguard

"The conditions are difficult; the obstacles are great; the tasks are colossal, but there is no reason whatever to become pessimistic, or to lose courage. Despite all the defeats of the proletariat, the position of the class enemy remains a hopeless one. Capitalism is doomed. Only in the socialist revolution is there salvation for mankind."

"The very sequence of the Internationals has its own internal logic which coincides with the historic rise of the proletariat. The First International advanced the scientific program of the proletarian revolution, but it fell victim because it lacked a mass base. The Second International dragged from the darkness, educated and mobilized millions of workers, but in the decisive hour it found itself betrayed by the parliamentary and the trade union bureaucracy depraved by rising capitalism. The Third International set for the first time the example of the victorious proletarian revolution, but it found itself ground between the millstones of the bureaucracy in the isolated Soviet State and the reformist bureaucracy of the West. Today, under the conditions of decisive capitalist collapse, the Fourth International standing upon the shoulders of its predecessors, enriched by the experience of their victories and defeats, will mobilize the toilers of the Occident and the Orient for the victorious assault upon the strongholds of world capital. "Workers of the World, Unite!"



World-Wide Reactions To British Election

Greece
"The Greek Government banned all public meetings for the rest of the week because of the interest Greeks were taking in the British elections." — Radio London.

Turkey
"On account of the results of the British elections, police in Turkey forbade all general meetings until Sunday and 'some newspapers say that military units are ready for action.'"
"Leftists say that extreme conservatives, guessing that Labor would win, are already preparing a powerful blow with the help of National Guard units. As it was feared that disturbances might occur tomorrow in connection with the parade of the Holy Brigade, the parade has been postponed." — Ankara Radio.

Belgium
"The latest British election reports produced a burst of cheering in the Belgian Parliament from all Deputies save the Catholic Tories, who sat in bewildered silence." — N. Y. Times.

England
"It is a political debacle which will have the most profound and far reaching effect upon the history of Britain and the world." — Lord Beaverbrook.

Mexico
"The large Spanish Republican colony rejoiced today at the Labor Party's victory in England. Alvaro de Albornoz, president of the Spanish liberation junta, said: 'The defeat of Churchill who supported Franco in Spain, brings great satisfaction to all the Spanish Republicans. It means that chances for restoration of the republic in Spain are greatly improved.'" — Associated Press.

Argentina
"La Nacion, a conservative paper, compared Churchill's defeat with that of Clemenceau in France after the First World War and said, 'reflections on both outcomes are analogous and do not invite optimism.'" — United Press.

India
"Churchill's defeat and the Labor Party's victory will hearten the opponents of imperialism throughout the world." — Sardar J. J. Singh, president, India League of America.
"Crowds of Indians gathered before radios and outside newspaper offices here last night to learn the election returns and the news of Mr. Amery's (Secretary of State for India) defeat at Sparbrook was cheered. American and British troops mingled with the Indians and displayed intense interest in the vote results."

United States
"The results of the British elections should not be viewed as a repudiation of the brilliant war leadership of Winston Churchill, but rather as a popular rejection of the stand-pat domestic policies of the Conservative party. . . The same aspirations for a better life after the grim experiences of war are moving workers in our own country." — William Green.

"It gives greater assurance of an era of peace, harmony and prosperity in the post-war world. The election results in Great Britain must be regarded in their implications as second only to the re-election of Franklin D. Roosevelt in this country last year. They are confirmation that the whole world is moving in the direction of greater democracy." — Sidney Hillman.

"The results are ominous because they show how necessary it is for us to be ready and prepared, when the reconversion comes, to keep employment up and to provide jobs." — Senator Lester Hill, Alabama.

"Churchill's defeat presages a Communist trend that should be a warning to the American people." — Congressman Rankin.

"This result will have a material effect on postwar economic planning. The victorious Labor Party is pledged to a program of nationalizing basic industry, while America is being asked to lend billions of dollars to Britain. We must make sure that any American dollars loaned to England are used only for reconstruction and not to aid the leftist government in effecting its radical social and economic reforms." — Congressman Wolcott.

"By the very nature of things, the pace of change will be disappointing to the impatient Britishers who are tired of waiting, tired of promises." — Anne O'Hare McCormick, N. Y. Times.

"The result surprises even the forecasters who predicted a wide swing to the Left, but it is perhaps the natural reaction of a nation sick of war and the symbols of war and moved above every other impulse by the desire for change." — N. Y. Times editorial.

"As for foreign affairs, basic policies will probably remain unchanged. Britain's interest in the countries of the Mediterranean basin is much deeper than any

The NEGRO STRUGGLE

by CHARLES JACKSON

Negro Publishers Close Ranks

NEW YORK, July 30 — The National Negro Publishers' Association today concluded a three-day "limited wartime conference" in this city. Forty-three delegates, representing fifty-five weekly and bi-weekly publications conferred in the headquarters of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union on the problems with which the Negro press will be confronted in the trying days to come.

Unity of effort was the outstanding theme of the conference. The publishers obviously realized that if they are to serve their readers by bringing them all the news of the Negro world and if they are to continue to act as a more effective protest body, they must move toward closer internal collaboration.

The delegates proposed to establish a nation-wide United Negro News Service which would convey to all its members any event of national interest that might occur in any locality. They hope to have branches in New York, Washington and Chicago by September 1.

In connection with their effort to unify their editorial effort in fighting for the just demands of the Negro people, the body went on record as supporting a permanent Fair Employment Practices Committee and a bill to outlaw the reactionary poll-tax which brazenly gags the political voice of ten million Negro and white citizens in the Southern states.

VIOLATE THE LAWS
When support of the United Nations Charter was proposed, W. E. B. Dubois, director of research for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, insisted on the incorporation of an amendment that would put the conference on record as favoring the complete independence of the millions of exploited colonial peoples. The motion as amended by Dubois was passed.

Another progressive trend was the successful appeal of the NAACP to the NNPA for closer cooperation in the fight to end discrimination against Negroes. Thurgood Marshall, special counsel for the NAACP, pointed out in a special communication to the delegates that "much of the discrimination against Negroes is in violation of federal and state statutes." Among the many cases of discrimination that are practiced in this "land of the free" which the document cited, were denial of the right to vote, inequalities in educational opportunities, segregated schools in the north in violation of state statutes, restriction of Negroes to inferior housing in ghettos due to restrictive covenants, and segregation in public housing by the federal government.

The program committee chose Samuel J. Novick, president of the Electronic Corporation of America, to deliver the main address at the annual banquet which was held July 27 at the Hotel McAlpin. Novick calls himself a "progressive" capitalist because he has found it profitable to employ and exploit Negro, and Jewish workers as well as white workers during this wartime boom. He piously told the delegates, "I believe it is wrong to discriminate, morally wrong." Then he proceeded to whitewash the system of capitalism that makes discrimination profitable.

Although continuing to perpetuate the myth that under the present economic system there can be "60 million jobs," he had

to confess that "layoffs are already upon us."

For all his double-talk and fakery, which is characteristic of any exploiter putting up a "progressive" front, he did make one statement that is significant, if not prophetic. Speaking of the efforts of some of the capitalist spokesmen to "unself" the people on jobs for all, he stated: "I don't think the people are going to unself so easily. I think they really mean it when they say they want full employment. And I believe that those who are not prepared to take the responsibility of providing jobs for all will feel the fury of a people who have been misled." Amen. Mr. Novick, but just where do you stand?

One of the sidelights of the conference which illustrates how timid some of the delegates were when it came to dealing with basic economic factors which conflict with the interests of Big Business or the big monopolies occurred in the panel discussion which was concerned with editorial policy and program.

A Negro representative from the War Department had consumed 50 minutes of the delegates' time quoting government figures to show the high incidence of venereal diseases among Negroes. An Army film was also shown to demonstrate the possibility of cure when the correct treatment was administered.

After being forced to admit that statistics reveal the incidence of such diseases depends on economic conditions and not on race, he appealed to the group to adopt a resolution supporting the efforts for "education" of the Negro people to the need for treatment of such conditions.

SOCIALIZED MEDICINE
Roscoe Dunjee of Oklahoma City, publisher of the Black Dispatch, rose to point out that in Russia, Sweden and Denmark such diseases have practically disappeared since the institution of socialized medicine. He proposed that the group go on record as supporting socialized medicine in America.

Several of the publishers who had seemed so concerned about "the people," quickly rose to point out that such issues were "controversial" and "not germane to the question" and finally the amendment was ruled out of order by the chairman. The publishers are not yet willing to attack basic social and economic injustices.

The Negro publishers realize that they must more and more unify their efforts for maximum efficiency and for maximum service. That is a progressive sign. To bring to the Negro workers, however, the full equality for which these papers crusade, they must and no doubt will be forced to unify their editorial efforts to coincide with the only program that can bring such equality about — a basic change in the present system of cut-throat exploitation of all the working people which is today making Jim Crow king of the barnyard.

The main difference is that the British do not fear communism in their country, while General de Gaulle does fear it in France." — Harold Callender, N. Y. Times.

Sweden
"One prominent Swedish Laborite said, 'Franco's days are now numbered.'" — Stockholm dispatch.

Central Europe
"Press comment in Czechoslovakia where Russian influence is

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General MacArthur Represses Filipino Guerrillas Who Battled The Japanese Imperialist Invaders

(Continued from page 1)

rural population. Most of the Taos (farmers) are landless and were exploited no less mercilessly under American occupation than they were later under the Japanese overlordship. Before the war, Taos earned 10 to 15 pesos (\$5 to \$7.50) per month. They were robbed by a system of usury which exacted interest as high as 200 and 300 percent per annum on small loans, and which kept them continually in debt and tied them as bondsmen to the hacendados. The largest single landowner in the Philippines is the Catholic Church, which has plantations of hundreds of thousands of acres. Many of the landowners are absentee who live in Manila in palatial homes the year round. Brutal overseers "run" the plantations, heedless of human rights and without thought for conservation.

ECONOMIC ROBBERY

There is no system of crop rotation. Sugar, coconut and hemp are the principal crops which, both under American and Japanese occupation, commanded ready cash and large profits. They are grown for export to the virtual exclusion of food items needed by the people, which explains why the Filipinos are so terribly undernourished, and why the land becomes less productive.

Most of the plantation owners and their business satellites in the towns collaborated with the Japanese. Some of these elements, who were more farsighted, fought against the Japanese because they knew Japan would in the end be defeated. Also, they prospered more under American occupation.

But the rural guerrillas fought against the Japanese, not because of any love of American imperialism—they knew that American imperialism had been the one great obstacle to the overthrow of the hated landlord system—but

because they wanted a radical social change. They wanted land. They took it wherever they could. In November, 1942 the Hukbalahap were reinforced by a Chinese guerrilla force known as Wah Chi, drawn from the large Chinese population of whom many are sympathetic to the Chinese Communist (Stalinist) government at Yenan, in northwest China.

A Captain X, writing from Manila under date of June 10 (The Nation, July 23, 1945) describes the development of the organization as follows:

"The Hukbalahap established a department of civil government soon after its organization. It saw the necessity of mobilizing civilians in the struggle, for it is only by the active support of communities that guerrilla forces can be maintained. Furthermore, it was clear that the people had no confidence in the (Japanese) puppet government (headed by Jose Laurel)... elections were held and governors, mayors, and minor officials chosen. Almost immediately some land reforms were instituted. The properties of large landlords were expropriated and divided among the peasants, who used the land for the production of food."

