Cannon's Speech On 'Downfall Of Browder'

--- See Page 4 ---

THE MILITANT

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CONGRESS FACES GROWING JOBS CRISIS

Trotskyist Gains Reported From All Over Europe

Despite terrible losses suffered under the terror of Hitler's Gestapo and in the face of unceasing persecution under the new "democratic" puppet governments of Allied imperialism and its Stalinist confederates, the European Trotskyists are extending and intensifying their activities all over the continent.

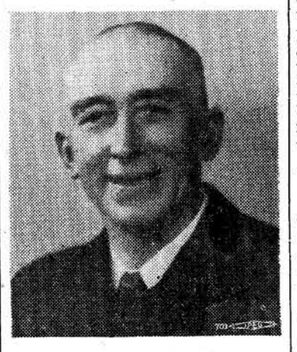
In country after country, the sections of the Fourth International are reappearing, reinforced and more deeply rooted among the workers than ever before. Contact, after the disruption caused by the war, is being resumed between the sections themselves and with their European Executive Committee. The main characteristic of the present phase of their struggle is the fight for a legal existence.

SURVIVED TERROR

In the forefront of this fight are many Trotskyist leaders returning from the concentration camps in Germany. The same spirit which animated our comrades in the darkest days of the Nazi overlordship in Europe and enabled them to survive as organized formations of the International under the fierce terror of fascism is today inspiring their struggle against the new masters of Europe. Undaunted by the new forms of persecution, they are determined to rebuild the vanguard parties of the European working class. **They are determined to unfurl the banner of the Fourth International, the stainless banner of international socialism, for which the European workers are striving with might and main.**

CHALLENGE DE GAULLE

In France, the Trotskyists have challenged the de Gaulle government. Repeated requests by the Internationalist Communist Party (Parti Communist Internationaliste), French section of the Fourth International, for authorization to publish its organ, **La Verite** (The Truth) under the same legal considerations as the rest of the press, have been refused by the de Gaulle regime, ever since the so-called "liberation." Instead, the government, spurred on particularly by its Stalinist ministers, Tillon and Billoux, has hung threats of prosecution for "conspiracy" against our comrades. With the GPU frame-up machine in the van, a furious campaign against the "Hitlero-Trotskyists" was unleashed. In the Spring, the campaign in the press was followed up by arrests of Trotskyist comrades and sympathizers and of workers suspected of Trotskyism.



Leon LeSoil

Arrested by the Nazis June 22, 1941 for his anti-fascist activities, Leon LeSoil died in the Neuengamme Concentration Camp May 6, 1942. A foundation member of the Communist Party, he broke with it after its degeneration under Stalin, to become a founder of the Belgian Trotskyist movement. He was a member of the Executive Committee of the Fourth International.

Our comrades of the PCI replied to this wave of persecution by a defense campaign among the workers in the factories. **La Verite** was the first underground paper published under the Hitler terror and it is well known among the workers. The PCI militants were defended by workers in the shop, with even large numbers of Stalinist workers signing petitions for the release of the imprisoned Trotskyists. In June, the PCI challenged the government by registering the organization with the authorities. It published the names of its leading committee in **La Verite** and defied the government to prosecute them.

The bold action of our comrades

(Continued on page 3)

25,000 Workers In Camden Rally Protest Layoffs

By George Clement

CAMDEN, N. J., Aug. 28 — This shipyard and industrial city on the Delaware River today witnessed the greatest labor demonstration in its history when more than 25,000 workers poured into Roosevelt Plaza to protest against mass layoffs and to demand government action for full employment.

Virtually every important plant in this area was shut down from noon on, as employed and unemployed joined forces in a united demonstration sponsored jointly by the CIO, AFL and Railroad Brotherhoods. Although CIO members predominated, large numbers of AFL and railway workers participated.

WORKERS DEMAND JOBS

The workers marched in orderly columns from their factories and shipyards. Many large banners and placards were carried. Among the prominent slogans were: "We Worked for Victory. We want Jobs In Peace!," "We Demand Jobs for All!," and "Where Are the 60 Million Jobs?"

This tremendous outpouring of labor forces was truly impressive. It imbued every worker present with a sense of the potential might of the working class and inspired a new feeling of confidence in their own organized power.

The workers were filled with militancy and eager for a real program of action to fight for jobs for all with the wages of decent living. Many openly displayed their displeasure and disgust with the CIO and Stalinist union leaders who spoke and failed to present any real program of action or even to offer a clear explanation for the mounting unemployment.

WANT MILITANT ACTION

Frequent comments among the workers as the speakers droned on were, "What we need is a good sit-down strike," and "Too much talk and not enough action." Instead of hearing a fighting policy stated by their own leaders, they heard as the main speaker a former university president, Dr. Frank Kingdon, chairman of the New Jersey Independent Citizens League, whose chief contribution was the claim that unemployment is due to a "deliberate conspiracy" by "certain industrial groups."

From the mood and temper of the workers, it is clear that this demonstration is only the beginning. Bigger and more decisive actions are in the offing.

Huge Job Demonstration in Manhattan

Over 50,000 jobless workers swarmed into New York's midtown Madison Square on August 29, as the CIO Greater Industrial Union Council called for full employment. Placards demanded jobs for all workers and veterans. Loud boos greeted the names of Governor Dewey and Senator Bilbo.

Acme photo.

Detroit CIO Marchers Raise Call For Labor's Own Party

Special to THE MILITANT

By John Saunders

DETROIT, Sept. 4 — Detroit labor under CIO leadership gave a fitting answer to the mass layoffs which have hurled over 300,000 workers here into the streets, by staging a monster parade today under fighting slogans.

More than 20,000 determined workers, representing 321 CIO locals, marched two miles down Woodward Avenue to Cadillac Square for three solid hours, while other tens of thousands lined three abreast along the route of march and cheered defiance of the Detroit auto barons and their government stooges.

THOUSANDS JOIN MARCH

Thousands of workers joined the marchers at Cadillac Square to hear speeches by CIO United Automobile Workers President R. J. Thomas; UAW Vice President and labor's mayoralty candidate, Richard T. Frankensteen; John W. Gibson, Michigan State CIO President; and labor's candidates for Detroit Common Council, Tracy M. Doll, UAW-CIO Local 154, and Rev. Charles A. Hill.

The question of jobs dominated this Labor Day parade. The workers showed they are determined, come what may, to do away with unemployment. "WE WANT JOBS!" read hundreds of signs. "WE PRODUCED FOR WAR — WHY NOT FOR PEACE?" demanded scores of others. "IS WAR THE ONLY ANSWER TO UNEMPLOYMENT?" bitterly queried another prominent slogan.

Even Frank Hook, capitalist Congressman who spoke at the demonstration, was forced to take notice of these banners, when he echoed the workers' sentiments: "If we can produce to kill, we can produce to live."

NOT MERELY BEGGING

But labor was not merely begging for jobs. Sharp slogans offered a concrete program for their attainment. "JOBS FOR EVERYBODY — FOR THE 30-HOUR WEEK WITH NO REDUCTION IN PAY!" appeared on a Briggs Local 212 banner; and "OPERATE THE IDLE PLANTS UNDER TRADE UNION CONTROL!"

"THEY HAVE GUARANTEED PROFITS TO MANUFACTURERS — WHY NOT GUARANTEE WAGES TO WORKERS" read a huge banner of UAW Local 174. With slight modification this slogan was taken up by other locals. "A THIRTY PER CENT WAGE INCREASE," "BACK UP YOUR WAGE DEMANDS WITH ACTION," and "WE DID IT IN 1937 — WE CAN DO IT IN 1945!" were other banners which reflected the confidence and fight-

(Continued on page 2)

IN THE NEWS

Ghost Towns—1945

Reported as one of the first "ghost towns" of the current economic crisis is Mingo Junction, O. About 96 percent of the town's workers were laid off permanently after V-J Day, when U. S. Steel abandoned operations employing 1,400, leaving only 60 workers still employed in a washer plant.

* * *

Their Master's Voice?

A recent advertisement by Standard Oil of California boasts: "When Uncle Sam's army crashed into Germany, the generals knew what they wanted to do in the occupied section... they asked for one of our experts."

* * *

Free to Starve

"The War Manpower Commission abolished all manpower controls, leaving everyone free to go anywhere in search of a job or turn one down..." (The Progressive, Aug. 27).

* * *

No War Millionaires?

A United Press survey, published Aug. 25, revealed that "43 business organizations in the United States now boast membership in the billion-dollar club, compared with 32 on Dec. 31, 1941."

* * *

Who Won the War

Investors Syndicate recently reported that in June 1945 the average American wage-earner received only 89 cents in pay for each $1 received in June 1944. However, returns on capital investments stood at $1.18 in June 1945 as against $1 in June 1944.

* * *

The Same Difference

Business Week, Sept. 1, discloses its previous estimate of **potential unemployment was too low. "The top now looks closer to 9,000,000 than 8,000,000. Yet this doesn't mean fewer jobs: it just means more job-seekers."**

* * *

Watch This Rat!

Fascist Gerald K. Smith, after a dud meeting in Los Angeles: "I'll be back when thousands of unemployed will be walking the streets of Los Angeles, and then they will listen to me."

Big Business Tools Scheme To Scuttle Unemployed Aid

National Labor Congress Advocated to Meet Simultaneously With Capitalist Law-Makers

By Art Preis

Spurred by spreading mass actions of the unemployed workers and fear of growing demands for government operation of idle plants, Congress reconvened last Wednesday for the start of one of the most momentous sessions in its history.

Jerked from the midst of a two-month vacation begun as millions were being tossed out of jobs with no provisions for reemployment or adequate relief, the capitalist Congress is hastening to discuss further means for protecting Big Business, while providing labor and the returning veterans with as little as it can get away with.

Even as Congress reconvenes, the indignation of the organized workers at the callous manner in which they are being tossed on the unemployed scrap-heap or suffering huge slashes in take-home pay is steadily mounting, and breaking forth in one city after another in huge demonstrations.

MASS PRESSURE GROWS

So great has the mass pressure grown for decisive and adequate measures to provide full employment and decent wages, that even CIO President Philip Murray was impelled to warn the Senate committee hearing on the so-called

(Continued on page 5)

John G. Wright Starts National Lecture Tour

John G. Wright, Associate Editor of **Fourth International** and **The Militant**, starts a coast-to-coast tour this week, lecturing on "The British Labor Victory — Its Meaning for the American Workers." The tour begins in Boston on September 14 and, extending to the West Coast and back, will wind up at Pittsburgh on December 18.

A leading party educator and writer for many years, Comrade Wright is particularly distinguished as the translator and editor of the works of Leon Trotsky. He has recently completed the translation of "Five Years of the Communist International" by Trotsky, a monumental work dealing with the problems confronting the revolutionary movement after the First World War, replete with lessons for the historical period now opening up before us.

POLITICAL INSIGHT

In his lecture tour, Comrade Wright will deal with the background of the British Labor victory as well as with current developments resulting from it. **He brings to his subject a great store of historical knowledge and political insight, which will be of particular value to the many advanced workers throughout the country whose interest in international labor affairs has been aroused as never before by the smashing triumph of the Labor Party in the recent elections in Great Britain. Comrade Wright will draw**

(Continued on page 6)

Nigerian Strikers Win Demands

As a result of their recent militant strike, 150,000 Nigerian workers have won their minimum wage demands. They have forced the release of imprisoned strike leaders and lifting of the ban on two papers which supported the strike. For further details read "The Negro Struggle" by Charles Jackson on page 4 and "SWP's Nigeria Protest Receives Brazen Reply," page 6.

Wall Street The Real Victor In 2nd World-Wide Slaughter

It is six years since the German imperialist armies on September 1, 1939, invaded Poland, raising the curtain on the Second World War. The heads of the Allied powers answered the anxiety of the masses over the outbreak of slaughter by unloading all the blame on the "aggressor" nations. Were it not for the anti-democratic and ambitious nature of Germany, Italy and Japan, they said, war would not have broken out.

The Allied statesmen insisted their own motives were of the purest. They were fighting, they said, for freedom and democracy and an end to fascism. They repeated with few differences the lying catchwords and slogans utilized in the First World War to hide the sordid aims of the imperialist participants.