REMEMBER GREECE?

But to Gen. MacArthur, says Captain X, the Hukbalahap is a movement "dominated by Communist cutthroats who had forced their rule on civilians by threats of punishment and death." One of MacArthur's officers "openly admitted the plan for destroying the movement." MacArthur's accusation is of the same type that Churchill hurled against the masses in Greece—almost word for word. The American imperialist press pretended to be indignant at what the British imperialists did in Greece. Here is another Greece, right in the backyard of Wall Street!

MacArthur, American counter-

part of the British General Scobie who shot down Greek anti-fascist fighters, fears, according to the same Captain X, "an armed uprising aimed at overthrowing the present government" and "one reason the new Philippine army is being whipped into shape so quickly is to thwart such an attempt."

The present government is headed by President Sergio Osmena, puppet of the Washington administration. He was in the United States the entire three years of the Japanese occupation of the Philippines. He went back to the Islands with MacArthur. While in Washington, he agreed to hand over military, naval and air bases in the Philippines to the United States—in perpetuity.

JAIL LEADERS

Despite Washington's promise of independence for the Philippines on or before July 4, 1946, it is clear that no real independence is intended. The forces which could establish such independence, and guarantee it, are being suppressed. Louis Taruc, leader of Hukbalahap, and many other Filipino fighters have been thrown into prison, without charges and without trial. Wall Street intends to keep the Islands as a colony, which means that their economic development, as in the past, will be strangled. The only industry will be the processing industry, for the production of sugar, coconut, hemp, etc. This industry is profitable for both the Filipino capitalists and the American investor. It rests on a backward, semi-feudal land economy. The landlords who own the land are the one sure prop of the puppet government and its American imperialist patrons. This is why MacArthur commands his troops to wipe out the Hukbalahap and restore confiscated lands to the landlords.

On the opposite side of the picture, MacArthur and Osmena

are busy whitewashing Filipino landlords, capitalists and politicians who collaborated with the Japanese invaders. One of Osmena's own sons was a collaborator. He has been "vindicated." Another who got a coat of whitewash is the bourgeois politician Manuel Roxas, who was head of the Economic Development Board in the cabinet of the puppet Laurel government during the Japanese occupation. Roxas is popular with the hacendados and businessmen because he is a stronger character than the notoriously weak Osmena. They are reported to be backing him against Osmena for the presidency, in the elections scheduled for November, seeing in him their savior from threatening revolution. Doubtless Roxas has given assurances to MacArthur that he will stand up for preservation of the social status quo and protect the interests of Wall Street, just as, only a few months ago, he served the Japanese imperialists.

UNIQUE EXPERIENCES

According to all indications, the Filipino guerrillas will not easily be liquidated. The Japanese tried and failed.

The Filipinos are unique among colonial peoples in that they have experienced, within the brief span of less than 50 years, the domination of three imperialist powers, Spain, the United States and Japan. They, more than any other oppressed people, know that there is no essential difference between any of the imperialists, no matter what the color of their skin or the flag they fly. All perpetuate semi-feudal servitude, stifle economic development, keep the broad masses in miserable poverty. Cruel experience has taught them this. Now that the Japanese imperialists have been driven from their islands, they must continue the fight against the oppressor who has returned to forge anew the chains of colonial slavery.

Gen. Douglas MacArthur



REVEALING PICTURE OF HORRORS UNDER IMPERIALIST RULE

South Africa

"Filth, squalor and disease" in Johannesburg can only be compared to conditions in the Nazi concentration camps, reports the July 6 London Tribune.

"The mention of Johannesburg is sufficient to conjure up visions of the vast gold resources of the Witwatersrand, yet... hundreds of thousands of natives are living in truly disgraceful conditions in some of the municipality's native townships. In some of these townships the living quarters are hovels, and it is not rare to find whole families living in one room. Indeed, in one township, many people are inhabiting 'Tanks,' which were erected 50 years ago to meet the housing shortage created when a township had to be burnt to the ground because of an outbreak of plague.

MISERABLE DIET

"Worse still is the food situation. Vegetables are very expensive in the 'City of Gold' nowadays, and the underpaid native has invariably to fall back on his meagre meal, which forms his staple diet, almost unrelieved by other foods. Unfortunately, such a diet produces pellagra, which is widely prevalent in the townships, and indeed throughout the whole country, and which eventually produces insanity.

"...The average South African native is under-fed, under-educated... under-housed, under-paid, and generally uncared-for by his 'Trustees' as the Europeans are pleased to designate themselves."

India

British imperialism pictures its colonial rule as benevolent. The cold facts belie this propaganda. Bombay, the "Gateway to India," offers a typical picture of the mass degradation and misery inflicted by the decaying despotism of Britain.

A common scene, reports a "Letter from Bombay" in the July 6 London Tribune, is a "proud old woman" whose home is a "solitary mat stretched out in the muck of the gutter." She is but one of the 200,000 destitute in the city of the Taj Mahal—where the "very gutters assume priorities."

63 TO A HOUSE

The proportional living space of the population "equals ten people sharing one room." The Sunday Statesman estimates 63 people to a house. "Among some of the 40,000 single-room tenements I have counted as many as 21 denizens to one room."

The writer reports that in many of the flats he visited "there was little or no water for drinking or washing purposes." Many of the

tenements lack "even the primitive Indian privies; queues formed outside the sparse latrines usually about four-thirty each morning."

Conditions in the working class districts are appalling: "In each miserably room the intercourse of three, four or five families is enacted. Husband and wife, and perhaps a bawling child — too often silenced with a whiff of opium by the harassed working mother, a stunted witness to the whole tragedy of life within this overcrowded twelve-foot room: childbirth, exploitation and death. The rent, ironically, is controlled; yet those wishing to remain must pay again a bribe of a 15-shilling equivalent, or in extreme cases 30, for the privilege of bringing up their children in a quarter of a concrete room."

On the outskirts of the city lie the labor camps. Here conditions are even worse. The Matunga Labor Camp, for instance, originally built for 3,500 workers, now houses more than 11,000.

"The huts in this paradise are, roughly, ten foot square; pace these floors and feel the radiating heat of the sun on the corrugated iron sheeting forming the walls. Iron rods, here and there patched with the flattened sides of American petroleum tins, to meet the exigencies of the monsoon.

"Not one of these huts shelters less than ten... Not one of these rooms has any provision whatsoever for latrine sanitation, fresh water or night illumination. In the overcrowded huts the workers take turns to eat what little food they can afford indoors; there is not room for all to sit down together. In many camps such hovels are let concurrently to shift workers of the opposite shifts, so that the huts are occupied by sleepers nearly 24 hours daily... The laughably inadequate lavatories, available only to those who are prepared to queue in the early hours of the morning, are encompassed by a stenching circle of human waste and excreta... a thick belt, a breeding ground for flies and mosquitoes. Filthy encouragement for hookworm and malaria."

BRITAIN'S 'JEWEL'

The war has heightened the misery in Bombay. The population increased by 50 percent but there was no appreciable increase in housing. "The railway tracks abound with stunted frames overflowing from the prison tenements; girls selling their bodies, hopeless men selling anything from a jig-a-jig knife to a parrot—the destitute, beyond the abyss, stoning the troop trains."

It is such conditions that lead India's teeming millions to press with ever greater insistence for freedom from British imperialism.

Ask Your Shopmate to Subscribe to The Militant



By V. Grey

Mrs. Simpkins is a nice lady. She is a widow, 35 years old or so—and a little on the religious side. You'd think she had never been any younger and would never look any older. She worked in the time office, a nice, easy job. She couldn't do much of anything else. She was that frail. She'd punch you card in and out for the piece-work jobs, and read a little black book in between her duties.

I remember one day Slim was having it hot and heavy with Hallory (he's the foreman). Mrs. Simpkins was watching them while she was reading her little black book. She put the bridge of her nose between her thumb and forefinger the way all elegant people do when they pray, and closed her eyes in a saintly sort of way.

Later on Slim came up to punch out on a job. "Slim," she said, "why don't you and Mister Hallory try to be really nice to each other?"

"Well I always try to start out nice when I talk to him. But gee, I'm a shop steward, Mrs. Simpkins. I have to fight for the men," Slim said. "Hallory has to stick up for the company. He's a company man, that's all."

Mrs. Simpkins looked at Slim real sweetly, and sort of sad, just as though he were a little lost child, about three years old. "Perhaps, Slim, if you didn't think of Mister Hallory that way, he wouldn't be that way."

Slim took a good look at her eyes to see if she was off the beam.

BEAUTIFUL THOUGHTS OF THE BOSS

"I mean it, Slim," she said. "If you would think beautiful thoughts about Mister Hallory, why he would act beautifully. You must plant beautiful, sweet thoughts in the garden of your mind. Only rank weeds grow there now." Her face began to glow with what she figured was a holy light.

Slim thought a minute. "Say, Mrs. Simpkins," he said, "did you tell Hallory to think beautiful thoughts about me, too?"

Mrs. Simpkins lowered her voice as though she were letting him in on a trade secret, and admitted she had.

"Well, I wish you could've heard what he called me just then. It didn't sound so beautiful to me. And all because I told him he was chiseling on the contract, and made him give Tony the three cents an hour he gypped him out of for the last two weeks."

Mrs. Simpkins kind of sighed and patted Slim's hand softly. She punched his card out, and turned her eyes upward—brags with the idea of finding some comfort from above. But somebody had pasted a snappy picture of Dorothy Lamour on the time office ceiling, and she quick moved her eyes down again, and went back to her little book.

Well that was a few weeks ago—just before the company started the lay-offs. Mrs. Simpkins didn't come under the seniority provisions of the union contract, being a time office worker. So there was nothing Slim or the union could do when she got the ax.

She was almost crying when she left, but trying awful hard to hold her nose in that elegant way. Us fellows were wondering if she was thinking beautiful, sweet thoughts about Bethlehem Steel. But we just didn't have the heart to ask her.

NEGRO WRITER RELATES FACTS IN NIGERIA STRIKE

(Continued from page 1)

fought this war in order to be exterminated by starvation? We appeal to British sense of justice for timely redress."

APPEAL IGNORED

The governor ignored the workers' appeal, and, goaded into desperation, the leaders of the Trade Union Congress issued a strike call to all government employees. The response was immediate. Within three days thousands of workers, organized into the following unions were out: The Railway and Engineering Workshops; African Civil Servants Technical Workers; African Land and Survey Technical Workers; African Posts and Telegraph Workshops; Nigeria Electrical Workers; Nigeria Marine African Workers; Public Works Union; African Locomotive Drivers; Government Sawmill Workers; Nigeria Union of Nurses; African Inspectors' Posts and Telegraph; African Railway Topographical Workers; African Railway Station Masters.

Other non-government workers later joined in sympathy with the government employees.

Alarmed by these developments, certain of the African leaders attempted to call off the strike, but they were immediately repudiated by the workers and expelled from office. Among them was Mr. T. A. Bankole, the president of the Nigeria T.U.C., who represented the Nigerian labor movement at the World Trade Union Conference in London last February. He has been replaced by Mr. A. O. Imoudu, a former president of the Railway Workers' Union, who like Wallace Johnson, of Sierra Leone, was held in detention for four years under the local Defense Regulations.

As a protest against this suppression of free opinion, the West African Pilot and Daily Comet, two of the leading Nigerian dailies, appeared with their editorial pages blank. Now both these papers have been suppressed for criticizing certain union leaders who are advocating an approach to the governor. The government, on the other hand, issues a daily bulletin edited by the Public Relations Office, presenting the official point of view.

At the mass rally last Saturday, when the strikers swore their tribal oath not to resume work, they also reasserted their demands.

First, they want the government to pay them in full for the time they have been on strike. Second, the pensions and gratuities of African civil servants must be guaranteed. Third, the government must give an assurance not to victimize the men, especially their leaders. Fourth, all arrested leaders must be released, and, last, but not least, the original demand for a 2s. 6d. wage increase must be granted.

According to the latest information reaching London, the strike is spreading to workers in private European enterprises.

When the strike started, the Governor was in London holding consultations with officials at the Colonial Office. He immediately flew back to West Africa to take charge of the situation.

Sir Arthur Richards has the reputation of being a strong-handed pro-Consul, and was responsible for restoring "law and order" in Jamaica during the labor riots in that island in 1938.

His first move was to issue a statement threatening to withhold the strikers' wages for June, and to cancel the pensions and gratuities of those civil servants entitled to such benefits.

When this failed to intimidate

Overthrow Of Winston Churchill Shakes Fascist Regime In Spain

By Felix Morrow

The fall of Churchill is a very serious blow to Franco's regime. For two years Churchill and Franco have been maneuvering to cleanse the Spanish dictatorship of its fascist taint. On July 17, after the British elections but before the results were known, Franco made a speech giving the Churchill-Franco formula of "changing" the regime by re-establishing the monarchy; he dropped some fascist Falange ministers and replaced them with monarchists. There were still negotiations to be completed with the Pretender, Don Juan, who with some regard for his head wanted more changes with which to try to conciliate the masses—dissolution of the Falange, some democratic rights formally restored, etc.

But now the British workers have rudely intervened, and whether Don Juan is foolish enough to leave his French haven to share Franco's fate or not becomes very unimportant. Churchill's downfall is certain to be followed by that of Franco and the Falange.

LASKI'S BRAVE WORDS

What will replace Franco? "At long last we can help our Spanish comrades," declared Harold Laski, Labor Party chairman, the day of the election victory. "The day of non-intervention is over."

These sound like brave and thrilling words — until one examines what Laski's Spanish comrades aim to do.

He means the main body of the Socialists in emigration, who are led by Indalecio Prieto, Minister of War during most of the civil war. Prieto's group is in the Junta de Liberacion, a Popular Front combination. In it also are the CNT (anarchist-led unions), UGT (Socialist-led unions) and bourgeois-republican leaders.

The Junta's program is a return to the republican constitution of

1931. This means to wipe out the legislation passed after July 19, 1936, when the Spanish workers and peasants seized the factories and the land as part of their struggle against Franco's uprising. Prieto has explicitly promised to oppose a return to the revolutionary actions of July 19. Much that the workers and peasants gained that day was whittled down by the laws passed during the three years of civil war—it was this counter-revolutionary course of the Loyalist government which was primarily the cause of finally losing the war. But even the little that remained on the Loyalist statute books is rejected in the Junta's program.

STALINIST POLICY

Conservative as the Junta is, it can still play the radical against its Stalinist-led rival, the Union Nacional Espanol. The Stalinists have extended the hand of "national unity" very far indeed—to Gil Robles, head of the semi-fascist regime of 1933-1935; to the clergy; to "democratic" monarchists, and even to Franco's generals. Prieto has made easy capital by condemning the Stalinists for this and for their totalitarian methods during the civil war. More than in any other country it was in Spain that the Stalinists — assassinating opponents, jailing militant workers, conspiring against all the other anti-fascist parties — aroused widespread hatred against Stalinism among the workers. Prieto plays on this feeling, though for years he worked closely with the Stalinists and closed his eyes to what they were doing.

But since no basic political differences separate Prieto's Junta from the Stalinist-led Union, they are certain to draw together now that Franco's fall seems near. The two agree not only on maintenance of capitalism in Spain, but also on the means for ousting Franco.

REVOLUTION TABOO

They do not propose to overthrow Franco by revolution. During the past two years all their efforts have been concentrated on getting the "Big Three" to withdraw recognition from Franco and to recognize a government of a reunion of the Republican Parliament in exile. The only difference is that Prieto wants it to be a provisional government whereas the Stalinists want the last Negrin cabinet (which was Stalinist-dominated) to return as the regular government.

Both Junta and Union claim that withdrawal of recognition from Franco by the "Big Three" would be sufficient to topple him. Certainly it is true that, unlike Hitler and Mussolini, Franco

never had any mass support in the country. Such stability as his regime has had since 1939 rested on the weariness and disappointment of the masses after their disastrous experience with the Popular Front in the civil war; the external support first of Hitler and Mussolini, then of London and Washington (which, conceding Spain as a British sphere of influence, went along with Churchill); and bestial repressions with death sentences meted out to tens of thousands. Profitable business with all the warring powers has also helped Franco. All these aids to Franco have now disappeared — except the bestial repressions. But those are sufficient to keep the regime in power, if it is determined to stay, unless it is overthrown by a revolution of the masses. "Big Three" diplomatic pressure alone will not oust the fascists. So that the Junta and the Union, in depending entirely on diplomatic pressure, are in reality proposing an arrangement whereby Franco and the Falange will step down and permit a bourgeois-democratic government to come in.

DEFEND CAPITALISM

Under what conditions would Franco and the Falange step down? One of them is indicated by the program of both the Junta and the Union: maintenance of capitalism in Spain. No doubt the big capitalists and landowners are in a position to command Franco and the Falange to step down. But they will want guarantees that the workers and peasants will not repeat what they did July 19, 1936. These guarantees include above all maintenance of the army, police and Civil Guard; that whatever purge there is of these forces of repression, they must remain essentially intact. The silence of both Junta and Union on this question, the opposition of both to workers' militias and arming of the workers, indicates they are prepared to give such guarantees to Spain's capitalists and landlords. This is the full meaning of their program of return to the constitution of 1931.

In Spain more than in any other country in the world today one can speak, not metaphorically but precisely, of a polar difference between the aims of the workers' parties and those of the workers themselves. Because after an extraordinarily concentrated experience with bourgeois democracy from April 1931 to July 1936, the Spanish proletariat on July 19, 1936, in spite of its own parties, took the road to socialism—seizure and operation of the factories, workers' militias, soviet committees to operate in every



FRANCO

sphere, etc. Much of this was wrested from them during the civil war, ostensibly for greater efficiency for the war against Franco and for conciliating the capitalist democracies in order to get arms. But the workers never reconciled themselves; July 19 remained their glory. One can be confident that they have not forgotten July 19 in the six years of the Franco regime. One can be sure that if they manage to overthrow Franco before the "Big Three" make an arrangement with him to step down, the workers will again take the road of July 19.

TROTSKYIST PROGRAM

Unlike Laski's Spanish comrades, our Spanish comrades of the Fourth International are urging the workers to overthrow Franco by revolution. Whatever aims the workers set themselves in this revolution, our comrades will fight side by side with them, even if the aim is limited to overthrowing fascism to establish bourgeois democracy, just as our comrades fought on the side of the Loyalist government against Franco. The immediate slogans which our comrades are urging the Spanish proletariat to carry out are: (1) arming of the workers and dissolution of the army, police and Civil Guard; (2) elected committees to represent the workers and peasants in every factory and village.



Buffalo Fills Its Quota In Solidarity Fund Drive

By FARRELL DOBBS
Campaign Director

International Solidarity Fund

SCOREBOARD

BRANCH	Quota	Paid*	Percent
Buffalo	\$125	\$125	100
Reading	25	25	100
Allentown-Quakertown	60	40	67
Newark	100	65	65
San Francisco	375	184	49
Los Angeles	750	350	47
Philadelphia	125	57.50	46
Detroit	400	164	41
Twin Cities	250	100	40
Boston	125	45	36
Cleveland	75	22	29
Seattle	350	100	29
Youngstown	85	20	24
Chicago	500	106	21
Members-at-Large and Friends	245	30	12
New York	1,000	99	10
Akron	75	0	0
Bayonne	100	0	0
Milwaukee	30	0	0
New York Youth Group	15	0	0
Pittsburgh	25	0	0
Rochester	15	0	0
St. Louis	25	0	0
San Diego	25	0	0
Toledo	100	0	0
TOTAL	\$5,000	\$1,532.50	30

The Buffalo branch has completed its quota in the Socialist Workers Party \$5,000 International Solidarity Fund Campaign. Two party branches now have a score of 100 percent, Reading, Pa. having previously met its quota. Newark has moved into the ranks of the leading branches with 65 percent of its quota in this week. A total of \$1,529 has been raised to date by the branches and sympathizers.

The International Solidarity Fund is being raised by the Socialist Workers Party in response to urgent appeals for aid from our Trotskyist co-thinkers abroad, Belgian and French Tro-

Colonial Workers Jailed By France

French imperialism has set as one of its goals the reconquest of French Indo-China. How the French despots will rule this colony is indicated by their present treatment of Indo-Chinese workers on the Pacific island of New Caledonia.

These workers were brought in before the war as indentured laborers, bound for a five-year period. They have suffered brutal treatment, including widespread jailings. Rigid censorship prevented the facts from becoming known until a report slipped through to Australia.

The internees circulated a letter of protest which they sent to the governor of New Caledonia. The letter declares:

"If you are punishing us savagely under the pretext that we are Communists and that we asked for the freedom to which we are entitled, then, slaves as we are, we tell you quite frankly it is no more criminal to be a Communist than a Christian."

The letter demands the right to come under French laws, to fight against Japan, and the freeing of all Indo-Chinese jailed without trial. A similar letter was sent to the commander of the American forces on the island.

skyists are being subjected to police persecution and their papers have been suppressed. In Greece, 250 revolutionary fighters have been murdered.

In all the war-torn countries our comrades endure starvation and disease in common with the great masses of the people. More than this, they are singled out for special persecutions by the puppet governments of the Allied imperialists and the Stalinist counter-revolutionists.

Prompt aid for them is urgently required. Every class-conscious militant is honor-bound to do his best to render this much-needed assistance without delay.

FROM THE BRANCHES

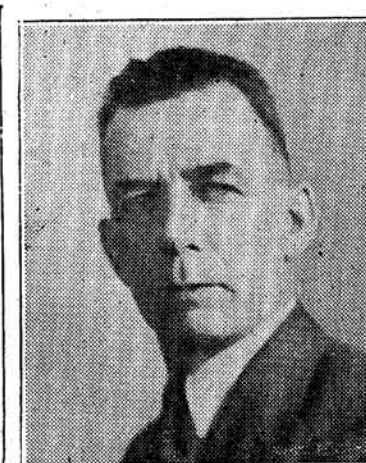
Buffalo: "Here is \$80 to make Buffalo 100 percent in the International Solidarity Fund. Every comrade is digging deep for this vitally important fund. We all understand the importance of money to any organization, just like the bourgeoisie do in theirs."

"Working class parties need money too. But OUR party is not a party as other parties are. It is the conscious advance guard of the working class all over the world. It is the only party that can possibly lead the way to world socialism. As such it gives our money wings."