TROTSKYISTS TOLD TRUTH

Only the Trotskyists told the truth about the real cause of the war. The September 5, 1939, issue of **The Militant** (then called the **Socialist Appeal**) declared:

"This is NOT a war for and against the independence of Poland. This is NOT a war for and against 'democracy'—not one of the participating powers but rules the overwhelming majority of its subjects with sword and whip. **This war is being fought solely to decide which imperialist powers shall dominate the world.**

FRAUD OF IMPERIALIST 'PEACE'

"The assassination of the Archduke of Austria at Sarajevo in July, 1914 was not the cause of the First World War. The seizure of Danzig is not the cause of the Second World War. The First World War was fought to decide which powers shall rule the world. The victors dictated the bloody 'peace' of Versailles. **That 'peace' led directly to the Second World War. Another such 'peace' will lead directly to the Third World War.**

"Neither Hitler nor Chamberlain, Mussolini nor Daladier, Stalin nor Roosevelt, can bring peace to the world. Peace will come to the world only when the workers of the world take matters into their own hands, and throw off the bandits who rule over them."

HOUNDED AND PERSECUTED

Since the days of Lenin, Trotsky and his followers had consistently warned of the mounting danger of a second carnage if the working class did not end capitalism. Because of their warnings to the working class, the Trotskyists throughout the world were hounded and persecuted during the war by the capitalist politicians.

Hitler lined them up before firing squads. Stalin sent an assassin to strike down the world leader of Trotskyism. Roosevelt ordered his agents to bring the American Trotskyists into court. And while the President shipped millions of men overseas, although he had received office on the promise not to send the boys of America into any foreign wars, the Trotskyists who had told the truth about the war were railroaded into prison.

WHAT HAS WAR BROUGHT?

Has the Second World War ended in the establishment of peace and democracy as promised by the framers and supporters of the Atlantic Charter?

Europe, long the heart of world civilization, lies in shambles. The flower of her youth are rotting corpses. Tens of millions of families are torn asunder and wandering homeless. Inflation has lifted prices of the necessities of life far beyond the reach of the masses. Starvation and disease stalk the survivors of the destroying armies. Great cities are monuments of rubble. Industrial areas once capable of producing goods in unlimited quantities have been gutted by fire, bomb and looting conquerors.

The agricultural regions did not

(Continued on page 5)

DOBBS AND SIMPSON DEMAND JOBS FOR NEW YORK WORKERS

NEW YORK, Sept. 4 — Farrell Dobbs and Louise Simpson, Trotskyist candidates for Mayor and City Council, today issued the following statement:

The war workers and veterans were promised jobs in abundance after the war by the capitalist politicians. Leaders of the Democratic Party even promised 60 million jobs. This promise has turned out to be nothing more than the lying propaganda of capitalist politicians on the make. The cold truth is that jobs are being wiped out at a speed not seen since the depression of 1929-1933.

Unemployment, consequently, has now become a key question in the New York election. It cannot be evaded by any candidate seriously concerned about the welfare of the workers and their families. Every party must be judged in the light of its program or lack of program to provide jobs.

The Republican Party, the Party of the worst depression in America's history, offers nothing more than it did in the days of Herbert Hoover. Judge Jonah J. Goldstein, the Republican candidate, admits in his Labor Day address that "Peace and jobs are inseparable and there can be no real peace if millions are to go unemployed."

But what does Judge Goldstein offer? A promise to "leave nothing undone" to aid the workers. This Judge likewise promises to make it his "first duty to mobilize all our forces and resources."

Those with previous experience in the ranks of the unemployed

(Continued on page 3)

50,000 Demonstrate In New York For Jobs

By Bill Morgan

NEW YORK, N. Y., Aug. 29 — More than fifty thousand workers packed into the narrow streets on the east side of Madison Square here today in a gigantic demonstration against unemployment. The demonstration, first mass labor action here since Pearl Harbor, was under the leadership of the Greater New York CIO Council.

An hour before the demonstration was scheduled to begin, thousands of workers, marching under their union banners and with several contingents led by veterans of World War II, poured into 23rd Street chanting, "We want Jobs!"

It was a militant army of workers in a fighting spirit. The great numbers who responded to the CIO call exceeded all expectations. Long after the chairman, Joseph Curran, Stalinist president of the CIO council, opened the meeting, steady streams of workers were still pouring into the great crowd. On thousands of banners and signs, held aloft by strong, eager hands were inscribed the hopes and demands of the aroused workers.

"Jobs For All!" was the demand on the majority of banners and signs. "Vets Demand Full Employment!" and "Make Congress Act Now!" were slogans carried by many sections. One union column swung into the park bearing a huge banner with the slogan, "We Want Jobs at Union Wages!" A contingent of young boys and girls carried a long streamer with the words, "Support Youth's Fight For Security and Education!"

"LIKE THE OLD DAYS!"

As increasing numbers gathered to swell the ranks of the demonstrators, they were greeted with welcoming cheers and slogans shouted by enthusiastic and determined workers who looked proudly on the gigantic gathering as a sign of a new awakening of New York labor.

"It's like the old days!" shouted one husky warehouseman to a friend marching by with the furriers' union. "'Look!" replied his

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How I Pounded The Pavements Of New York City Looking For One Of Those "Sixty Million Jobs"

By Dinah Sanders

I can give you a first-hand picture of the unemployment situation in New York City since the "victory" whistles blew us into the streets.

When Wright Aeronautical so hastily dumped me with 41,000 other workers out of its plants, I didn't wait for the "peace" celebrations to die down before I started making the job rounds. I already had a pretty fair idea of what "peace" means to us working folks.

First I proceed on the basis of rumors, "Ford Edgewater is hiring... American Airlines is taking on people... General Electric needs workers..." Sounds as though it won't be too difficult.

But Ford Edgewater says it's not hiring — especially women. "Don't you know the war's over?" Clerical jobs at $25 a week, maybe... later.

Next, to American Airlines. The room is full, early in the morning. A uniformed guard shoves you rudely into a seat, or orders you to move if he doesn't like the way you look at him.

"NO KID GLOVES"

A youth dozes in his chair after waiting a couple of hours. The guard shakes him roughly: "No sleepin' in here, bud!" No more kid gloves! Workers now come a dime a dozen. Start pushing 'em around again, teach 'em quick who's boss...

Once more, no jobs for women except low-pay clerical work — maybe... later. Machinists, machinist helpers? No, we can get all the men we want for those jobs, at 60 cents an hour.

"Do you think people can live on 55 and 60 cents an hour today?" I ask. "Frankly, we don't expect them to live on it," the interviewer replies calmly. "We expect these jobs to be taken by boys and girls who are living at home and don't have to earn a living." I look around the room at the grimfaced fathers and mothers, job seekers.

MISERABLE CONDITIONS

For a full day I track down rumors of jobs at the American Export Airlines at LaGuardia field. After subway and bus rides and a three-quarter mile hike in the hot sun, I am herded into a shack filled with men and women. There is no place to eat, no water. I wait four hours for an interview. Then I am told the only thing open is a typist job at 55 cents an hour — 60 hours a week!

Someone living in Brooklyn says Victor Metal Products is hiring. So I drag myself out to Brooklyn. Sure, they'll hire me, as feeder: 50 cents an hour. I'll have to take the second shift, but that pays 6 cents an hour more. They have no reconversion problem out there, in fact, they're going to expand. They make the same metal tubes they did during the war, and pay the same wages they paid before and during the war. They even use the same unventilated rooms, the same unsanitary working conditions, the same "safety" devices, that is, pictures on the walls, telling you not to hurt yourself...

I try the USES. They tell me bluntly: "All we have are trainee jobs at 55 cents. Are you interested?" It is an awful comedown from 95 cents an hour. But I'm broke, tired and hungry, so I say hopelessly, "I'll take it."

My card says "trainee solderer" and directs me to Noma Electric Corporation. They don't need any more trainee solderers, but they'll "let" me laminate lenses. I tell them I'll report for work on Monday. This is Thursday and I figure I'll try meantime to find a decent job, but be on the safe side in case my "luck" holds.

JOBS—AT LOW PAY

I follow the want ads avidly. They don't paint such a dismal picture. There seem to be plenty of jobs. I spend an hour selecting, and once more start out hopefully. The first one says: "Girls, women, lt. fact. wk.; $23.75 to $35.50; 45 hrs., 5 d." Even $35 looks pretty good to me by this time, so I go up.

"Everybody starts at $23.75," I am told. "Automatic raises?" I ask. "It depends on you." "How on me? If I work hard, or my attitude is good, or what?" "It depends on you." "Then I might be working here six months from now and still be getting $23 a week." "It depends on you." The job is pasting on labels. I don't take it.

Another ad says "65 cents an hour to start." When I get there, all the 65 cent jobs are "gone," but I can start for 50 cents. Two other ads look promising, but — "we got all the girls we need."

By this time I'm broke enough to go down to Noma Electric. But all the jobs laminating lenses are gone. So I'm working stacking condensers for radio amplifiers — which is a story all by itself. I hear ten girls quit on my floor the day before I started work. By the time my first day is over, I know why.

Demonstrating in Chicago Loop for Jobs

Scene in Chicago as over 7,000 workers thrown out of their war jobs, protested August 22 against plant closures. They demonstrated in a mile-long torchlight parade through Chicago's Loop to City Hall, and wired President Truman their demand that 30 billions in unexpended war appropriations be used at once for severance pay. Acme photo.

Seamen's Wages Fixed Way Below War Level

NEW YORK, Sept. 4 — The Maritime War Emergency Board and the National War Labor Board in separate rulings last Friday eliminated wartime steaming bonuses for merchant seamen and allowed an increase of $45 per month in basic wages for all classifications. Both rulings become effective October 1. They stabilize seamen's wages at approximately 30 per cent below wartime earnings.

The MWEB not only eliminated steaming bonuses but reduced area bonuses from $5 per day to $2.50, and narrowed the coastal areas adjacent to Europe and Asia where such bonuses are paid. The attack bonus of $125 which is paid when vessels are sunk, or seriously damaged resulting in injury or loss of life aboard ship, was not changed.

During the war steaming bonuses, together with the $5 per day area bonus, averaged 100 per cent of the basic pay, which at that time was $100 per month for able seamen under terms of all standard union agreements on both coasts. (The Seafarers International Union and the Sailors Union of the Pacific, AFL affiliates, had some contracts for $110.)

EARNINGS CUT IN HALF

Elimination of the steaming bonus and slashes in the area bonus by the MWEB cuts seamen's wartime earnings in half. **Thus, instead of the $200 per month which an able seaman could count as his average monthly pay, exclusive of overtime, security watches, attack bonuses, etc., during the war, he would receive the $100 per month basic scale if no wage adjustment were made.**

The WLB, fearing a rank and file revolt of seamen as a result of this drastic pay slash, was forced to make an immediate adjustment in the basic wage scale, raising it from $100 to $145 per month. This "concession" was the bare minimum which the board thought possible under the circumstances. It simply amounts to a refund of $45 by the WLB from the $100 which the MWEB pulled out of the pay envelope of every able seaman.

GREATER LOSS FOR OTHERS

Other classifications, such as oilers, watertenders, deck engineers, machinists, quartermasters, bosuns and carpenters suffered a greater loss in pay by elimination of the 100 per cent bonus because their wage scales exceed $100 per month. However, the wage adjustment by the WLB granted them, too, only a $45 refund.

This skin game first hooked east coast seamen for an approximate 40 per cent pay cut when the MWEB reduced bonuses in the Atlantic Ocean run last July 15. At that time representatives of all maritime unions appealed to the WLB for a wage adjustment based upon the 55 cent hourly minimum wage scale. They further asked that the hours of work be reduced from 56 to 40 per week, thus making Saturday and Sunday work at sea payable at the overtime rate. If this had been granted by the WLB it would have brought seamen's earnings up to around $200 per month after elimination of war risk bonuses.