"This contribution of ours, taken by itself, may not seem so large. And we recognize that our sacrifice in giving it is infinitely small compared to the sacrifice of those who shall receive it. But the main thing is that the sum was not 'wrung from the hard hands of toilers' by smooth talk and salesmanship. It is a heartfelt gesture by people who understand."

GRACE CARLSON'S TOUR SCHEDULE

CITY	DATE
Los Angeles	Thurs. to Wed. Aug. 2 to 8
San Francisco	Fri. to Sun. Aug. 10-12
Portland	Mon. Tues. Aug. 13-14
Seattle	Wed. to Fri. Aug. 15 to 17
Missoula	Sunday Aug. 19
Plentywood	Tues., Aug. 21
Twin Cities	August 22



V. R. DUNNE

Detroit SWP Supports Frankenstein for Mayor

By Jerry Kirk

DETROIT, July 22 — The Detroit Branch of the Socialist Workers Party today announced its support of the candidacy of Richard Frankenstein, nominee of the CIO Political Action Committee, for mayor.

Vincent R. Dunne, spokesman for the SWP declared at an over-

flow meeting: "Labor is at the cross roads... Labor will be domesticated, tamed... or it will come out for a party of its own. Frankenstein has a program similar to that of the other capitalist politicians in the election. But it is the duty of all workers to support him because he represents the growing tendency towards a Labor Party which we believe will lead the vast masses to establish a workers' and farmers' government in Washington."

Comrade Dunne, who was one of the prisoners in the famous Minneapolis Labor Case, continued: "We are not checking in on any of our ideas or any part of our program. We have no illusions about Frankenstein or any of the other supposed labor candidates. That is why we criticize their program while campaigning for their election. We stand on our own political program."

Besides Frankenstein, the Detroit Branch of the SWP supports Tracy Doll and George Edwards for the City Council. Doll and Edwards are members of the United Automobile Workers Union.

The only Negro candidate for City Council, Charles Hill, is likewise supported by the Detroit Branch, despite sharp differences with his program. Hill has at times followed the sell-out policies of the Stalinists. "Nevertheless," commented Comrade Dunne, "the

Negroes number ten percent of Detroit's population. They have every right to representation on the City Council. For this reason, the SWP supports Hill in the coming elections."

Other candidates supported by the Detroit Branch are Steigwald, Schneider, and Wietersen of the Michigan Commonwealth Federation.

Comrade Dunne gave an inspiring talk on the vast changes in the thinking of the masses during the 25 years between the two world wars. He contrasted the naive patriotism of the worker soldiers going overseas in 1917 with the absence of such sentiment in the drafted army of 1941. From three million members in 1914, the trade union movement grew until now it embraces 10 to 12 millions. "Everything now points to the development of a Labor Party in America," he declared.

Four workers joined the SWP at the meeting. Two more applied for membership after Comrade Dunne's talk.



GRACE CARLSON

Debs' speeches. One of our Milwaukee comrades obtained this record from the Socialist Party. But "Gene" Debs, the great fighter for the rights of the working man, who was imprisoned during World War I because of his militant stand against the war, really belongs to us. It was an inspiration to hear his voice.

When I was in Milwaukee in 1941, there was no headquarters and only a handful of Trotskyists. Now there is a fine Milwaukee SWP headquarters and every evidence of a flourishing, active branch.

Eastern Penn. Workers Invited To Join Picnic

BETHLEHEM, Pa. — Militant readers in eastern Pennsylvania are responding enthusiastically to the Picnic Committee's program for the Militant Readers Picnic, Sunday, August 5 at the Howard Stump Farm in Quakertown, from 11 A. M. to evening.

As the day for the outing approaches, many Militant readers have informed the Committee that they are planning to attend in parties and groups composed of friends and families.

Good wholesome food, recreational activities for young and old promise a full day of enjoyment. This is an opportunity for Militant readers from Reading, Quakertown, Allentown, Bethlehem and Philadelphia to get acquainted with one another.

Art Preis, associate editor and correspondent of The Militant will speak at the picnic. Recently returned from a trip through the Pennsylvania coal area where he interviewed William Patterson, who was railroaded to prison under the Smith-Connally anti-strike-law, Preis will give a message of vital importance to all progressive-minded workers.

WANTED

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

The Militant
Business Manager
116 University Place
New York 3, New York

Veteran Trotskyist Describes School

By GEORGE COLLINS

I can only add my voice to the growing chorus of praise for the Mid-West Vacation School. I can assure those who are inclined to be skeptical, as a result of years of experience with canned advertising, that not one word of this praise is exaggerated.

The camp functions with such smoothness and efficiency as to give the appearance of an old, established institution rather than a first full-summer venture. I can't help comparing the Mid-West School with a project our party ran ten years ago in the vicinity of New York.

Everything in that camp — as I remember it now — despite the best of intentions, was chaos and confusion. No one knew where they were going to sleep or if there would be accommodations

at all. No one was certain there would be anything to eat, and all were sure the food would be badly prepared and that the better part of wisdom was to bring your own. The pool was only half finished, with the result that most of it was a muddy hole. If you survived a few days in that camp, the wise thing to do was to go on a vacation elsewhere to recuperate.

With that experience in the dim recess of my memory, I was prepared for anything when I arrived at the school. To say that my apprehensions were completely allayed is to put it mildly. The camp is run with just that combination of collective effort and American efficiency that Lenin said was indispensable for the success of socialism.

Chicago Trade Unionists Hear Lecture On Women In Prison

By Grace Carlson

CHICAGO, July 18 — These have been unusually busy days, even for this busy tour—three meetings in three days! And that is to say nothing of all the extra meetings and discussions with comrades and friends, interviews with newspaper reporters, etc.

But I always remind myself that it's a million times better to have too much party work to do than none at all.

I have attended a number of meetings in Chicago during the past few years, but the tour meeting on July 15 was the best I had ever seen from the viewpoint of the percentage of trade

unionists in the audience. Most of these were auto workers. I was pleased at the opportunity to meet with several of these new friends from Chicago's auto plants.

On July 16, Mike Bartell took me down to the Calumet District for a public meeting arranged by the newly-formed branch there. Everyone at this meeting was either a steelworker himself or a member of a steelworker's family. Despite their long hours of work, irregular shifts and extremely heavy labor, our devoted comrades in the Calumet area are building a fine Socialist Workers Party branch. Many steelworkers in these huge Northern Indiana

mills are having their first experiences with the Trotskyist program and with Trotskyists.

One comrade there, the best sub-getter for The Militant in the branch, told me after the meeting how he had been taught race hatred in Tennessee where he was brought up. But his activities in the steelworkers' union and in our Party have impressed him so much with the necessity for solidarity between white and colored workers that he spends most of his spare time talking to Negro workers about The Militant.

In Milwaukee on July 17, I had the rare experience of hearing a recording of one of Eugene V.

The History Of American Trotskyism

TOUGH, BITTER STRUGGLES WERE FOUGHT TO GET A HEARING FOR THE TRUTH

By James P. Cannon

In earlier installments of his book, Comrade Cannon told how the Communist Party grew out of the left wing of the Socialist Party in 1919. After four years of underground life, it was organized as a legal party in 1923, penetrating the union movement. Factional struggles on a high theoretical level, involving the Russian question, began between the proletarian and petty-bourgeois tendencies within the party, culminating with the expulsion of the proletarian left opposition on October 27, 1928 for "Trotskyism." The birth of Trotskyism in America gave impetus to struggling groups of left oppositionists in other parts of the world. Slandered, ostracized, and physically attacked by the Stalinists, the handful of Trotskyists carried on their work of propagandizing and winning over individual members of the Communist Party. This is the eleventh installment of Cannon's book.

As I thumbed through Volume I of The Militant today, refreshing my mind about some of the events of those days, I read the first story about the physical attacks against us which began a few weeks after we were expelled. The Stalinists had been taken by surprise at first. Before they knew what had hit them we had a paper off the press and our comrades were in front of the Communist Party headquarters selling The Militant at a nickel a copy. It created a tremendous sensation. For a few weeks they did not know what to do about it. Then they decided to try the Stalin method of physical force.

The first report in The Militant tells of two women comrades of the Hungarian group who went there with bundles of the paper one evening and attempted to sell them. They were set upon by hoodlums, pushed and kicked and driven away from the public streets, their papers torn up. This was reported in The Militant as the first gangster attack against us.

Then it became a more or less regular thing. We stood our ground. We raised a big hullabaloo and scandalized them all over town. We mobilized all our forces to go there Saturday afternoons, forming a guard around the editors and defying the Stalinist hoodlums to drive us away. One fight after another took place.

The Plenum of the Communist Party

This consumed the first few weeks. By December 17 the Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party was held in New York City. And here again I want to point out one of the important lessons of our tactics in this fight. That is, we didn't turn our backs on the party, but went right back to it. Having been expelled on October 27, we came to the Plenum on December 17, knocked on the door and said: "We have come to appeal against our expulsion." They set a time and permitted us to make our appeal before approximately 100 to 150 of the party leaders. Now the Lovestonites didn't do this from considerations of democracy or faithful adherence to the constitution. They did it for factional reasons. You see, our expulsion didn't end the faction fight between the Fosterites and the Lovestonites. The Lovestonites, who were in the majority, conceived the cunning idea that if we were given the floor it would help them to compromise the Fosterites as "Trotskyist conciliators." Through that crack we entered the Plenum. We had no illusions. We weren't even thinking of convincing them. We weren't concerned with their little petty-larceny strategy against the Fosterites. We were thinking of making our formal appeal and printing the speech in The Militant as propaganda for distribution.

The "Three Generals Without an Army" appeared at the December Plenum as the representatives of all the expelled. I made a speech of about two hours. Then we were ushered out. The next

day the speech was set up on the linotype for the next number of The Militant under the heading "Our Appeal to the Party."

I mentioned the weapons of slander, ostracism and gangsterism employed by the Stalinists against us. The fourth weapon in the arsenal of the leaders of American Stalinism was burglary. They were so afraid of this little group, armed with the great ideas of Trotsky's program, that they wanted by all means to crush it before it could get a hearing. One Sunday afternoon, returning from a meeting of our first New York branch—12 or 13 people gathered solemnly to form the organization and lay the groundwork for the overthrow of American capitalism—I found the apartment ransacked from top to bottom. In our absence they had jimmied the lock on the door of my home and broken in. Everything was disorder; all my private papers, documents, records, correspondence—anything they could lay their hands on—were strewn over the floor. Evidently we had surprised them before they could cart the plunder away. While I was on tour a few weeks later they came back and finished the job. This time they took everything.

First Public Meeting of the Trotskyists

We continued to fight along our lines. We scandalized them mercilessly, cried to high heaven, publicized their burglary and gangsterism, and made them wince with our exposures. They could not snuff us out nor silence us. Here, of course, we had the tremendous advantage of our past experiences. We had been through the mill. We had taken part in a good many fights and they couldn't bluff us with a few burglaries and slanders. We knew how to exploit all these things against them to good effect. We fought with political weapons, which are stronger than the gangster's blackjack or the burglar's jimmy. We appealed to the good will and communist conscience of the members of the party and began recruiting the people who came to us at first as a protest against this Stalinist procedure.

Within a few weeks, on January 8, 1929 we organized the first Trotskyist public meeting in America. I looked over the first bound volume of The Militant today and saw the advertisement of that meeting on the front page of the issue of January 1, 1929. I admit I felt a little emotion as I recalled the time we threw that bombshell into the radical circles of New York. In front of this Labor Temple a big sign announced that I was going to speak on "The Truth About Trotsky and the Russian Opposition." We came to this meeting prepared to protect it. We had the assistance of the Italian group of Bordighists, our Hungarian comrades, a few individual sympathizers of Communism who didn't believe in stopping free speech, and our own valiant newly-recruited forces. They were deployed around the platform in the Labor Temple and near the door to see to it that the meeting wasn't interrupted. And that meeting did go through without interruption.

The hall was filled, not only with sympathizers and converts, but also with all kinds of people who came there from all kinds of motives, interest, curiosity, etc. The lecture was very successful, consolidated our supporters and gained some recruits. It also threw greater alarm into the camp of the Stalinists, and pushed them further along the road of violence against us.

We next planned a national tour on the same subject. I tried to speak in New Haven, but there we were completely outnumbered. The Stalinists surrounded us and the meeting was entirely broken up. I spoke in Boston; there we made better preparations. I arrived a few days early, went around to a few old IWW friends of mine to see if they could not get some boys from the waterfront to help us uphold free speech. We had about ten of these lads around the platform. A gang of Stalinist hoodlums was also there, bent on breaking up the meeting, but evidently they became convinced that they would get their own heads broken if they tried it. The Boston meeting was a success. Needless to say, my chairman on this historic occasion was Antoinette Konikow. A group of eight to ten comrades was consolidated in Boston around the program of Trotsky.

Amter Gives the Signal for Attack

In Cleveland we had a fight. The well-known Amter was District Organizer in Cleveland and he brought a squad to our meeting to break it up. We also had a few boys who had come over to us, and they lined up a number of sympathizers, radicals and others who wanted fair play and free speech. Instructed by our experience in New Haven, our forces were organized in a squadron around the speaker. I began my lecture and after a few sentences, as I recall I used the expression, "I want to explain to you the revolutionary significance of this fight."

Amter stood up and said, "You mean, counter-revolutionary significance."

This apparently was the signal. The Stalinist gang began to howl and whistle. "Sit down, counter-revolutionist," "traitor," "agent of American imperialism," and so on and so forth. That went on for about fifteen minutes, pandemonium. Their idea was to make it impossible for me to be heard above the tumult. This was the way they were going to clarify the question, by simply stopping me from speaking. We had other ideas. It became clear that the Amterites intended to howl all night if necessary. Our squadron was ready waiting for me to give the signal. I finally said, "O.K., go ahead." Thereupon they went after Amter and his gang, took them one by one and threw them down the stairs, and cleared the hall and the atmosphere of Stalinists. Then everything was fine; the meeting proceeded without further disturbance. We had the most wonderful peace and quiet.

In Chicago, a few nights later, the Stalinists had a little gang, but couldn't make up their minds whether they wanted to start a fight or not. I went through with the lecture.

As I travelled along the road, various Stalinist functionaries came to see me in the night like the Biblical figure Nicodemus. One of them was B. K. Gebert, who in later years became a big figure in the Communist Party and District Organizer in Detroit. He came to see me in the hotel at Chicago, a heartbroken man. He despised all these methods used against us. Gebert was a conscientious Communist, sympathized with our fight, but couldn't leave the party. He couldn't bring himself to the idea of breaking with the whole life he had known and of starting out anew. This was the case with many. Various forms of compulsion affect various people. Some are

afraid of a physical blow; some shrink from slander; others fear ostracism. The Stalinists employed all these methods. The cumulative effect of it was to terrorize hundreds and even thousands of people who, in a free atmosphere, would have sympathized with us and supported us to one degree or another.

At my meeting in Minneapolis, as I testified years later in the Northern Minnesota District Federal Court, we were taken off guard. Our forces were rather strong in Minneapolis. The recognized leaders of the Minneapolis Communist movement, V. R. Dunne, Carl Skoglund and others, had all come out in our support. They were pretty strong physically too, and they became careless. In organizing the meeting on the theory that the hoodlums wouldn't try any monkey-business there, no special plans were made for defense. That was an error. Our people were late in coming. The Stalinist gang arrived first, assaulted Oscar Coover at the door with blackjacks, forced their way in, and occupied the front seats in a rather small hall. When I arose to speak they began howling in the manner of Amter and his gang at Cleveland. After a few minutes we tied into them, and a free-for-all fight ensued. Then the cops came in and broke up the meeting. That was a rather scandalous and demoralizing thing for Minnesota. It was decided that I should stay over and try another meeting. We went down to the IWW hall with a proposal for a united front to protect free speech. Together with them, a few sympathizers and isolated individuals we formed a Workers Defense Guard. A meeting was scheduled in the IWW hall; the handbill advertised that this meeting would be held under the protection of the Workers Defense Guard. The Guard came there equipped with clubs, over-sized hatchet handles purchased at a hardware store, nice and handy. The guards lined up along the walls and in front of the speaker. Others were posted at the door. The chairman calmly announced that questions and discussion would be permitted, but that no one should interfere while the speaker had the floor. The meeting went off smoothly, without any sign of disturbance. The organization of our group in Minneapolis was completed in good shape.

Stalinists Start A 'Free-for-All'

In New York, as we began holding more regular meetings, the Stalinists intensified their attempts to stop us. One meeting here in the Labor Temple was broken up. Their standing plan was to come in such force as to rush the speaker off the platform, take over the meeting and turn it into an anti-Trotskyist demonstration. They never succeeded in doing that because we always had our guard on the platform equipped with the necessary implements. The Stalinists never reached the platform, but they did start such a free-for-all fight that the cops came in force and the meeting was broken up in disorder. The Stalinists tried the same thing a second time but were routed and driven out.

Things really came to a climax when the Stalinists made their last attempts to break up our meetings at a hall on the upper East Side where our Hungarian group used to meet. We held a May Day celebration there May 1, 1929—the spring after our expulsion. Looking through The Militant today I saw the announcement of the May Day meeting at the Hungarian Hall and the appended statement that it would be under the protection of the Workers Defense Guard. It was well guarded; our strategy was not to let the disturbers in. Our own comrades, sympathizers and all those who were obviously coming to celebrate May Day were admitted. When the Stalinists tried to force their way in, they met our Guard at the head of the stairs, and got blows over the head until they decided they could not storm that stairway. We held the meeting in peace.

(To be continued)

WORKERS' FORUM

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

Trotskyist Fighter

Editor: Some time ago the Chicago branch of the Socialist Workers Party learned that one of our comrades in the armed forces was back in the United States recuperating in an Army hospital from wounds received in action. A comrade volunteered to select a gift for him in the name of the branch, and sent him Jack Belden's "Still Time to Die," which was reviewed by Li Fu-jen in the Fourth International. The letter of thanks received by the branch reads:

"First, I wish to thank all of you for the gift, a tangible piece of evidence that you are aware of my present difficulty, but to me it expressed a lot more, a feeling of being aware that I am still with you, if at the moment only in a spiritual sort of manner."

"You know, comrades — there were a great many times while lying in a fox-hole, that I thought about all of you. Death! There is a very imminent possibility and life is brought down to very simple terms. I always felt that at least if my luck was to give out I knew why I was fighting, what this great massacre of war was about, and proud of the fact that I had participated with the SWP in its fight against it."

"I will be coming back soon, possibly if incapacitated in one form or another physically, but with the knowledge and feeling that I will continue the fight only with a more intense effort than ever before, because as you know I am a very simple guy, an ordinary Joe that can't accumulate too much theory and didn't understand very much of it before, but needed the full expression of Capitalism in its most realistic form to explain things to me. Well, I got that now and my education is complete. I know where I stand — and when I move it shall be in the right direction. "Luck to all of you. — W."

B. B. Chicago

Working Mothers

Editor: "What is happening to the womanhood and childhood of America gives us cause for great concern," Secretary Edith E. Lowry recently told the Home Missions Council of North America. Calling attention to the estimate that 3,000,000 children under 18 are now employed, she laid the blame on "labor shortages, the patriotic appeal, and the lure of high wages... the craving for excitement characteristic of wartime, the utter neglect of children by mothers working in full-time jobs."

To blame child labor on such causes, however, does no more than scratch the surface. "Labor shortages" can be traced, when and if they do occur, to poor wages and working conditions, and with the layoffs of today cannot be seriously considered as a cause for child labor. "The lure of high wages" is just another way of saying "the need for people to live decent lives," which is due to a deficient standard of living, caused by the well-enforced wage freeze and the faulty price control setup.

In placing the fault upon the shoulders of working mothers, Secretary Lowry fails to look

for real causes. The St. Paul Dispatch in a story today stated that "St. Paul has 93 families of veterans of this war that are living under 'impossible conditions' and of that number 72 families include one child or more."

These conditions are the fault of a system which cannot, and will not even try, to provide for its people. They can be remedied only by a society where the resources of nature and the means of production are owned by all the people.

W. K. Nelson St. Paul, Minn.

Vacation School

Editor: In my opinion no worker would want to spend his one or two weeks' vacation, away from the noise and grind of the shop, in a more likely place than at the Mid-West Camp. Besides the relaxation activities such as fishing, swimming, getting a sun tan etc., there are also daily classes and discussions in the mornings and on rainy days which are the vital concern of every workman and woman. One of the classes which I attended and found very interesting was the one given by Warren Creel of Minneapolis on political economy.

I found at the Camp other people like myself who had similar "getting a living" problems and who were looking to socialism, revolutionary socialism, for the solution to them.

H. Burns Milwaukee

Bombing Civilians

Editor: I know I've written too many letters already; but may I, please, say something, through your columns, to Dorothy Cheng?

Please do not believe for a moment that I condoned the bombing of civilians in China or anywhere else, or that I could ever take lightly the suffering of the Chinese people or any other people in the world.

I was horror-stricken when I saw the bombing of Chungking in the newsreels, and FOR THAT SAME REASON, I am also horror-stricken when today I see the bombing of Tokyo in the newsreels—for that same reason, because it is, in both cases, a mass murder of people who are not fighting and therefore have no weapons of defense.

There is only one reason why I stated that the Tokyo atrocity was the worst since man first appeared on the earth... because of the number of the victims. That is the only reason why I also consider the bombing of Germany as worse than that of England, because many times more civilians were murdered or mutilated in Germany. The Allied imperialists themselves have stated in their newspapers that they hold the all-time record in inflicting civilian casualties!

I would also like to say: if you intend to hold the Japanese people responsible for Japanese government atrocities, then you must hold the people of England and the U.S.A. responsible for a crimes of THEIR governments, which you, yourself, describe as heinous. If you follow your thought to a logical conclusion and translate it into action, you will have to advocate the

slaughter of most of the people of the world, which, I am sure, you would not approve.

The bombing of the Chinese was, as you say, "an interesting show" to the allied imperialists; the bombing of Tokyo is their "interesting show" today; what will amuse them tomorrow if they are not overthrown by the aroused working class of their own countries?

Engels speaks of the barbarity with which wars were waged before the dawn of civilization, and declares such cruelty was later mitigated by self-interest; and we see the decline of the present civilization and a worse cruelty than the world has ever known.