After mulling over the case for six weeks in consultation with the MWEB, the WLB finally handed down its decision which grants less than half what had been asked for by the unions. The WLB gave the following explanation for its action:

"Weighing all of the equities in the case arising out of the issues of substandard wages, overtime and the elimination of the bonus, and considering the fact that wage increase will not be retroactive and the prospect that no part of the increase will take effect for at least thirty days, the WLB is of the opinion that a fair and equitable determination of all the wages and overtime issues in dispute calls for an increase of $45 per month in the base rate for all classifications."

The WLB made no mention of the facts that seamen cannot maintain families ashore today on less than $200 per month, that unemployment which soon will sweep the industry can be met only by reducing the hours of work and increasing the manning scale aboard ship, that government subsidies poured into the industry far exceed what is necessary to meet these needs of the seamen.

The maritime unions immediately pointed out the inadequacy of the WLB wage adjustment. The Pilot, official paper of the National Maritime Union, said "this increase is a step in the right direction, but under no circumstances does it represent the union's full demand. We will continue to struggle for a forty hour week, etcetera, through collective bargaining."

SHIP-"OWNERS" RIGHTS

To "struggle through collective bargaining" in this case means to give recognition to the "rights" of ship-"owners" in this industry which has been built and is operated at public expense. Such recognition is a barrier in the way of any real struggle for more jobs and living wages because it allows these ship-"owners" to syphon off millions of dollars in government subsidies that ought to redound to seamen in the form of wages.

Higher wages can be won by the maritime unions. But this will come now as a by-product of the struggle for jobs and maintenance of the union hiring hall. **And this struggle, if waged successfully, must be centered upon the demand for government ownership and workers control in the industry.**

Build the Labor Party

50,000 Rally In New York City In Layoff Protest

(Continued from page 1)

friend, "there's more coming behind us!"

"Boy! Oh, boy!" a stocky young fellow with an NMU button on his coat shouted. "If only this whole demonstration would march to Washington we could get some action, believe me!" "You ain't kiddin,' Mac," said a huge Negro bus driver from the Transport Workers Union. "There's millions more who would join us from all over the country if we did that."

The CIO sound truck near the speakers' stand was playing patriotic songs but everyone was either talking to friends or reading. Many were studying the "Jobs For All" pamphlet sold at the demonstration by members and friends of the Socialist Workers Party.

"SOLIDARITY FOREVER"

Suddenly a union band, leading a long column of workers, broke out with "Solidarity Forever." The change in spirit was instantaneous. The crowd began to sing the words with vibrant voices. They turned from the CIO sound truck toward the union band and waved their signs and banners and sang louder and louder as new, young workers picked up the words to this powerful labor song.

A hush fell over the crowd as Curran opened the meeting.

Slowly, as the lengthy list of points in the CIO "reconversion" plan was read out, the workers grew restless, many even angry. Not one real fighting slogan, not one single plan to really create jobs was mentioned. Even the speakers on the platform, recognizing the militancy of the crowd, began to "pep up" their speeches with radical phrases and "tough talk."

CHEERS FADE AWAY

"If the bankers and owners of industry cannot make the system of free enterprise work," shouted Charles A. Collins, Stalinist leader of the Foodworkers Union — and here the workers prepared to cheer the expected answer — "We will go to Washington and demand that Congress make the system of free enterprise work!" The cheers faded away into silence and a few groans.

"We will follow the example of the British workers and vote for a Labor Party," shouted Stalinist Michael J. Quill, of the Transport Workers Union. Again the crowd was ready and anxious to anticipate his conclusion. "Yes, we will roll up 500,000 votes for O'Dwyer on the American Labor Party ticket!" Again silence and obvious disappointment. To vote for a Tammany Hall stooge on a Labor Party ticket was no comparison to the recent British elections.

But even though they felt letdown by the milk-toast program of their leaders, the demonstrators left with a renewed feeling of their organized strength, the might of their numbers, the fighting spirit of their ranks. This was but the first outpouring and mass action since Pearl Harbor. Every hint of militancy from the speakers was cheered to the echo. It gave promise that in the days to come the New York workers will come out on the streets in fighting formation — and for a fighting program.

Don't Need The Boss Press

ST. LOUIS, Sept. 1 — For the first time since August 16 when the AFL newspaper carriers, supported by the pressmen, went on strike here, St. Louis has a daily newspaper.

Four unions, including the CIO Newspaper Guild members who were locked out by the Post-Dispatch, Globe-Democrat and Star-Times, at noon today put on the streets the first issue of their own newspaper, The St. Louis Daily News, four full-sized pages complete with local and wire news and display advertising.

A 100,000 copy-press run was sold out within an hour.

For a Rising Scale of Wages To Meet Rising Living Costs!

TRADE UNION NOTES

By Joseph Keller

Lumber Strike Vote

Both the AFL and CIO lumber workers' union are taking strike votes in connection with current contract negotiations.

The CIO International Woodworkers executive board has initiated a national membership referendum on the question: "Are you in favor of giving the International Negotiating Committee authority to call a strike against all operators in support of our wage demands?"

In its statement, the executive board points out the vote is being taken on the insistent demand of the membership.

The NLRB proposed in violation of the law, to conduct a strike poll of the AFL Lumber and Sawmill Workers by mail, with ballots being sent to the employers, on the pretext that the board didn't have funds to conduct a regular vote in voting booths. Officials of the union pointed to the manner in which the miners' vote was taken at polling booths and threatened to take their own vote and strike without NLRB certification.

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Axing No-Strike Pledge

The number of local labor bodies which are putting the axe to the no-strike pledge is growing rapidly. Among the most recent are the AFL central labor unions of the Twin Cities.

Last week the St. Paul Trades and Labor Assembly and the Minneapolis Central Labor Union addressed a resolution to AFL President William Green demanding that the AFL renounce the no-strike pledge immediately.

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USES Wage-Cutting

At the recent Washington meeting of the CIO Executive Officers and Vice-Presidents a demand was issued that the U. S. Employment Service cease acting as a wage-cutting and open shop agency.

The CIO protested that the USES is being used to force unemployed workers to take jobs at drastically reduced pay and jobs which do not utilize their skills, under threat that refusal to take such jobs will mean denial of unemployment compensation.

"In many cases," said the CIO protest, "skilled workers who have been receiving $1 or more an hour in their past work, are being referred to unskilled jobs paying 50 cents an hour. Upon their refusal to accept this vicious wage cut, the workers are denied any unemployment compensation. Frequently the unemployment compensation benefits to which these workers are entitled are in excess of what they would earn at this substandard wage."

This protest points emphatically to the need for every union local to establish immediately a Union Unemployed and Placement Committee to represent its unemployed members and fight for their rights in organized fashion before the government agencies which are playing hand-in-glove with the employers to slash wages and bolster open-shop conditions.

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UAW 10th Anniversary

Ten years ago the United Automobile Workers Union was formed from a scattering of small AFL federal locals, with its main strength in such cities as Toledo and Flint. Last week, the CIO United Automobile Workers, largest and most dynamic union in America, boasting over a million members, celebrated its founding as an autonomous international union on August 26, 1935, when it had about 22,000 members.

More than any other union in the country, the democratic and militant auto union's history has charted the progress of the American working class during the past ten years of labor's rise to a new position of organized strength and influence.

The auto workers, small as they were in 1935, played a leading role in the formation of the CIO, fighting the AFL bureaucracy down the line. They were first to form their own international and then to help set up a national industrial union organization for the organized millions in basic industry.

Union democracy and the fighting methods which were founding policies of the UAW built the union to its present power. Its huge annual rank and file conventions are each an historic labor event. Its heroic battles — Toledo Auto-Lite in 1934, the Chevrolet strike of 1935, the tremendous sit-down strikes that swept General Motors and Chrysler in 1936 and 1937, the humbling of the Ford fortress in 1941 —these are the traditions that permeate the auto union ranks.

Today, the CIO auto workers are girding themselves for the next great battle, for full employment at decent wages, for permanent security, for independent labor political action. The recent primary victory of UAW Vice-President Richard T. Frankensteen as labor candidate for Detroit's mayor points the way to the next great UAW forward march — for the formation of an independent labor party.

Detroit CIO Marchers Seek Fighting Program

(Continued from page 1)

ing spirit of the marching workers.

But there was one note in the parade which was new for the Detroit workers, showing their great advance in political thinking. Half the parade was devoted to the call for the election of labor's own candidates. **The workers showed they have lost all confidence in capitalist politicians and know they can rely only on themselves to obtain full employment and security.**

This was the clear meaning of hundreds of signs calling for support to Frankensteen for mayor. "ELECT LABOR'S CANDIDATES," and "LET'S VOTE LABOR" read the slogans of Hudson Local, of which Tracy Doll is a member.

"LABOR NEEDS ITS OWN POLITICAL PARTY" was the slogan carried by Briggs Local 212 workers, who have learned by bitter experience that their demands are not taken seriously by the capitalist politicians in Washington, and unless they follow the example of the English workers and place their own representatives in legislative power they cannot hope to gain the promised 60,000,000 jobs.

That the workers are thoroughly fed up with the newspaper and radio ballyhoo of Big Business was best expressed in the slogan of the United Cafeteria, Restaurant and Hotel Workers Local 1064: "FREE ENTERPRISE IS FREE STARVATION!" This is an encouraging sign that the American workers, like their European brothers, are moving toward socialism.

Even UAW President Thomas was compelled to adapt himself to the advanced political slogans of the workers, when he set forth all the premises showing the necessity for labor's own party. "If we are turned down on the question of unemployment, it will become increasingly clear that the two old parties used their programs only for window dressing," shouted the demagogic Thomas.

Although he has bitterly opposed a genuine labor party, this "labor statesman" now warned: "Politicians in this country may find themselves in the same situation as Churchill in England" and "whether the manufacturers like it or not, we shall be represented politically." **He bellowed further that the mayor of Pontiac was a UAW member and "I cannot see why the mayor of Detroit should not be a member of our union."**

Even if Thomas and the other UAW bureaucrats fail to draw the necessary conclusions, there is no doubt that the Detroit workers are convinced that only an independent party of labor can begin to solve the problem of jobs and advance their struggle for decent living standards and security. **That was the heartening significance of today's great demonstration.**

UNITED STRIKE TIES UP THREE ST. LOUIS DAILIES

(Special to THE MILITANT)

ST. LOUIS, Aug. 21 — The AFL newspaper carriers have completely paralyzed the three capitalist dailies here, the Post-Dispatch, Star-Times and Globe-Democrat, by a militant strike which began August 16. The end is not yet in sight.

Because union pressmen, in complete solidarity with the carriers, have refused to go through the picket lines, the publishers have been unable even to print papers, let alone to get them distributed! Both the carriers and the pressmen belong to the International Typographical Union.

And now the St. Louis newspaper bosses are no doubt beginning to believe the old saying that "it never rains but it pours." The St. Louis CIO Newspaper Guild held a special meeting and unanimously passed a resolution that all reporters, re-write men, editorial writers and other locked-out editorial staff members must receive wages in full for the duration of the strike.

In the independent carriers' strike conducted in New York some weeks ago, "news hungry" citizens of more or less dippy persuasion went to the newspaper offices to get the latest dope — and "bootleg" news vendors were able to carry away large bundles of papers. That is impossible in the St. Louis strike because of the excellent action of the pressmen.

LITERALLY NO PAPERS

St. Louis is literally without newspapers and seems to be bearing up under the "ordeal" manfully. It is this cold, passive indifference by the overwhelming portion of the people that has the publishers frightened. Deprive this city for three months of the scandal sheets (so-called "news" papers) and a large part of it might be weaned away for good.

The papers are trying vainly to overcome this indifference. They own outright or have access to the main radio stations, through which they give out the "news" at half-hour intervals. They even have a once-a-day-reading of the ups and downs of Popeye the Sailorman and the adventures of "Awful Annie." Propaganda of the publishers disguised as "news" is handed out regularly, but only a few very vague statements of the strikers' side have been given.

PLOT BACKFIRES

Ironically enough what was doubtless intended as a strike-breaking decision of the National Labor Relations Board, has backfired on the Publishers. The NLRB said in effect that the Carriers Union does not "legally" constitute a collective bargaining agency "in the meaning of the Wagner Act" because the carriers "own" the routes.

The result is that the publishers are now prevented from referring the case to the tender mercies of the War Labor Board, or what some of the strikers refer to as the "extermination" (conciliation) department of the Bureau of Labor.