In conclusion: may I quote for Dorothy Cheng and all the readers of The Militant, a brief item from the Boston Post of Thursday, July 19, giving, I believe, the true reason for the mass torture and slaughter of unarmed non-combatants in this war: "Americans will take particular satisfaction in the recent blasting of Usa by Yank bombers. This is the Japanese town where so many articles were manufactured for the United States market before the war, all bearing the legend, 'Made in USA.' No one will ever know how many millions were reaped by these Jap manufacturers due to the gullibility of Americans who thought they were buying home products. Those factories are not going to make any more such articles for a long time. They have been treated with another product, really 'Made in USA.'"

Can any words express the shameful depth to which the ruling class has sunk today? Is further comment necessary? Belle Montague Boston, Mass.

The Stalinists

Editor: The Stalinist Sunday Worker of July 22 is loaded to the gunwales with sweetly gentle beatings against the big black wolf Browder, who it seems misleads many dear little innocent lambs. Will The Militant allow me to suggest to the C.P.A. that they again form themselves into a swell party. I respectfully urge this and I should like to suggest a name: "Blow Hot: Blow Cold" Party. "Tweedledum and Tweedledee Come Home to Roost!" I believe would make a nice slogan. Right?

Joseph McNamee 173 West 102nd Street New York City

March On Washington

Editor: To the Negroes of America I send these lines. I am proud of being a Negro because in my being I am a part of that group of people who have come such a long way in such a short time.

I am proud because we can claim such noted men and women as Mary Bethune, George W. Carver, Marion Anderson, Joe Louis, Paul Robeson, Katherine Dunham, Dr. N. Dett and many others, people born black in a white world yet who reached recognition from people throughout the world.

I am proud, because I know my forefathers were ignorant but today thousands of my people have college educations and have taken places in every field of work from famed singers to noted surgeons. Each had to overcome many difficulties, the path was narrow and narrowness tried to crush them to despair, but they reached the top victoriously.

I am proud because my people have picked the cotton, planted the corn, gathered the harvest; their bodies were worn but the spirit high, knowing the darkest hour of night is just before the dawn of a perfect day.

I am so very proud of our contributions to America even when such men as the Senator of Mississippi and his friends try to crush us by lies, because we know and recognize the friends of Hitler even when they are chosen Americans. It is a dark day for us when Senator Bilbo stands before the government in hopes of stealing the rights of every Negro in this country but the dawn will come when a leader stands before his people and demands in the name of self-respect that we march thousands strong to Washington to see whether or not we are a free people.

The people of New York's Harlem chose Adam C. Powell Jr. to represent them in Washington and this is the time for Harlem to demand Dr. Powell take a firm stand as he promised before he was elected.

Dr. Powell is the pastor of one

WIN AN ORIGINAL LAURA GRAY CARTOON!

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

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

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

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

of the largest congregations in New York, his father before him was pastor at the same church and is still active; it is for such men to lead the way for others to follow.

I believe Dr. Powell Sr. or Jr. ALONE could cause such a march into Washington; Senator Bilbo, Eastland, Rankin and all of their kind would be glad to fade out of the picture completely.

It is with great hope that I urge every Negro in Harlem to write to Dr. Powell demanding a march on Washington and him as their leader. He is strong and capable of handling such a situation with dignity.

Victor A. Howell 192 East 101st Street New York City

Steel Sell-Out

Editor: Everyone working at the Bethlehem Steel plant in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania who has a little common sense and knows the principles of a fighting union, will know damn well that Philip Murray, president of the CIO, has sold out the workers to the Bethlehem Steel capitalists. That contract agreement between the union and the Bethlehem Steel company is a big joke. There is nothing in that contract that protects the working man. Its main purpose is to protect Bethlehem Steel.

It helps to divide the workers by granting more money to some groups of workers and nothing to other groups who do the same work. And that is right up the sleeves of the Bethlehem capitalists. There is nothing in that agreement that the government did not grant the workers anyhow for the war's duration.

Many workers throughout the plant cannot figure out why the CIO union agreed to divide the workers by accepting increases in wages to night workers and nothing to the day workers. The day workers most of the time work much harder than the night workers because the bosses always work days and are doing the most pushing around then. Anyway the day workers have to work for a living, too, and have to live by the present high cost of living.

If the CIO union would have to express the workers' demands, the "little steel formula" and the Smith-Connelly Act would have been burned up long ago. But it seems to the workers of the Bethlehem plant that the CIO union expresses the wishes of the Bethlehem Steel capitalists instead. Philip Murray and the Bethlehem Steel Company are working hand in hand to keep the steel workers from demanding their rights. The only way the steel workers will get anything from the steel profiteers is to get together and fight for it with leaders from their rightful rank-and-file.

R. A. A. Allentown, Pa.

Phony Argument

Editor: Enclosed is a clipping from The Shipyard Worker, organ of the United Steel Workers, as boasting that whereas the United Mine Workers through their strikes got only 13 cents an hour increase in the period from December 1941 to December 1944, the United Steel Workers through using "legal" methods got an increase of 28 cents per hour.

The union bureaucrats use these figures to disparage strikes as a method of defending workers' interests. They use these figures to prove more can be gained by "peaceful" methods.

Of course, we know the bosses; the WLB gives wage increases only because of the threat of strikes. They move only to the extent the workers are strong. The strength they fear is strikes. The argument they advance is phony, and I believe the figures are just as phony.

Tom Duffy Philadelphia

Recommends Book

Editor: One man, even an editor, can't read everything, and I wonder if you have overlooked an important book, "The Crisis of our Age," by Pitirin A. Sorokin of Harvard University.

He is a very religious man and a Catholic, I think, and he takes the position that the coming revolution, with all the terror and bloodshed and civil strife, will leave much of our material resources intact, like railroads, highways, machinery, etc., and that mankind will then enter a new age where the individual man will live in a new era of accomplishment.

Many of our readers must be Catholics, or were at one time, and this book makes possible a faith in the coming revolution and a higher faith than that of the present church, in man's future. This is great comfort to some people.

P. G. Hollinger Bartlett, Ill.

Sectarianism

Editor: Recent issues of The Militant have brought to the fore the question of reforms. One reader said he was not renewing his subscription for The Militant because he is convinced that the Socialist Workers Party, by aiding in the fight for reforms, serves as a reformist and therefore reactionary organization. He mentioned the Socialist Labor Party as being the only party standing for a thoroughly revolutionary policy; no reforms short of the abolition of capitalism.

It sounds impressive. Indeed when a section of the socialist movement calls for unconditional surrender of capitalism, as the SLP does. It seems very revolutionary to disdain the struggle for reforms and say, "Not more work, or less work, but the works." But is it realistic? Is it tactically correct?

Long ago Lenin aptly characterized such ultra-leftism, such Marxist purism, as leftist infantile sickness. For quite some time I was a sympathizer of the SLP. But a reading of Cannon's History of American Trotskyism opened my eyes to the very real necessity of fighting side by side with the workers in their day-by-day, hour-by-hour struggles with the bosses for a greater share in the output of wealth, the alleviation of burdensome conditions of work and a bettering of their position generally.

No amount of purism can obviate the fact that the workers, straining on the leash of capitalism in its decline stage, will instinctively fight to lighten the increasing burden being imposed on them, and Cannon makes it clear that to aid in that struggle will establish the SWP as a friend of the worker and allow it to point the way to him, while it fights alongside of him, to the eventual goal: Socialism. For it is in the daily struggle that the worker will learn how to fight, why he must go on fighting, and, eventually, what the real fight must be for. This is sound, practical, and a realistic approach to the ultimate goal of Socialism.

Cannon's book is valuable in that it shows that the sectarianism of such groups as the SLP, their aloofness and lack of real contact with the worker where such contact really matters—in the arena of their daily struggle—only serves the forces of reaction in this day of burning class antagonism. In my own case, it pointed the way to the Socialist Workers Party and my recent acceptance as a member of the Buffalo branch is the consequence of a reading of that book.

Mike Ross Buffalo, N. Y.

Newark

The Militant and Fourth International can now be purchased at Market and Halsey Street Newsstand.

Union-Hating Cop Made Police Chief In Minneapolis

By BARBARA BRUCE

MINNEAPOLIS, Minn. — Less than a week after taking office, Hubert Humphrey, labor-endorsed mayor of Minneapolis, named as superintendent of the police a man condemned unanimously by CIO leaders and by sections of both AFL and Railroad Brotherhood unions as anti-labor.

Cheers of union officials at Humphrey's election had scarcely died away, when Humphrey named Ed Ryan as police chief. Ryan, former head of the city's internal security division (local branch of the FBI) has long been associated with the Minneapolis police force. He has been both patrolman and detective here since 1925, down through the years of bitter strike struggles in Minneapolis.

BLOODY FRIDAY

Ironically enough, confirmation of Ryan's appointment came on the anniversary of Bloody Friday, July 13. It was on that date in 1934 that Henry Ness and John Belor, courageous fighters in the historic truck drivers' strike, were killed by Minneapolis police.

Ryan's appointment immediately brought a blast from the Hennepin County CIO Council because Ryan was "the choice of capital and employers and consequently inimical to organized labor," according to the Minneapolis Tribune's political reporter.

Making the rounds of every club and civic group in the city, Mayor Humphrey indirectly but successfully put the squeeze on aldermen to support his appointment of Ryan. A high-pressure newspaper campaign was staged by the capitalist daily press. The Minneapolis Tribune warned that "any councilman who votes against Ryan had better have his reasons ready and they had better be good."

Ryan's appointment was then confirmed by a vote of 31 to 4 in the city council, despite the fact that the United Labor Committee, representing all sections of the labor movement in Minneapolis, called upon the majority bloc of 14 labor-endorsed aldermen to vote as a unit against Ryan.

AGAINST STRIKES

Humphrey has already declared that he "doesn't want any strikes in this city." This opposition to labor's rights is shared in common by Humphrey, Ryan and Minneapolis employers.

Events have already confirmed the predictions made by Beatrice Janosco when she spoke before a meeting of over 50 workers in Minneapolis, the night before Humphrey and the labor-endorsed aldermen took office. "Support of individual candidates such as Humphrey will lead only to disillusionment and betrayal of the working class," comrade Janosco declared at the meeting sponsored by the Minneapolis branch of the Socialist Workers Party. "No individual, no matter how able, can represent two classes in society. Only through their own political organization—an independent labor party—will the workers of Minneapolis find a real solution to their problems today and in the hard days of lay-offs, unemployment and anti-labor repressions."

Pioneer Notes

The demand for Trotskyist literature comes from Pioneer Publishers from all over the world. We quote from a few letters recently received.

From Scotland: "Please send us a full list of your publications, and if possible 6 copies of Cannon's History of American Trotskyism."

Uruguay: "We have received the books and pamphlets we asked for. These are all of inestimable value to us, who hitherto have known these works of the Old Man (Leon Trotsky) by name only."

Chile: "We wish very much to have Cannon's book on American Trotskyism."

England: "I received the History of American Trotskyism. If you can appreciate the very great lack of Marxist literature available at present I am for this book. Since the war has been generally speaking, been unable to obtain your literature, and it has been somewhat like living in an intellectual wilderness, cut off from knowledge that is so necessary for our struggle."



A most inspiring letter reached us last week from a subscriber who has been an active member of our "Militant Army" for some time. He is Mr. Wilson, of Oklahoma, and part of his letter reads as follows: "I hold a subscription to your weekly newspaper, The Militant, and the paper has proven to be quite interesting to me. I have shown it to others in my community, and they like the paper also and would like to become subscribers. I think the paper is wonderful, and will continue to subscribe."

It's a great source of pride to have enthusiastic readers "toot our horn" as revealed by the following communication from the organizer of the Socialist Workers Party in Seattle: "One of our subscribers recently visited his daughter in Colorado. During the course of his visit she asked him: 'Father, have you ever heard of The Militant?' 'I subscribe to it,' answered our friend. 'Everybody in the Negro community in Los Angeles is reading it' said the daughter, 'and everybody is crazy about the paper.' Our subscriber came back enthusiastic. He looked us up and immediately wanted to know who was behind The Militant, who put it out, etc. We explained to him about the Socialist Workers Party. Our subscriber is now organizing a Militant Readers Club in the project where he lives, and is thinking seriously about joining the Socialist Workers Party."

For our "Militant Army" statistics fans, here are some very demonstrative figures: Our Newark agent sent in two six-month and five one-year subs, plus four one-year renewals. Rea Burton, our Chicago agent, sent in three six-month and two one-year subs in addition to two renewals. Toledo was heard from with two one-year and three six-month subs in addition to two one-year renewals. Denver, Colorado now boasts five new subscribers. From Pittsburgh, Eloise Black, our trailblazer in the last campaign, has sent in three one-year and twenty-two six-month subscriptions. She reports the coal miners are exceedingly appreciative of the support and honest reporting The Militant gave them during their

strikes, and especially the coverage our press gave to the William Patterson Case.

A member of the Trotskyist Youth Club distributing The Militant to the workers who were picketing Plant No. 7 of the Wright Aeronautical Corporation in Wood-Ridge, N. J. reported this interesting story: "Many of the workers on the picket line were discussing the sweeping victory of the British Labor Party. Said one jubilantly: 'Did you see what the British workers did! It's about time we workers in this country were doing the same thing!'"

Andrews Analyzes Strike Struggle In Akron Rubber

CLEVELAND, July 22—Joseph Andrews, Akron correspondent of The Militant, tonight described "The Lessons of the Rubber Strike" to an attentive audience of active trade unionists. The meeting was held at the Slovenian Hall, under the auspices of the Socialist Workers Party, Cleveland branch.

Comrade Andrews gave a vivid eye-witness account of the magnificent battle conducted by the Akron rubber workers against the combined powers of the rubber barons, the government agencies, and their own cowardly International leadership.

"The rubber workers inspired every union fighter in the country with the greatest demonstration of union solidarity and militancy since the miners' strike in 1943," Comrade Andrews declared. "Every union militant in the labor movement realized that the rubber workers were blazing the trail for the entire labor movement."

Conclusion of the strike did not end the problems facing the union, the speaker pointed out. "The rubber workers are aware that these strikes were only the first round in the battle to rebuild their unions into fighting organizations with a new leadership and a militant program, to meet the post-war crisis."

FIGHT FOR THIS PROGRAM:

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

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

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

Operate all government-built plants under workers' control!

2. Independence of the trade unions from the government!

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

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

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

5. Working class political action!

Build the independent labor party!

Establish the workers' and farmers' government!

6. Tax the rich, not the poor!

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

7. A working class answer to capitalist militarism!

Military training of workers, financed by the government, but under control of the trade unions!

Trade union wages for all workers in the armed forces!

8. Hands off the European and colonial peoples!

Withdraw the Allied Occupation Troops from Europe!

Solidarity with the revolutionary struggles of the European and colonial peoples!

Join the Socialist Workers Party!

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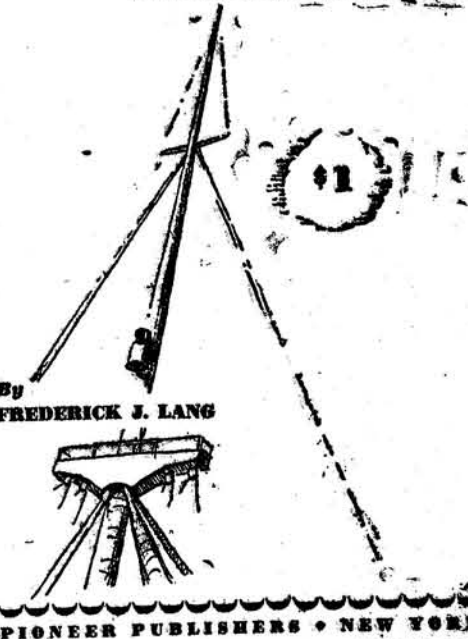
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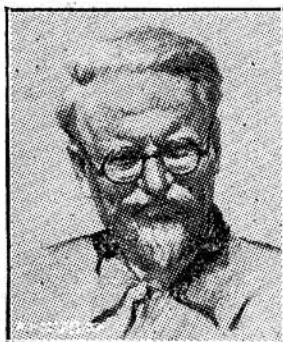
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"Entered as second class matter March 7, 1944 at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879."



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

— Leon Trotsky

An Inspiring Victory

The sweeping electoral victory of the British working class has tremendous significance for labor here in America. The British workers have demonstrated the mighty force of organized political action. The Labor Party swept the professional Tory-capitalist politicians out of office as so much chaff.

Like their brothers here, the British workers were blocked at every turn in their struggle to defend hard-won gains in the economic field. The British capitalist government tied down wages while permitting prices to skyrocket; it extended the work week, froze workers on jobs, ruthlessly crushed strikes. As in America, the British capitalist government drafted workers and marched them onto the battlefields of the Second World War to fight and die for capitalist profits. The leaders of the Labor Party, in coalition with the Tories, did their utmost to safeguard the interests of the capitalists.

The British workers drew the correct lesson: It was necessary to meet this offensive of the bosses in the arena of politics. They forced their leaders to break the coalition with the capitalist politicians and threw their energies behind the Labor Party. This firm course won the active sympathy of the middle class — the small shopkeepers, poor farmers, etc. British labor now has the possibility of completely reshaping the life of Great Britain in accordance with the needs of the working class and all the poor people.

The situation faced by the British workers before their inspiring victory is today still faced by American labor. Everywhere they have been blocked by the employer-government combination. They are ground between the millstones of wage-freezing and price-gouging. Their every attempt to break out of this intolerable situation by purely trade union action is met with savage crack-downs against which they have no adequate defense.

Had such leaders as John L. Lewis, Sidney Hillman and their kind not blocked the many efforts to organize an independent labor party, the American workers in the last election — if not before — could have put their own representatives into office. Labor's Non-Partisan League, the American Labor Party and the Political Action Committee could easily have become a power in American politics comparable to the Labor Party in British politics. It is the unforgivable crime of these labor fakery that they side-tracked these promising movements into support of the capitalist politicians.

The lesson is absolutely clear. The American workers must force the trade union leaders to break with the capitalist parties. They must follow the example of their British fellow-workers. They must begin organizing on the political field. They must launch an independent Labor Party and seriously set out to establish a workers' and farmers' government in America.

The Wright Strike

The best test of policy is action. And in the labor movement there is no action that decides as much as a strike. In the process of settling accounts with the corporation and winning a clear-cut union victory, the Wright strikers exposed a whole line-up of misleaders and some phony organizations as well.

The recent "discussion" and "change" of line in the "Communist" (Stalinist) Party has deceived many of its members into thinking that they, the rank and file, would be permitted at the very least to act as loyal union men during a conflict with the bosses.

Despite the radical appearances of the "new" line these Stalinists found themselves compelled to act as strikebreakers, just as they had been obliged to do under the "old" line. They tried to herd the workers back to work with empty hands, crushed and beaten. That filthy scandal sheet, the *Daily Worker*, taking its cue from the capitalist

Press, attempted to smear the strike as a conspiracy of "racketeers."

The Stalinists were lined up with shrieking capitalist newspapers, yellow leaders of the Wright local, and double-dealing, intimidating government boards. They had a lot of power on their side. A lot — but not enough. They did not have the power of deception and that is the decisive reason for their failure to break the strike.

The scurvy Stalinist record in the labor movement was too deeply imbedded in the consciousness of the Wright workers. The old familiar attempt to paste the "racketeer" label on the strike failed because the workers knew they had genuine grievances, knew that the company was using this slander to cover up a provocation aimed at smashing the union. Long, bitter experience with government boards prepared the workers against all attempts to intimidate them.

The militants of the Wright local can hold their heads high because of a job well done. They took a spontaneous action of the workers and converted it into a powerful strike. They held the War Labor Board at bay. They beat back the Stalinist strikebreakers. They voted to return to work only after their cowardly union officialdom promised to reinstate the discharged shop steward and to settle other grievances. Now they are back in the plants, determined to settle accounts with the Stalinist renegades who turned up on the other side of the picket line during the battle.

"Discussion" Ends

The Stalinist leaders have finished their "discussion" according to the ritual sanctified by the Kremlin. They discovered "errors" of the gravest type, outright "opportunism" if not counter-revolution. They "puzzled" over the origin of the extraordinary fact they were virtually unanimous in their support of these "errors" until another Stalinist leader in France, named Duclos, happened to notice their counter-revolutionary trend. Then they just as unanimously "corrected" themselves. Finally they offered up a couple of scapegoats in the persons of Earl Browder and Robert Minor and went home to continue the same "errors."

The newly-anointed high priest of the Stalinists is William Z. Foster. Foster was kept in reserve during the phase of Stalin's foreign policy in America carried out by Browder. He was permitted to criticize mildly the line Browder was ordered to push forward, although the criticism was confined to leading party circles in order not to embarrass the leaders as they licked Wall Street's boots.

Browder has now been placed on the shelf, although, like Foster previously, he was allowed to "criticize" the line brought forward by the new Kremlin puppet.

The whole discussion was revealed as a farce. The Stalinist leaders still support the imperialist war. They still uphold the no-strike pledge. Stalinism still continues its struggle against the socialist revolution in America as elsewhere.

No Communist Party member who has resented the class-collaborationist role forced upon him can possibly be satisfied with the results of such a "discussion."

A Dangerous Proposal

The proposal made by some UAW militants (reported elsewhere in *The Militant*) to invite John L. Lewis to lead the auto union, is clearly an attempt to find a magic formula for the solution of their union problems.

This proposal has grown out of a lack of understanding of the program and methods necessary to liberate the unions from the chains of government regimentation and restore them as fighting instruments of the workers.

It is a product of impatience with the slow progress of the building of a left wing that will overthrow the cowardly, treacherous gang of Murray-Thomas-Hillman-Dalrymple and Co. from their posts in the leadership of the CIO.

It represents a false evaluation of the miners' strikes and the role of John L. Lewis.

Seeking for short-cuts, these militants are falling into errors that mark the road of easy and poorly-thought-out solutions.

In the minds of these militants the heroic struggles of the miners' union during the war are identified with the person and program of John L. Lewis. Nothing could be more false.

The record shows that Lewis was and is motivated solely by considerations of political opportunism and personal spite. In breaking with Roosevelt, he turned not to independent class politics, but to the Republican Party. In breaking with Murray and Hillman, he turned not to mobilization of the workers against the onslaughts of the capitalist government but to the AFL. His policy was and is class collaborationist and is essentially the same as that of Murray, Hillman and Green.

Were the militants to make the fatal mistake of gambling on Lewis, they would only find themselves led deeper into the wilderness by this would-be messiah. The unions would be shaken to their foundations by fierce internal conflicts. The militants would be divided into warring camps over personalities not program. Disastrous splits would weaken the labor movement at the very moment that unity will be most urgent.