St. Louis carriers are striking mainly to compel this recognition of bargaining rights by the bosses. Collective bargaining however is no empty abstraction with the workers and their demand denotes a large number of grievances in the background. If they win — and we think they will— new struggles will develop rapidly on more concrete and specific issues.

The newspaper bosses here are in for a large number and variety of headaches from now on. As for us there is no set of bosses we would rather see take a trimming than those of the Poison Pen Prostitutes of the Plutocratic Press.

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Socialist Workers Party Holds Nation-Wide Meetings to Honor Memory of Leon Trotsky

NEW YORK

NEW YORK, Aug. 22 — Some 400 workers, members and sympathizers of the Socialist Workers Party, this evening packed Webster Hall here to pay tribute to the memory of Leon Trotsky, great Bolshevik leader and founder of the Fourth International, on the fifth anniversary of his death at the hands of a Stalinist assassin.

James P. Cannon, National Secretary of the SWP and founder of the American Trotskyist movement, spoke on "The Heritage of Trotsky and the Tasks of His Disciples." As Trotsky's closest political collaborator in the twelve years before the Bolshevik leader's death, Cannon described Trotsky's fundamental ideas of international revolutionary socialism.

These ideas, the speaker pointed out, have more force today than ever. For only through the program and world party founded by Trotsky will humanity escape the ravages of a third world war which, as the atomic bomb has already shown, will destroy all mankind. **"We used to say, 'Either Socialism or Barbarism.' Now we can be even more precise. Today, we must warn, 'Either Socialism or Annihilation'," Comrade Cannon declared.**

CANDIDATES SPEAK

Farrell Dobbs and Louise Simpson, New York Trotskyist candidates for mayor and city council respectively, paid tribute to Trotsky. (See **The Militant**, Sept. 1, for texts of their addresses.)

The meeting enthusiastically endorsed a message of solidarity to the Trotskyist co-thinkers throughout the world and gave a material token of their support by contributing $254 for the SWP's International Solidarity Fund to aid the needy fighters for world socialism in other lands.

A message of sympathy and revolutionary solidarity was sent by the meeting to Natalia Sedov Trotsky, widow of the martyred Bolshevik leader. The assembled workers pledged, "with you we will carry the Old Man's banner of the Fourth International to the final victory of world socialism."

MILWAUKEE

MILWAUKEE, Wis., Aug. 26—At a meeting to commemorate and honor the memory of Leon Trotsky, held here tonight at the local headquarters of the Socialist Workers Party, a group of workers and friends responded enthusiastically to the remarks of the speaker, Mike Bartell, organizer of the Chicago SWP.

Comrade Bartell pointed out the great loss to the revolutionary socialist movement, both of a loyal friend and comrade and a great leader and teacher of the working class, when Leon Trotsky was struck down by a Stalinist pickaxe murderer.

The speaker told how Trotsky, standing on the theoretical shoulders of Marx and Lenin, went forward to build the Fourth International, carrying on the struggle against Stalinism despite relentless persecution.

To an intent audience, Comrade Bartell concluded by saying, "Today we stand on the threshold of a new revolutionary struggle. History is placing before us Trotskyists a new opportunity. With the revelation of the atomic bomb, humanity could not survive another world war. It's either socialism or annihilation. We can be confident, however, that we will succeed."

TWIN CITIES

MINNEAPOLIS, Minn., Aug. 21—"We meet to pay homage and tribute to Leon Trotsky as an historical figure of tremendous dimensions, a world genius," Henry Schultz told an audience of 50 people here on the fifth anniversary of Trotsky's murder by the Stalinist GPU. "We hold a memorial meeting, not to idolize an individual, but to reaffirm the most fundamental concepts of scientific socialism for which Comrade Trotsky lived and died," the speaker said.

The meeting, under the auspices of the Socialist Workers Party, listened intently to a review of Trotsky's outstanding accomplishments as a Marxist theoretician, teacher and revolutionary leader, and as a friend and comrade to his co-workers. Comrade Schultz described his own personal experiences with Trotsky while he lived with him in Mexico just before Trotsky's death.

TROTSKY'S CONTRIBUTIONS

"Trotsky made his own contributions to Marxism. Among them, in partnership with Lenin, he worked out the mechanics of carrying through a successful revolution and proved them in a practical demonstration—the Russian Revolution," stated Comrade Schultz.

A special display of Duncan Ferguson's bust of Trotsky, an exhibit of many of Trotsky's best-known writings and a huge bouquet of brilliant red gladiolas was set against a black-draped background for the occasion. Trotsky's last words: "I am sure of the victory of the Fourth International. Go forward!", were displayed on a banner that spread across the entire front of the hall.

As chairman of the meeting, V. R. Dunne spoke of the need for funds to carry on the work for which Trotsky gave his life. In response, a collection of $40 was taken.

BOSTON

BOSTON, Aug. 24—Fifty workers attended the Trotsky Memorial Meeting here tonight under the auspices of the Boston branch of the Socialist Workers Party. Larry Trainor, organizer of the local SWP, spoke on "The Coming Struggle for Power," and pointed

LEON TROTSKY

out that the end of the second world war will not bring even temporary peace to the workers of the world.

American imperialism, he showed, did not fight the war to help the masses of Europe, but to crush and Balkanize the continent, while the American workers are already faced with mass unemployment and terrible blows to the "American standard of living." Trotsky's program of world socialism remains the only road for the workers of America and the world.

Comrade Daniels, chairman of the meeting, spoke on Leon Trotsky's life and great contributions to the international working class. He made an appeal for aid to the European Trotskyists, to which the audience responded generously.

LOS ANGELES

LOS ANGELES, Aug. 27—One hundred and thirty-five members and sympathizers of the Socialist Workers Party participated tonight in the Trotsky Memorial Meeting here on the occasion of the 5th anniversary of Leon Trotsky's death. The feature of the meeting was a showing of the documentary film, "Tsar to Lenin," recording the events of the Russian Revolution, of which Trotsky was co-leader with Lenin.

The memorial address was delivered by Myra Tanner Weiss, organizer of the Los Angeles SWP. "We meet five years after Trotsky's death," said the speaker, "not just to appreciate his contributions to the workers movement and his leadership but to carry forward the struggle for international socialism to which he devoted his life."

She pointed out that the great discovery of the use of atomic energy would destroy humanity under capitalism, but under socialism such forces as atomic energy would be utilized to lift mankind to new heights of comfort, health and culture.

TRIBUTE TO MARTYRS

Murry Weiss introduced the showing of the film "Tsar to Lenin" with a tribute to the socialist fighters who gave their lives in the first successful workers' revolution, and to the many martyrs of the world working class, who like Trotsky, sacrificed their lives to the cause of world socialism.

The assembled workers were inspired by the film which showed the actual scenes of Russia in 1917. They saw workers flock to the banner of Bolshevism, take power, and, with the Red Army, organized and led by Trotsky, successfully fight off the combined armies of invading imperialist powers and Russian capitalism.

BUFFALO

BUFFALO, N. Y., Aug. 25 — An audience of 75 persons, most of whom were aircraft and steel workers, were present at the highly successful Trotsky Memorial meeting held here tonight by the Buffalo Branch of the Socialist Workers Party.

The feature of the meeting was the showing of the film "Tsar to Lenin," an authentic motion picture record of the Russian Revolution led by the Bolshevik party of Lenin and Trotsky.

Bill Gray, Western New York Organizer of the Socialist Workers Party, spoke briefly on the life and accomplishments of the late Leon Trotsky. He pointed out that in more than forty years of service in the workers' cause, Trotsky had made great contributions in all fields of revolutionary activity. **"Trotsky's greatest achievement," the speaker said, "was the building of the Fourth International. Trotsky built anew the revolutionary parties despite the persecution of the traitor, Stalin."**

The chairman opened the meeting with an account of the assassination of Trotsky by Stalin's agent, Jacson. The Memorial meeting was held in the SWP's new headquarters, the "Militant Forum." The new and spacious hall was colorfully decorated for the occasion. An additional feature was the singing of revolutionary songs, concluding with the "Internationale." Many workers stayed on long after the meeting adjourned to discuss our program.

N. Y. Trotsky Memorial Meeting Message to Natalia Trotsky

We, members and friends of the American Trotskyist movement, the Socialist Workers Party, assembled in New York City at the Fifth Anniversary Memorial meeting to honor Leon Trotsky, send you our deepest sympathy and revolutionary greetings. We reaffirm our devotion to the principles for which he stood and pledge our unceasing devotion to the cause of world socialism for which he died.

While world capitalism in its death agony resorts to acts of barbarism more horrible than any in its bloody history, the proletarians and colonial slaves of the world are rising and preparing for the final conflict. In this great battle the ideas of Leon Trotsky will lead the revolutionary millions and his memory will inspire the victory. With you we will carry the Old Man's banner of the Fourth International to the final victory of world socialism.

YOUNGSTOWN

YOUNGSTOWN, O., Aug. 26—A Memorial Meeting in honor of Leon Trotsky, founder of the Fourth International who was murdered five years ago by an agent of Stalin, was held here tonight by 25 members and sympathizers of the Socialist Workers Party.

Comrade D. Lands of Cleveland, was the main speaker. He described the tremendous contributions of Comrade Trotsky to the international revolutionary socialist movement and the vital role which the Fourth International is destined to play in the realization of Trotsky's program.

The meeting sent a message to Trotsky's widow, Natalia Sedov Trotsky, stating that "Comrade Trotsky's genius and leadership are still guiding us and will lead without a doubt to a successful world socialist revolution. We pledge ourselves, together with you, to carry on the struggle for a Workers World, that struggle which was led by Comrade Trotsky."

DETROIT

DETROIT, Aug. 19 — An audience of approximately 50 workers honored the memory of Leon Trotsky at a memorial meeting held here tonight under the auspices of the Socialist Workers Party.

Irving North spoke on the life and ideas of Trotsky and described his outstanding role in the founding of the Soviet Union, the first workers' state.

Comrade North declared that the Fourth International and the Socialist Workers Party are a living memorial to Comrade Trotsky. His program and struggle will live on through the growth and activities of the Trotskyist party.

Two new members for the SWP were signed up at the meeting. A generous collection was made to further the work of the party.

FLINT

FLINT, Mich., Aug. 29 — The local branch of the Socialist Workers Party here tonight held a memorial meeting in honor of Leon Trotsky. An intent audience heard Jerry Kirk describe the life and works of Comrade Trotsky.

Comrade Kirk told of Trotsky's role in the October 1917 Revolution, his struggle against the Stalinist bureaucracy which led to the establishment of the Fourth International. The speaker showed that the Trotskyist movement is carrying forward the international communist program of the Bolshevik founders of the Soviet Union.

"The Revolution begun in October 1917, was only the beginning," said the speaker. "With Trotsky's program, we can be confident of the victory of the Fourth International in the winning of world socialism. We shall go forward."

NEWARK

NEWARK, N. J., Aug. 24 — The Socialist Workers Party here tonight commemorated the fifth anniversary of Leon Trotsky's death with a Memorial Meeting held at the Progressive Workers School, 423 Springfield Avenue.

Dorothy Lessing, Acting Organizer of the Newark SWP, gave a short biographical sketch of Trotsky's life. Following that, two reels of films taken during Trotsky's last years in Mexico were shown and commented on by Chris Andrews, one of Trotsky's secretary guards.

The memorial address was given by Bill Morgan, member of the editorial staff of **The Militant.** He pointed out that Trotsky's program was a simple one which could be understood by any workingman. He explained the Trotskyist program of world socialism, the only one which can avert a future of world destruction.

4th International Forges Ahead In Europe Despite Bitter Blows

(Continued from page 1)

has taken the government by surprise. De Gaulle does not dare initiate prosecution, because every one of the members of the leading committee of the PCI (Albert Demaziere, Max Clemenceau, Beaufrere, Maurice Laval) are all veterans of Petain's and Hitler's concentration camps with unchallenged records of unremitting struggle against Vichy and the Nazi occupation. **Forced out into the open, the government has also had to drop for lack of evidence, its charges against the arrested comrades. The campaign against "Hitlero-Trotskyism" is boomeranging against its Stalinist initiators. But the struggle of our comrades has only begun.**

Authorization for the legal publication of **La Verite** is still being withheld. Public meetings of the PCI are being dispersed by de Gaulle's police. The government has placed itself in the ludicrous position of recognizing the French Trotskyist party as legal, without granting it the right to a legal press, and without permitting it to exercise the right of free assembly.