The militants cannot hand over their duties and tasks to any messiah—not even John L. Lewis. There is no substitute for the building of a left wing on the basis of a program that will regain the independence and fighting power of the unions. This left wing alone can sweep out the cowardly, treacherous leadership that now rules the unions. They and they alone can replace the Murray-Hillman gang with tested union fighters now arising from the ranks and distinguished by their courage in battle, their understanding, their honesty, and above all their program. This is the only road for the militants to follow.



"But you don't need that costume yet — they haven't even got a Labor Party here!" (See Cartoon Contest, Page 7)

INTERNATIONAL NOTES

China

Cholera — one of the dread scourges accompanying war — has broken out in Chungking. Since June, when the epidemic started in the capital of the Chiang Kai-shek government, the number of cases has mounted swiftly. More than 8,000 cases are estimated, about 20 percent fatal.

Cholera is carried by rats. By exterminating rats cholera can be stamped out. But the Chiang Kai-shek government has done so little to eliminate this deadly menace to public health that Chungking is plagued by an estimated 10,000,000 rats.

Sgt. Sam Shurack, a specialist in rat extermination for seven years before he entered the U. S. Army declared:

"Killing rats aren't bigger than the ones we have at home, but they are more nonchalant and numerous. In wartime the world's rat population normally increases from three to a person to six a person, but this city has at least fifteen for each human being."

Responsibility for the spread of cholera rests with the Chiang Kai-shek government. Shot through and through with graft and corruption, it pays little or no attention to public health. Japanese imperialism likewise bears a share of responsibility. By invading China, Japanese imperialism cultivated and stirred up the fearful endemic scourges smoldering in their pathway.

Japan

One of the main propaganda themes of the Allied imperialists in their war with Japan is the necessity to destroy Japanese militarism. They maintain, however, that this must be accomplished by the might of invading armies. The Japanese people, they allege, have been educated from childhood to venerate the Mikado and blindly obey the military caste even if it means hara-kiri. Hence, they conclude, bombs, shells and bayonets made in America must be used to bring democracy to Japan.

The Militant has consistently maintained this thesis is untrue. The Japanese people themselves will settle accounts with their oppressors, the Trotskyists point out. Now comes confirmation of our analysis from a leading member of the American military caste, Rear Admiral Thomas Leigh Gatch.

He predicts, according to a July 25 United Press dispatch, that Emperor Hirohito will meet the same fate as Benito Mussolini. He believes that the Japanese people will rise "in one of the bloodiest revolutions in history." This Admiral, who holds the post of Judge Advocate General of the Navy, characterized as "pure bunk" the theory that the Emperor is a god to the Japanese people.

"We will soon see just how venerated he is," declared the Admiral; "I am certain he will die like Mussolini."

"It is the Samurai—the 800,000 military leaders—who must be destroyed, but I don't think we'll have to do the job. We are going to see one of the bloodiest revolutions in history in Japan, which will liquidate both the Emperor and the military."

Chile

One of the worst mine disasters in the history of Chile occurred June 19, 1945 in Camp Sewell not far from Santiago. This camp is owned by the Braden Copper Company, a subsidiary of the Kennecott Copper Corp. which in

turn is dominated by the Morgan family.

A fire broke out on Level 3. But there was no water to fight it. The company had alleged the miners used company water to prepare a drink for themselves called "chocha," and hence refused to permit water hoses in the mine. There were no effective gas masks available.

When the fire broke out, miners outside sought to enter the mine to rescue those trapped. But the company refused them permission; its policy being to prevent miners from acting on rescue squads. Instead, it called the police.

The police surrounded the shaft-head to prevent anyone from entering the burning mine. Finally one police captain, unable to endure simply waiting for those below to die without doing anything, permitted squads to enter the mine. But the gas masks used by these rescue squads were defective and every one perished.

Total casualties were 500. Braden Copper next attempted to prevent the news of the disaster from spreading. Controlling the radio, it censored all newscasts. Not even neighboring towns knew what had happened. It was charged in the Chilean Chamber of Deputies that Braden Copper hoped to dump all the bodies into an abandoned stope, seal it up and keep secret the terrible disaster. This has happened before in Chile.

When the story finally leaked out, a great wave of indignation swept through the working class. This indignation was focused on the Braden family. Braden Copper was organized by an American mining engineer during the First World War. His son, who is still connected with the company, is Spruille Braden, former Ambassador to Cuba and at present American Ambassador to Argentina.

Working class anger over the

disaster spread through the neighboring country of Argentina. As U. S. Ambassador and copper magnate, Braden personifies the ruthless role of Wall Street imperialism in South America, demonstrators in Buenos Aires and other cities distributed leaflets attacking Braden.

The Peron regime in Argentina, which is reactionary to the core, permitted the distribution of these leaflets. The Peron regime, while oppressing the Argentine working class, has its own battle with the Wall Street capitalists. Like all the native capitalists of colonial nations or small countries which the big powers attempt to control as satellites, the Argentine capitalists are not averse to permitting the working class to express at times its hostility to foreign imperialism.

Thus in the United States, the prominent spokesmen of Wall Street imperialism such as the New York Times have attempted to smear the genuine indignation of the Argentine workers over the Chilean mine disaster as wholly artificial and inspired only by the Peron regime. The Times even went out of its way to defend Braden.

Responsibility for the death of the 500 Chilean miners, however, rests squarely on American imperialism. No demagoguery, no matter how clever, can change that.

Venezuela

Venezuela for decades was the private domain of one of the worst dictators in South America, "El Bagre," (the cat fish). This dictator ruled with a bloody hand. His secret spy system, organized on an international basis to hunt down dissidents, was one of the largest in the world. El Bagre was supported by the great oil companies who in turn were given priceless concessions in some of the richest oil reserves of the world.

When El Bagre died the people rose up in a political revolution that swept his regime into the ash can. Since then the working class has grown in size and importance.

Now a report from Caracas declares that a recent oil workers' strike in the state of Zulia, which won a five months' agreement, is hailed in the labor press as a triumph without precedent in Venezuela.

The strike began when the Mene Grande Company dismissed some of its employees. The Minister of Labor, Dr. Diez, took an airplane to Maracaibo in an attempt to settle the dispute when the strikers widened their demands to include such items as pay for the weekly day of rest. Among the important gains obtained through the strike were "No dismissal of workers," and improvement of food served in the commissariat.

Another item of interest is the split in the Communist Party. Prominent Stalinist leaders have broken away, together with a large part of the membership. Among these leaders is Dr. Silva Telleria, editor of the weekly *Aqui Esta*. The Stalinists named a new leading committee, designating Dr. Carlos Augusto Leon as general secretary. The issues in the split are not yet known here.

VOTE FOR
DOBBS & SIMPSON
TROTSKYIST CANDIDATES
IN THE COMING
NEW YORK ELECTIONS

PROBLEMS FACING WAR VETERANS

By CHARLES CARSTEN

Re-Employment and Seniority Rights of Ex-Servicemen

Approximately 3,000,000 men have been discharged from the U. S. armed forces. This is only about one-fifth of the men who will eventually be discharged, but conflicts between veterans and other workers for jobs have already arisen.

At the Mishawaka, Indiana plant of the U. S. Rubber Co., A. F. Mello, a World War I veteran with 12 years' seniority, was fired to make room for a World War II veteran who had worked less than four months in the plant prior to induction. F. O. Thomas, the World War II veteran, was discharged from the army in December, 1944 and asked for his old job back. The company advised him that the department in which he had worked had been abolished. Thomas insisted he was entitled to his old job under the Selective Service Act.

The company gave Thomas the job of the World War I veteran who had worked at the plant for 12 years. Local 65 of the United Rubber Workers, CIO insisted Thomas was entitled to employment, but the union protested the violation of another worker's seniority rights in placing Thomas on a job. The company and the union wrote a joint letter asking a ruling from the State Selective Service Headquarters. The case was referred to the national headquarters of the Selective Service Administration which replied:

"In such circumstances, where the former position no longer exists the veteran is entitled to a position substantially equivalent in seniority, status and pay, a requirement which appears to be fulfilled in this instance."

This decision violates the seniority clause of the union contract. The union filed a grievance and asked for arbitration. The company replied that the issue was a matter of law and not subject to arbitration. The case was taken to the War Labor Board and that body referred it to Attorney General Clark for a legal opinion.

The employers, supported by the Selective Service Administration, hope to use World War II veterans in their offensive against the union movement. Capitalist organizations, groups and individuals will hypocritically pose as benefactors of the returning servicemen. The keynote in what is likely to become a barrage of employer propaganda in their offensive against labor was given by Colonel Arthur V. McDermott, New York Director of Selective Service:

"The veteran has had his share of foxholes and bullets. Discharging a non-veteran from his job may entail hardships for him, but we think that if there's more hardship to be doled out, the non-veteran should get in line for some of it."

Such a demagogic policy is calculated to confuse the demobilized servicemen as to the real issues involved and make them pawns in the bosses' attempts to smash the unions.

The problem is only in its first stages. More men are continually being discharged from the army. Cutbacks and layoffs are increasing as the tempo of war production is reduced. The labor supply is rapidly increasing as job opportunities decrease. It is clear that the issue of veteran re-employment and seniority rights will become much more acute.

Story of Jeeps Reveals Waste of Capitalist War

It is reported that Willys-Overland is going to produce civilian jeeps for farmers. This jeep will be a car-of-all-trades. It will pull a plow, a harrow, or a load of hay. Willys expects to make 20,000 of them this year to retail at about 900 dollars.

Perhaps some farmers think they've been "prosperous" during the war. But let's see how many of these jeeps they could have if it hadn't been for the criminal waste of war. Just suppose the Maritime Commission had not spent twenty billion dollars on freighters and tankers of all types during the war. (The United States merchant marine is more than big enough to carry the whole world's ocean trade.)

If all that labor and material had gone into the making of farm equipment, the farmers could have had not 20,000 but 20,000,000 jeeps! Every dried-out midwestern farm and every starving sharecropper could have had one. In fact, every farmer in the country. This, for only a fraction of the tremendous sums that capitalism can only spend on war.

Ickes Plots Use of Coal To Stem Revolt in Europe

War Fuels Administrator Harold Ickes says "the race in Europe today is between coal and anarchy." This means that American coal may be given to those people who will fight against the socialist revolution. (For "anarchy" in the capitalist dictionary, means the orderly rule of the working class.) This means that the homes of union men in the United States will be cold, so the homes of scabs in Europe will be warm.

As for anarchy: an expert quoted in *Business Week*, July 28, says that: "German coal output could have solved the European coal problem better than it now stands any chance of being solved." But then the German mining companies and other capitalist outfits might steal a march on their U. S. rivals. And Wall Street didn't fight the war for nothing. In fact even under direct Allied control, the German mines can't produce because of the new competitive anarchy introduced by the conquerors. There are four zones of occupation and "mines have actually been cut in two by the near jurisdictional boundaries drawn on official maps." Wall Street blames the British for this.

Some United States coal will undoubtedly go to Europe — at a good profit to the American coal operators. And it will go to the "right" people. If the conquerors were really interested in helping Europe's dispossessed and freezing people, they would get to work on the job of reorganizing the German mines. But capitalist anarchy prevents them.