The PCI is taking advantage of the partial victory achieved in the formal legalization of the party and the liberation of its imprisoned members and sympathizers by pressing forward with its campaign for full legality —for a free **La Verite**, for free assembly, for full rights to participate in the coming elections. **The PCI is also calling for a public hearing before a workers' jury on the slanderous charges made by the Stainists and their allies in the government. The French Trotskyists have taken the offensive against their persecutors.**

COMRADE MARCEL HIC

In the midst of its valiant struggle, the French Trotskyist Party has received the tragic news of the death of Marcel Hic, the heroic secretary of the Parti Communist Internationale, in the concentration camp at Dora, Germany. Comrade Hic had organized the party in the underground in 1940 and edited La Verite from that time on up to his seizure by the Gestapo. Joining the movement as a youth in 1933, Marcel Hic thereafter took a leading part in the French organization throughout its many struggles, gaining the love and respect of numerous working class militants. He was indefatigable.

As secretary of the party, he assumed innumerable tasks. Aside from his organizational duties and the editorship of La Verite, he was responsible for the trade union activity of the party, wrote its major documents, and was one of the leading members of the European Executive Committee of the Fourth International. It was in the course of this latter work, as the responsible editor of "Arbeiter und Soldat," the organ of the Fourth International illegally circulated among occupation troops of Hitler's Wehrmacht, that Marcel Hic, together with hundreds of sympathizers and friends among the German soldiers, was betrayed to the Gestapo by an agent-provocateur. The Gestapo feared his powerful work for fraternization. After his arrest in December, 1943, he was submitted to untold tortures, first at Buchenwald and later at Dora.

Even in these concentration camps he carried on consistent organized struggle for the interned militants, which brought him the heaviest penalties. He finally succumbed to the inhuman conditions imposed by the Nazis upon the inmates they considered most "dangerous." Fellow prisoners who knew him at the underground factories of Dora, and have managed to return, attest to his unflinching allegiance to our ideas to the very end. They speak of him with admiration as the exemplary Trotskyist leader whose memory will serve as an inspiration to the new generation of revolutionists.

We dip our banner in memory of this dauntless fighter of the Fourth International. The victory of world socialism will avenge his tragic death.

Belgian Trotskyists Redouble Activity

In Belgium, **La Voie de Lenine**, central organ of the Revolutionary Communist Party (Parti Communiste Revolutionarie), section of the Fourth International, was suspended by the government in April for an editorial calling for fraternization with the German workers. Our comrades of the PCR replied to this attack by publishing **La Lutte Ouvriere**, (Workers' Struggle) in the name of their Charleroi district, doubling the format and size of their suppressed paper.

In the crisis around the question of the return of King Leopold, the PCR led a tremendous demonstration at Charleroi, demanding the abolition of the monarchy and the establishment of a republic, calling for workers' control of industry and the setting up of a Socialist-Communist government. A manifesto issued by the PCR stresses the need to establish "control over a Socialist-Communist government by the workers themselves through their own committees and trade union organizations."

Stalinist attempts to frame up and slander our comrades have met with dismal failure. At the town of Gilly, the Stalinists held a mass meeting with an announcement: "We accuse the Trotskyists of having collaborated politically with the Nazis." The Trotskyists organized a counter-demonstration and entered the hall in force. The Stalinist chairman announced that there would be no debate. **The audience, responding in mass protest, would not be silenced until Comrade Jules Daerster, Secretary of the PCR, was given the floor. The Stalinists preferred to disband the meeting rather than meet the challenge of our comrades. Numerous rank and file Stalinists, disgusted with these tactics, openly declared their sympathy with the Trotskyists.**

The Belgian Trotskyists continue to gain in influence and strength among the miners and in industry in general.

Reports From Buchenwald Prisoners

Many of our comrades returning from the concentration camps in Germany, including the notorious Buchenwald camp, attest to the unbending conviction in the revolutionary internationalist sentiments among the German workers. In interviews they cite innumerable examples of solidarity they themselves experienced. Our comrade Beaufrere reports in an interview published in **La Verite**, that when a French chauvinist, upon returning to France, gave vent to vile diatribes against the German people, the whole camp was aroused to white hot anger. Even the French Stalinists published a reply, in a mimeographed copy of **L'Humanite**, under the heading: "There are two Germanies."

German Section Is Being Formed

A German section of the Fourth International is now in the process of formation, with many new forces coming from the cadres of the former Communist Party. One of its leaders, writing in the current issue of **Quatrieme Internationale**, theoretical magazine of the European Executive Committee of the Fourth International, says:

"The Third International was dissolved after the ideas of Lenin were first rooted out from its ranks. It's the great historic merit of the Fourth International that it rekindled once more the spark of the International of Lenin which was about to be extinguished. We German Communists will not have to hang our heads if we find discouragement in Germany on the question of aid from a genuine International. On the contrary. We shall be able to say: the International lives in spite of everything, despite Hitler, despite the war, despite imperialism, despite the degeneration of the party, despite Stalin. **The International lives and wants to help you, German proletarians, to finally fight and achieve your October."**

Holland Section Reestablished

After the German invasion, a wave of nationalism swept over the Dutch labor movement. The Social-Democrats, and the Stalinists after June 1941, gave up virtually every semblance of an independent existence, merging in the "National Front." All revolutionary forces opposed to the "National Front" worked through the Revolutionary Socialist Workers Party (RSAP) of Sneevliet, who together with a number of other leaders, fell victim to the Gestapo executioners. Later on the RSAP split into the "Spartacus" group which espoused ultra-leftism of the old Dutch tradition, and the Committee of Revolutionary Marxists. The latter developed along the lines of the Fourth International.

Not until virtually the cessation of hostilities in Europe, was it possible for the Dutch Trotskyists to establish contact with the other sections on the continent. The CRM is now working in active collaboration with the European Executive to establish a party of the Fourth International in Holland.

Diary of a STEEL WORKER

By Theodore Kovalesky

It sometimes seems to me that the workers' struggle is like a great river that rolls steadily onward toward the sea. It is like the Mississippi.

Out of the mountains, little springs bubble into streams and rivulets; they careen down the hillsides, twisting and turning, seeping into marshes, splashing into lakes, joining larger rivers, and finally pouring into the one great stream of the Mississippi that will take them all to their common destination.

The clear waters of the northern lakes, the red-stained brooks from the ore basins, the winter snows, and the spring torrents, all these fuse together in their common mission and together sweep on to their common end.

* * *

A couple days ago, I met a man out on the furnaces. I had seen him there before; I had worked with him once or twice, but somehow we had never had much chance to speak to each other. But this time, just a day or so ago, we began to talk as we sat, tired out and soaked with sweat from our work.

We spoke of the low wages of the workers and the dangers and discomforts of the job. We talked of the rising unemployment threatening us and our brothers. We spoke of the war and its atrocities, the flame throwers, the explosives, and finally of the monstrous atomic bomb that lays waste entire cities.

He said, "The war ended the depression. Without the war there never would have been jobs. Now that the war is finished, there will be no more jobs."

"Only a government of the working people will end wars," I answered. "The powerful countries of the world will fight again and bring total destruction to the world unless the workers take what is rightfully theirs and build governments that will live together in peace and brotherhood."

My friend smiled and said, "So you're a socialist! I kind of thought you were. I used to be in the Communist Party, myself. Been in jail a couple times for the movement."

We sat there until the ladles came about half an hour later. We sat and talked there at the end of the furnace floor as the sun went down over the trestle and the sky turned dark with smoke and dust and nightfall.

"We Spoke of the Class Struggle"

We spoke of the class struggle, of the shameful betrayals by the Communist Party that had once been so valiant in the movement. I told him of the Socialist Workers Party, the bearer of the revolutionary banner of today.

Finally he said, "I guess that's what I've been looking for all this time. I'd like to join!"

I thought of the streams flowing from all directions and joining the great Mississippi, flowing onward together to their common end.

* * *

There was another story, too, that I thought of. This one concerned three sailors in a bunkhouse, a lighted speck in the vast darkness of a mid-Pacific night.

Night after night they played cards and talked. There was Carmen, a young Italian fellow that I know, a Portuguese sailor, and one other.

Carmen told me, "One night one of the fellows—the Portuguese fellow—took me aside and said, 'Look, Carmen, I got a book for you. You take it in your bunk and read it. It's a good book,' and he handed me this book with a red back—**"The Revolution Betrayed,"** by Leon Trotsky. I looked over at the other fellow, and he nodded his head. He said, 'That's right, Carmen. You read it.'

"And that's the first I ever got interested in the movement, out there in the middle of the ocean."

So there too the rivulet flowed from the mountain springs into the great central stream of the revolutionary movement. And these streams are today bursting from the earth. No force can keep them below ground. The little trickles swell into rivers, into mighty, leaping torrents that fly toward the main stream, the great river that moves powerfully and inexorably through valleys and over plains in darkness and day to its destination, the Socialist Brotherhood of all mankind.

DOBBS AND SIMPSON DEMAND JOBS FOR NEW YORK WORKERS

(Continued from page 1)

may well wonder whether the capitalist Judge put up by the Party of Hoover means mobilize police clubs and tear gas. Judge Goldstein promises to seek the "active cooperation of all civic-minded people." The Judge shrewdly includes "bona fide" trade unions among the "civic-minded" but in the face of his utter lack of program to solve unemployment, one wonders if the spokesman of Hoover's Party doesn't really mean just the Wall Street bankers.

The Democratic Party has no more to offer than the Republicans. The Labor Day speech of William O'Dwyer, the former Prosecuting Attorney, is cut from the same pattern as the speech of Goldstein. The voters might well ask if the same ghost writer was hired by both Republicans and Democrats to cook up the campaign promises. "There can be no victory without full employment," orates O'Dwyer. "We are not fulfilling our sacred obligations if we do not provide jobs."

How O'Dwyer intends to end unemployment is a subject this former Prosecuting Attorney skillfully avoids. Can it be that O'Dwyer also has in mind the police club and tear gas treatment of the problem?

Against the Wall Street program of the capitalist Judge and Prosecuting Attorney, contrast the proposals of the Trotskyist candidates! Here is what we said at the beginning of the election campaign on the burning question of unemployment:

"A working class administration in the world's richest city can do a great deal to provide jobs for everyone. It can institute a program of public works. It can set up a sliding scale of hours for all city employes and for all city projects. It can join with the unions to force the employers to institute a sliding scale of hours. It can put pressure on Congress for federal legislation to provide a sliding scale of hours everywhere. Spread the work by reducing the number of hours each man spends on the job — but with no reduction in take-home pay!

WORKERS NEED LABOR CANDIDATES

"During conversion to peacetime production, the government protects the profits of the bosses. But the workers are to be left to starve. The workers' income must be insured during this critical period! Let the municipal government of America's largest city utilize all its power during conversion to force the employers to keep every worker on the payroll at full pay.

"Operate Government - Built Plants under Workers' Control!

"Industry in the New York area expanded enormously as a result of war production. Government funds built new plants and increased the capacity of old ones. The capitalist candidates remain completely silent while Wall Street takes over these plants and improvements financed out of taxes from the pockets of the poor. **Factories Wall Street doesn't want are being closed down. These plants could produce peacetime goods in vast quantities. End the dire shortage in household goods! Operate the idle factories!"**

"The Downfall Of Browder"

The following excerpts are from a speech delivered by James P. Cannon, National Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, at a mass meeting held August 3, Webster Hall, New York City, to explain and expose the Stalinist shift from Browder to Foster.

By James P. Cannon

What has transpired in the ranks of American Stalinism in recent weeks is something more than a "change of line," as they say. It is a confession of failure of a policy carried out in the United States by Browder, but inspired and directed from Moscow: the policy of selling out the American workers in the interests of the Soviet bureaucracy, of harnessing them to the imperialist war machine, and of attempting to represent that policy as service to the workers and to the cause of socialism.

The Stalinist party, which during the current war has been the most enthusiastic advocate of the cause of the imperialists, the worst enemy of the workers, the most criminal strikebreaker, did not arrive at this depth of degradation and treachery at one step. When the bureaucracy in the Soviet Union consolidated itself on the basis of the reaction, which set in after the failure of the German revolution in 1923, they began to renounce the theory and practice of international revolution in favor of a new theory of socialism in one country.

Trotsky Warned the Workers

Trotsky and his collaborators, the best of the leaders of the Russian Revolution, warned the workers of Russia and the world that this theoretical revision of Marxism, this turn from internationalism to a narrow-minded national policy, would result in the downfall of the Communist International and the social patriotic degeneration of all the parties. That prediction seemed remote and far fetched in those days, but how truly it was fulfilled. Year by year, step by step — once the Comintern, and the American Communist Party with it, got off the theoretical rails of Marxism — it departed further and further from the original program of the Communist International. This theoretical deviation led to a complete betrayal of the interests of the workers of the world in the second imperialist war.

These traitors counted upon the hysteria of patriotism and repressions of the government, and the befuddlement of the workers, to give them the opportunity to dispose once and for all of that hated group of Trotskyists who remained true to the ideas of Marx and Lenin, true to the ideas of communism. And for a time it appeared that they might have success. The leaders of the American Trotskyist movement were finally imprisoned. But the enthusiasm of the workers for the war and for patriotic strike-breaking, did not measure up to the expectations of these finks at all. Quite the contrary. The American workers accepted the war very sullenly. They had not forgotten World War I and they already had in their minds the specter of World War III. And they did not believe the workers should surrender all their rights during the war.

They maintained the right to strike in case after case, and to the great surprise of the Stalinist strike-breakers and super-patriots, great numbers of workers manifested sympathy and admiration for the genuine communists in this country, the Trotskyists of the Socialist Workers Party. Union after union gave us moral and financial support. There was so much sympathy for us, the government did not deem it expedient to keep us in jail too long. And the net result of the war experience has been that the Socialist Workers Party, instead of being crushed and driven out of existence, gained by leaps and bounds, precisely in the mass workers' unions in the country where the Stalinists formerly had been so powerful. The Stalinist traitors finally had to realize that they had over-played their hand a little bit. Browder is the scapegoat for this mistake.

Workers Leave Stalinist Ranks

They made a great success in Washington. They even did pretty well in Wall Street. Even J. Pierpont Morgan, if he didn't accept Browder's offer to shake hands, accepted Browder's offer to grovel before him, and said, "Good boy, that is all right." But the Communist Party began to lose thousands and tens of thousands of militant workers, and tens of thousands of Negroes whom they had deserted and betrayed in the war. And they began to realize that if they wanted to stay in business as a bargaining agent for Stalin, they had better repair their fences and get an organization together that would have some real influence among the workers. **That is the real reason for the so-called change of line in the Stalinist party, in the course of which a little man named Browder, who was standing on the stair, wasn't there anymore.**

The order for cutting off Browder's head came straight from Moscow via Paris. You know the Comintern was dissolved, so instead of sending cables direct from Moscow, now they send letters to Paris and print them in a magazine and transport them by boat to the United States. But the authenticity of the direction, the origin of it in Moscow, was known to all the dearly beloved collaborators of Browder in the National Committee of the Communist Political Association.

And strangely enough, every single one of the national and district leaders of the Communist Political Association, every editor and organizer, every functionary and every flunkey, who in May, 1944 had voted unanimously for Browder as the leader of the party, as the representative of Marxism — every single one, without exception, voted in July, 1945 against Browder as the representative of what they call "revision of Marxism." But that really isn't what it was at all. Browder is a victim of Stalinist reconversion. He was caught in the cutback to peacetime production.

The Case of Robert Minor

Another victim of the cutback is a very prominent scoundrel of an especially unattractive type, named Robert Minor. Robert Minor was leaning too close to Browder, was his alternate and deputy when Browder was in Atlanta. Minor was one of those functionaries in the Stalinist hierarchy who combined the repulsive traits of sycophancy towards those above him with brutality toward those below him, each in the highest degree imaginable. Minor was one of the most despicable of all the functionaries of the Communist movement who entered into the service of Stalin.

Browder once told a story about Minor in one of the old faction fights. I always remembered it because it was the only witticism I ever heard this pompous jackass perpetrate. He said Minor used

JAMES P. CANNON

to be an anarchist, which is true, if I may say so without meaning to offend any anarchists who may be present. But, said Browder, as an anarchist he had the idea, which is part of the anti-political teachings of anarchism, that politics is a very dirty business; and then Minor became converted to communism without changing his idea of the nature of politics (and engaged in it) in a very dirty way. **It was fitting that Minor and Browder should be the two chief partners in that game of crime and betrayal, which passed as political leadership in the Communist Party. And it is rather poetic justice that they should go out together.**

I was reading the other day, in preparation for these remarks, a book which previously had not come to my attention. It is a very well printed official record of the convention of the Communist Political Association of May 1944. Looking through this volume I could see that in May 1944 one leader after another was called on to speak at the convention. Browder spoke in favor of his policy; then Minor, then Dennis, then Williamson. Then all the rest of the trained seals of the Communist apparatus got up, one after another, and expressed complete approval of everything Browder had said. I turned from that book to the file of **Daily Worker's** containing the recent discussion and convention reports. The very same people who spoke so devotedly in echo of Browder in 1944 said the exact opposite in 1945. All, without exception, denounced Browder as a revisionist of Marxism, as a peddler of bourgeois ideas, etc. And Browder who had unanimous support in May of 1944, had not a single vote in July of 1945.

What Kind of Leaders Are They?

Now, what kind of a movement is it and what kind of leaders are they who can be unanimously elected one year and unanimously rejected the following year without any change on their part whatsoever? That is the type of leader who is not elected, but is appointed from above. Such people are all the same type; they are fit to run a bureaucratic machine but never to lead a real struggle. I can't imagine anything more personally degrading than to be in a formal position of "leadership" by the sufferance of another; to have all the external trappings of office and yet to know that there is nothing real or solid about it; to know that the whole thing is a fake and build-up; that one does not represent a real movement; that his position is not based on the confidence of comrades gained in struggle, but by appointment of someone higher in power. That is the fate of Browder, as it has been the fate of all others who succeeded the genuine leaders of the early communist movement.

Stalin needed people of this type, not only in central positions, but all the way down the line. In the course of years of struggle, all the independent, honest and revolutionary types of worker leaders, who could not fit into the machine of Stalin, who could not obey the instructions to betray the workers, were expelled from the party, slandered, hounded, and their places taken by manufactured leaders. These leaders have no personal authority, no independence. When Stalin wishes to depose one of them as a scapegoat, it is not necessary to do more than send a letter, a note, and the job is completed.

In sacrificing Browder they have tried very hard to make it appear that this time there is really a change of line; that Foster, who has been dug up out of the reserve list and placed in Browder's seat, really represents something different than Browder; and that they are not going to betray the workers any more. They say openly now that the whole policy of Browder was a policy of betrayal, but "we are going to change that now. We are going to be honest for a change. Foster is the representative of real Marxism."

What did Browder do? Browder's policy was to send the workers into the war; to tell them they should follow the leadership of the Wall Street gang; that they had a vital stake in the war adventures of the imperialists; that they should not strike, they should not protest; that they should hunt down and even lynch the incorruptible communists who called upon the workers to defend their rights even in the war. Under Browder, the Stalinists tried to break every strike of the workers, no matter how great were the wrongs.

What Did Foster Do?

What did Foster do? Foster supported that whole basic policy throughout the war, and even today his first pronouncement upon entering the place of Browder calls for the same program supporting imperialist war in the Orient. On what grounds? As a war for the liberation of the colonial peoples! Never could a more scoundrelly lie be told than that. Can you imagine a more monstrous lie than that — to say that the imperialist war machine is going into the Orient, burning and destroying the people of the Orient, for the purpose of their liberation?

Yet that is the first plank in Foster's program. Foster pledges no strikes while the war is going on. Just last week there was a strike of the workers at the Wright Aeronautical plant in New Jersey. The Stalinists in this plant, under the leadership of Foster, acted in the strike as finks and strikebreakers, just as they acted under Browder in the Detroit strikes, in the coal strikes and in all others. In principle the policy of Browder and Foster is the same thing. They both lie and they both betray.

But Browder wants to pledge also for the future, beyond the present war in the Orient. On the other hand, Foster says — and herein comes his "radicalism" — "That is going too far. That," says our corrupted Marxist, "that is revision and I won't stand for it." What a travesty, what a farce, what a deception of the hundred times deceived workers in the Stalinist Party! The whole thing is a skin game; an attempt to continue the same policy with a change of faces and the promise that in the future, perhaps, if Stalin gets into a conflict with Truman, they may get a little more radical as a form of pressure on Truman.

This sham battle between Foster and Browder appears to me like an argument on the price of virtue between two cut-rate prostitutes. Foster says, "After the war we should make a small service charge." That is about the worth of the disagreements between them.

The fundamental reason for all this stage play, for this chopping off the empty head of Browder, for sacrificing the little man who wasn't there, is to call a certain halt to the idea that the American Communist Party, which is an agency of the Soviet bureaucracy, should become too completely merged with the governmental apparatus in this country.

Only A Bargaining Agency

Stalin has need of the Communist Party in this country, as in other countries, for only one purpose — as a bargaining agency in the diplomatic conflicts with the various imperialist powers. But in order to fill this mission the Communist Party must keep a certain influence over the workers. If it becomes a stench in the nostrils of every independent militant, as the CP did under Browder, then it has no bargaining power left. In order to keep it from becoming completely discredited, they had to go through this comedy of repudiating Browder, to denounce him as a "revisionist." **They had to dig up Foster from the reserve list and put him forward as a labor leader who is in favor of strikes sometime in the future and so on, in order to overcome the demoralization and discouragement in their own ranks and to find a new basis to deceive the awakening militant workers.**

The necessity for this stratagem was emphasized in the reports of the district organizers. One report after another explained: "Under the policy we have been following we have been losing influence in the trade unions, and the Trotskyists have been gaining with their policies. As we have been fighting against strikes and following the government too uncritically, the Trotskyists who kept agitating on the same program as before have been making gains. We have got to correct our policy a little in order to head off the Trotskyists."

That is the real basis for their change in leaders and their so-called change of line. By adopting a new facade and a little more radical phraseology they hope to gain a new credit with the militant workers of America. They are coming too late. The crimes of Stalinism have gone too far and are too widely known. Corruption has entered too deeply into the bones and marrow of that party for anyone to have any realistic hope of reforming it. They cannot and do not mean a return to the policy of the proletarian revolution. The degeneration of the cadres of that party, of its officials, national, district and local, is not only political; it is moral too. They have not been able in 17 years, since they expelled us from the party, to train any new cadre of leaders. So corrupt, so sterile is the life of the Stalinist Party that the whole party has to be dominated and controlled by the same old gang of case-hardened hacks. Old functionaries and pensioners that we haven't heard of for years reappear, crawling out of forgotten corners of the party like cockroaches out of old woodwork. This is the "new leadership" which is supposed to regenerate the party.

Cannot Train New Leaders

Stalinism with all its power and all its money can train only functionaries, never independent leaders; whereas the Socialist Workers Party, which began as a small persecuted group, in 17 years has developed on a national scale a whole new staff of younger leaders who have been trained exclusively in our movement. They have come forward and developed their capacities in the free democratic atmosphere of an honest revolutionary party. When our 18 leaders were put in prison for a whole year the party did not lack for qualified younger men to take their places.

Our whole party life has been a constant process of selecting, educating and training new people, younger and more revolutionary than any the Communist Party can dream of. **These Stalinist functionaries, who have been selling principles for more than 17 years — how can anyone have the slightest hope that they will turn revolutionary, suddenly become honest and virtuous again? That is impossible. A political error can be corrected, but moral degeneration has to run its course. These people are traitors to the marrow of their bones.**

They betrayed the United States workers in the war. They betrayed the workers of Europe. They betrayed the Negroes of this country in the most shameful and cynical manner. Then, on top of that, at the very moment when they are promising to be good and honest and revolutionary again, we read of this cynical and despicable alliance of the Communist Party in New York City with Tammany Hall. They put up Davis, this cynical traitor to the Negro people, as a candidate of Tammany Hall.

They say to the people of Harlem: "We and Tammany Hall will fight for your freedom and liberties." Could there be a greater cynicism, a more shameful betrayal than that? No, you cannot hope for any regeneration of this thoroughly corrupt party.

It is not a question of "revisionism" at all. It is a question of complete degeneration, complete abandonment of vital principles of the proletarian revolution, which are represented by Marxism.

We Are the Real Communists

We are the real communists, the Trotskyists. And in that we are the polar opposites of the Communist Party of Stalin and Browder and Foster and all the rest of them. Some people make a great mis-identification; some people are inclined to consider Stalinism and Communism as the same thing. That is false to the core. In one case it might be passed off as ignorance of the general public who have not studied the question closely. In the other case it is conscious misrepresentation and mis-education. They point to the American Communist Party and Browder and Foster and say, "that is communism," in order to discredit the very idea of communism in the eyes of the workers. That is not true. We denounce the Stalinists, not because they are communists but because they have betrayed the cause of communism.

The Socialist Workers Party goes back straight to Lenin and Trotsky. We uphold the old program. We carry on the great tradition of the Russian Revolution and the Comintern. All those members of the Communist Party who may have been shaken out of a coma by the present discussion, who are looking for the real party of communism, must come to our party and they will find it there. Our party stood up under persecution in the war and grew stronger in the struggle. We build our party on the organizational principles and methods of Lenin. The spirit of our party is the spirit of socialism. Socialism is the only salvation of humanity. The Stalinists are the greatest obstacles in the fight of the workers toward socialism.

Join the Socialist Workers Party!

The Socialist Workers Party is confident of the future in Europe, in the colonial countries, and in America too. The workers of starving and tortured Europe and the great colonial peoples — they see America today as the most predatory of all the imperialist powers, casting a dark and menacing shadow over the whole of humanity. That is the America these people see throughout the world today.

But we shall make it our task — and we invite you to join us in it — to show the people of the world another America, a different and better America — the America of the people, the America of the workers, the America of the proletarian revolution, which will lead the way to peace and cooperation of all peoples and all nations in the Socialist United States of the World.

VOTE TROTSKYIST!

In the Coming New York Elections

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

ORGANIZATION OF THE WAR VETERANS BY THE TRADE UNIONS!

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

The NEGRO STRUGGLE

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

by CHARLES JACKSON

Nigerian Workers Set the Tune

We so often find it necessary here to criticize the policy or tactics of Negro organizations and Negro leaders that some of our readers may think that finding fault is our only vocation. In different words they have said: What the hell do you want. Apparently you would not be satisfied with Paradise wrapped up in cellophane and served on a silver platter by Hedy Lamarr.

The truth of the matter is, though, that one can learn just as much from a defeat as from a victory and, unfortunately, during this past period of imperialist war and increased ruling class oppression, there have been more defeats in our struggle for economic, political and social equality than there have been victories. Every success is preceded by a failure however, so it behooves us during every setback to mercilessly criticize every false policy and every false leader so that we can thereby profit as much as possible from every loss. Thus our policy of criticism, which we will often have to follow right up to the time of the socialist revolution, is one of necessity and not of choice.

It makes us happy this week, however, as the pendulum swings in the opposite direction, to discuss not a defeat and a false policy but a great victory and a correct policy. It is the glorious victory of the ten-week general strike carried out by 150,000 Nigerian workers under the heel of British imperialism in West Africa.

Although religiously ignored by the bought press, the strike was news of headline importance to both colored and white workers of the world. These African workers, although subjected to all types of official pressure, intimidation and terrorization at the hands of the British slavedrivers, nevertheless carried on a solid offensive struggle. **They called for and received support of workers in the other colonies and in America; and the British leeches were forced to grant every demand in order to avoid a general colonial uprising.**

STRIKERS WIN DEMANDS

The strikers were granted their demand of a minimum wage of sixty cents a day (the previous rate of exploitation had been even worse) and the strike leaders, previously jailed, were freed. The ban was lifted on the two papers published by Nnamdi Azikiwe which had supported the strike and he was assured protection. His printing facilities and even his life had been threatened by colonial agents if he continued to editorially support the strikers. **The British governor was forced to promise payment to all the strikers for the ten weeks they had to stay out before their demands were met.**

Needless to say, there was great rejoicing throughout Africa and the workers, following their militant trade union leadership, made plans to press forward again in the near future for further gains.

A Manifesto appealing for continued unity in the future struggles concluded: "We can send the workers no better message than this which Karl Marx, the Jesus Christ of the working class would undoubtedly have sent them if he were in this country today. . . namely, Workers of Nigeria, unite!"

Without a doubt, this concession was gained because all the workers followed their militant trade union leaders. Even highly skilled workers like the nurses and the office workers came out on the general strike in solidarity with the unskilled masses. This victory can be contrasted to the ineffective struggles that have been carried out by the misleaders of India such as Ghandi with his passive, non-resistance policy. **Let the Negro people here follow this example by joining their struggle with that of the militant trade unions instead of going along with the secure Negro big shots who are only interested in increasing their own prestige.**

MILITANT LEADERSHIP

Another significant lesson was demonstrated when the Nigerian workers saw every instrument of government attempt to beat down the strike. The struggle was conducted against the ruling class government and it was won. It was no accident that here in this industrially more backward colony the workers were forced to adopt methods that signify greater political advancement than those here in America.

Of course the colonial people can win their liberation only in alliance with the workers of the imperialist nations in Britain and America in their struggle to overthrow the rotten capitalist system at home. Our part of the job lies at home in ever increasing militant action to gain complete equality for the Negro here and to obtain economic security for all working people.

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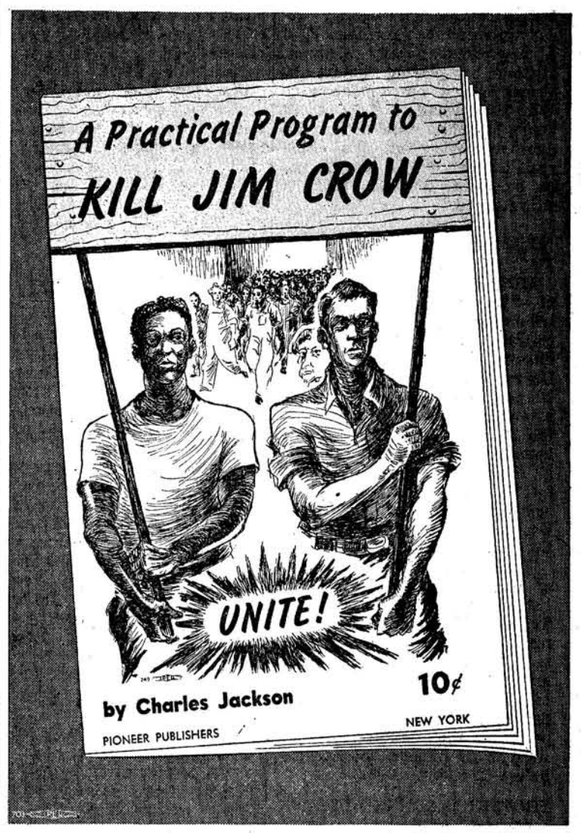

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Native Fascism — V

How Fascist Demagogues Hope To Ensnare War Veterans For Assault Upon Labor

By Joseph Hansen

America's native fascists are greatly concerned about winning the war veterans to their program. The would-be dictators realize that in the post war period the veterans will constitute one of the strongest political forces in the country. Consequently early in the war they set their political sights on the soldiers.

Among their first steps in this direction were appeals to the mothers of the youngsters being sent over-seas. Although the native fascists all supported the imperialist war, they made demagogic appeals to the anti-war sentiments of these mothers. They began organizing women along fascist political lines.

"WOMEN'S WHITE HOUSE"

In Detroit, for instance, Eugene Segal, staff writer of the Scripps-Howard chain, reports that an "old and handsome 40-room mansion at 8127 E. Jefferson Avenue" has become known as the "Women's White House" because of its use as a center for fascist activities among the women. Here groups allied with the American Nationalist Party of ex-Senator Robert Rice Reynolds and the America First Party of G. L. K. Smith meet regularly. A "polite social level" is maintained at these gatherings. "Every other week, on Fridays, Mrs. Blanche Winters, who is identified with mothers' organizations, holds teas at the mansion. **These are handsomely appointed affairs, with fine foods, and women in evening gowns serving. It's a mystery who pays for them."**

These socialites presume to represent the women of America in demagogic demonstrations appealing to the general hatred of war. They adopt resolutions opposing conscription and have organized demonstrations in Washington D. C. and San Francisco. Such women served as a convenient blind for the native fascists in making their first appeals to the soldiers.

TYPICAL LEADER

A typical woman leader among these native fascists is Mrs. Lyrl Clark Van Hyning of Chicago, head of "We, the Mothers, Mobilize for America, Incorporated." With plenty of funds at her disposal, she dresses well and is known for her nervous energy. When Smith led a delegation of these women to San Francisco she proposed and signed a petition to Congress attacking the Jews.

This group publishes a four-page monthly, "The Women's Voice." The policy of this fascist organ is laid down as follows:

HOMER MAERTZ

"Rather than attempting to storm forts by brute strength, this paper is beginning as a mental gadfly, buzzing about to prick here and there, never revealing its plans... By means of wit, satire, understatements and hints—lightning flashes rather than long diatribes—implant your sting, then buzz away... Let your mailed fist be most often sheathed in the velvet glove."

But more attractive bait than the "protests" of such "mothers" is needed to lure the veterans. G. L. K. Smith, one of America's leading native fascists, is at present angling for veterans' support with a proposal "to get them each at least $1,000 for a year or more of service."

VETERANS' ORGANIZATIONS

Smith has organized two veterans' organizations, the "Nationalist Veterans of World War II" and the "Committee of Veterans of World War II." Smith's line for these organizations is cleverly designed to appeal to the veteran's outrage at unemployment. You "have been virtually deserted by our people," he tells them. You "belong to the Lost Battalion."

Joe McWilliams, the Yorkville tough better known as Joe McNazi, is distributing a "Veterans' Reconstruction Plan," in which he calls for gifts amounting to $7,800 for war veterans.

The type of membership sought by native fascists is indicated by the fact that George Vose, head of Smith's veterans' outfits is trying to recruit among the membership of the United Sons of America, an offshoot of the Ku Klux Klan.

The native fascists, aping the pattern laid down by Mussolini and Hitler, hope to organize the veterans into hoodlum gangs for use against the labor movement. One of Smith's associates, Homer Maertz, is already "recruiting bands of terrorists," according to Eugene Segal. Maertz was a delegate to the first national convention of the America First Party in Detroit, August 29, 1944. He presented a resolution calling for the sterilization of all Jews in the United States.

HOMER MAERTZ

A dapper, mustached Chicago vandal, Maertz served a six-month jail sentence in 1941 for smashing windows of Jewish-owned shops. At present Maertz "is traveling around the country, organizing sluggers and hoodlums into action groups," says Segal. "He also has frequent conferences in Detroit with leaders of the old Ku Klux Klan and the United Sons of America."

During the war the fascist hoodlums were quiescent. The Ku Klux Klan, for instance, was thought by many to have died out. It is again reviving, however. Last week in New Jersey the Klan burned two fiery crosses. The first cross was burned August 9 on Thatcher's Hill in Hunterdon County. The second was burned August 22 close to a summer camp known as Faro's Grove. These are the first crosses burned since last May when the Klan burned a cross on the site of a Negro housing development in Hamilton Township near Trenton.

On April 10, Elmo Roper, director of the public opinion poll conducted by **Fortune** magazine, warned that the Ku Klux Klan is reviving all over the nation. He declared that anti-Negro sentiment has become a major problem in the North as well as the South and that anti-Semitism has spread everywhere.

FASCIST SMITH'S PLAN

Meanwhile G. L. K. Smith has announced plans for an anniversary party for the America First Party to be held Sept. 23 at the Celina, Ohio, fairgrounds. While in Cleveland "to confer on plans," he declared August 29 that nationalism would eventually control the U.S.A. All the nationalistic groups he predicted, would "flood into a Nationalist Party" in the chaotic postwar period.

According to the capitalist press, Smith announced a "postwar recovery" plan which would combine the "best features" of Father Coughlin's National Union for Social Justice, the Townsend Plan, money reform, Farmer Guild, Huey Long plan, and the California "Ham-and-Egg" movement.

If the native fascists succeed in uniting their ranks and in luring the veterans into acting as shock troops, they can deal terrible blows to the labor movement and even establish a fascist state in America.

THE END

Maertz "Investigated" Socialist Workers Party

America's native fascists understand that the Trotskyists offer the only serious leadership in the struggle against their bid for power. Homer Maertz, for instance, a lieutenant of G. L. K. Smith specializing in the organization of terrorist gangs, carried on a scouting expedition against the San Francisco Local of the Socialist Workers Party last April.

He was in San Francisco assisting G. L. K. Smith in organizing a demagogic demonstration against the United Nations Conference. He appeared at SWP headquarters, claimed he was at the Conference "seeking the autographs of great personages," and bought a copy of every piece of literature on the display stand. He said he represented the "Pioneer News Agency" of Chicago.

The San Francisco comrades describe him as follows: About five feet ten inches tall, slight of build, dark brown hair, toothbrush mustache. He appeared highly nervous, and avoided discussion on political topics.

An August 24 dispatch in the Scripps-Howard papers claims Homer Maertz was one of the 125 delegates at a Congress of Monetary Reform Organization held in Detroit last week. This Congress was held at the "Women's White House," a notorious gathering spot of Detroit's native fascists, 8127 E. Jefferson Avenue. Speakers at the Congress blamed Jews for the troubles of the world. "Donald Lohbeck, secretary to Gerald L. K. Smith," according to the report, "invited delegates to a special meeting conducted by Smith in Detroit's Barlum Hotel last Sunday."

Billings Applies For Civil Rights

Warren K. Billings, who together with Tom Mooney figured in the Preparedness Day frame-up of 1916 which served as part of the anti-labor campaign preceding America's entry into the First World War, applied this week in San Francisco for restoration of citizenship. Billings lost his civil rights upon being convicted.

Although the Mooney-Billings case has aroused mass protests from world labor since its inception, the two staunch working class fighters had to languish 23 years in prison before they were finally pardoned by the Governor of California in 1939.

AIDED THE 18

When, as part of the anti-labor campaign that prepared for America's entry into the second imperialist holocaust, 18 leaders of the Socialist Workers Party were sentenced to imprisonment at the Minneapolis trial of 1941, Warren K. Billings leaped to their defense. He joined the Civil Rights Defense Committee, speaking and writing in behalf of the 18 up to the moment of their release last January. As throughout his life, he showed his unflinching solidarity with the workers in their struggle against capitalism.

In applying for the restoration of his citizenship rights, Billings aims at wiping out the last vestiges of victimization to which the frame-up subjected him. All of labor is at his side in this demand. Full citizenship rights will enable him to participate to the fullest extent in the life of the labor movement once more. **Labor, now more than ever, needs the services of this unshakeable fighter in its cause.**

Warren K. Billings, (at right), a victim of capitalist class "justice," aided the 18 Minneapolis Labor Case prisoners. Here he is shown with George Novack, National Secretary of the Civil Rights Defense Committee, before they spoke to the San Francisco CRDC meeting May 3, 1944.

Stalinist "Success" In Cultural Work

The "shining genius" of Stalin has provided us with another instance showing how his 1924 theory of building socialism in one country works out in practice.

During the war, according to a September 2 dispatch, buck privates and generals of the Red Army mingled in army clubs. With the declaration of "peace," however, the Stalinist bureaucracy decreed that "it is necessary to have sharp differentiation and separation" because of "present conditions of cultural enlightenment work..."

Consequently signs are now being posted on all club houses "for officers only."

Eyewitness Calls Shattered Tokyo Monument of Ruin

The first correspondents of the American capitalist press to enter Tokyo report "a shattered city peopled by apathetic men and women but cheerful children—a fantastic monument of ruin to American aerial power."

Most of the damage was concentrated in the industrial area of Tokyo but many bombs fell in the crowded business sections. "Burned-out trolley cars stood on their tracks and tall smokestacks were tombstones for factories pounded into dust and rubble."

One "could sense the bitterness of defeat that touches every living Japanese as he contemplates the problems of Japan's reconstruction." In the streets, the Japanese appeared to be still "suffering from shock." Most of the people questioned by the reporters appeared to be "very glad the war was over. It must be said for them that they were taking their defeat with dignity."

PATCHES EVERYWHERE

Conditions greatly resemble Europe in the ruin of war. Clothing is poor and faded. Patches are visible everywhere. "One man came up and offered to exchange Japanese for American cigarettes, and several young women tittered as they passed us." As in Europe, a noticeable feature is the large number of soldiers in process of demobilization.

"The railroad stations were crowded with soldiers sitting on their baggage. In a few days they will join the growing throng of soldiers who must return to civilian life as Japan disarms. Thousands have already preceded them and streets are dotted with men who wear part of their uniform—cap or tunic — as a reminder of their soldiering days. They line up with others at liquor stores, where sake is rationed to consumers. Many are haggard, ill shaven and obviously at loose ends."

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Ruined Germany Faces Spread Of Epidemics

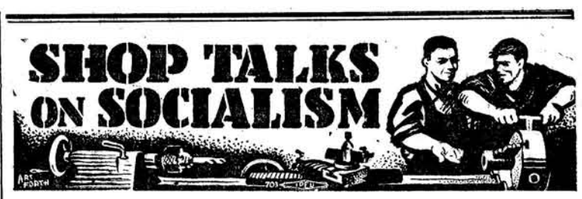
The "peace" of imperialism is settling deeper on the ruins of Germany. During the last two weeks, according to an Associated Press dispatch, there have been 1,207 cases of typhoid and paratyphoid reported. Both diseases continued to increase in the Berlin area last week. Hundreds of thousands of civilians are being innoculated, according to the report, in hope of stemming these dread war scourges.

The **Manchester Guardian** declares in its July 26 number that "All statistics in present day Germany are inadequate and current figures relating to infectious disease in Berlin must be qualified. Bacillary dysentery at present is the most serious epidemic, but there has been a disquieting increase in typhoid in the last few days.

"The infection that may spread from cases of unnotified typhoid is a very real danger. Typhus is not at present a problem in Berlin, but the medical authorities are anxious about what may happen in the autumn and winter. Typhus is a lice-borne disease, and in summer shows a seasonal decline. **Crowded living conditions, shortage of soap, and lack of washing facilities will increase the danger of typhus when the weather becomes colder and people tend to wear more clothes and to huddle together in whatever shelter they can find."**

Far from alleviating the basic conditions breeding epidemics in Germany, the Allies envisage further reducing Germany's industrial capacity. At the second session of a military-government conference headed by Eisenhower, "an inevitable, 'rip-roaring' inflation and economic peace terms so harsh... that they foreshadow the reduction of Germany to a third-rate power" were envisaged.

All the damage so far done to Germany, according to these Allied rulers, was a "nibble" in comparison with what they plan to carry out.



By V. Grey

The gang was in Andy's beer joint. That's a hell of a place for us all to be on a Monday afternoon when the sun was shining and summer was almost over. But that was the way we felt. What was the use of taking the kid for a walk or going home to read the papers?

Everything was different. Anybody could see that. Some of us were working and some weren't. Ed and young Mike were out. But there they were — there in the saloon too. The fellows that were still working didn't have it very good though. Harry Johnson's wife had been working and she was laid off. They started to buy a house about a year ago. They won't be able to keep up the payments. What will they do now?

Some of the fellows were drinking straight shots instead of beer, because they were sore. Even the fellows that were still working were sore too. Why shouldn't they be? Getting fifty percent less in their pay-checks and expenses still as high as ever. There were a few cracks about "Reconversion being just around the corner." But they didn't go over very well.

Ed and Mike were taking it kind of funny. They wouldn't let anybody buy them a drink. Ed kept flashing a couple of twenties he had from cashing his bonds. We all felt badly about letting him buy drinks for us, when his family needed the dough. But we drank up all the same.

We got to talking about this whole business of unemployment seriously, after we swapped a few jokes about it. Slim showed how wages might be pushed even lower if the bosses could use the unemployed workers against the ones still on the job. And working conditions would get worse too. When there's fifty fellows at the gate, waiting to take your job, you start looking for the boss whenever you sneak a smoke.

MEN LAID OFF WHILE OTHERS WORK HARDER

Why here they were laying men off, and making the men still in the shop work harder than ever! We've got to do something about it, we thought. We began to figure that hanging around Andy's saloon wasn't getting us any place.

There was going to be a big unemployment demonstration pretty soon, Slim told us. And we guessed we'd all go down, whether we were working or not.

To make everything beautiful, a U. S. Senator was going to address the crowd. That was a hot one, we argued. Here's a bird that kept our wages down during the war, when we might have jacked them up. He gave himself a 50 dollar a week raise, and now he's going to shoot off his mouth about unemployment — our unemployment.

Why shouldn't we go to the demonstration? No reason at all — except that anyone could see that this Democratic (or Republican — I forget which) gas bag was getting set to run for office again. Sure, a demonstration was a good thing. But we wanted something better than a low-down profiteer's politician to give us a lot of oratorical wind.

Slim hit it right when he said, "What we need is a PROGRAM. We can't fool around any more with just talking. We've got to fix up a real program — or find somebody that has one. And then we have to fight to put that program on the map."

That sounded like straight goods to us.

CAPITALISTS ARE ONLY VICTORS IN WORLD WAR

(Continued from page 1)

escape. The livestock were driven off and slaughtered. Only a fraction of the normal crops have been sowed and this year the harvests are reported in some areas to be rotting in the fields for lack of manpower to reap them.

BRUTAL DICTATORSHIP

Not democracy but open brutal military dictatorship is now the rule in Europe. Far from reinforcing democracy, the Allied powers have bolstered decayed monarchies and reactionary fascist-minded cliques. In Greece and elsewhere they have moved with shot and shell against the real forces of democracy which would otherwise have swept these political pillars of capitalism into the rubbish heap. Occupying armies garrison the continent to prevent an upsurge of the working class.

Europe faces a swift and precipitous decline that threatens the lives of additional tens of millions. The fate of Europe will affect the entire world.

The picture is not different in the Far East. Here the prolonged destruction begun by Japanese imperialism was brought to a climax when the most frightful instrument of death and destruction yet conceived — the atomic bomb — was exploded in populous civilian areas. **The laboring masses were the principal victims of this instrument of "democracy." The autocratic regime of the Mikado, on the other hand, was saved by the self-proclaimed evangelists of "democracy."**

AFTERMATH IN AMERICA

America was spared the horror of becoming a battlefield. Militarism, however, has become a permanent feature of American life, with conscription promised as a straitjacket for the youth from now on. "Peace" did not bring prosperity. On the contrary, wage-slashing became the order of the day and mass unemployment has swept the land with blitzkrieg speed. Nor is democracy at all assured. Fascism in America is already ominously raising its head.

In the ruin and decline left by the Second World War only the ruling classes escaped decimation. The Anglo-American rulers reaped unheard of profits from the war and now they are snarling over colonies and spheres of influence and reparations as in the First World War. They have inflicted "peace" conditions far worse than Versailles and even more certain to lead to a new outbreak of hostilities. The Axis ruling classes were not destroyed. Temporarily they have been forced into the status of satellites and agents of the conquerors. **The only victors in the war have thus turned out to be the ruling classes. The defeated were the laboring people of the entire world.**

What is the perspective now before us? Is it a long era of peace as promised by the capitalist demagogues? On the contrary, the cessation of hostilities is taken by virtually all the belligerents as simply a preparatory period for the Third World War. If this third conflict breaks out, annihilation threatens civilization and mankind itself, for it will be an inter-continental war waged with atomic-powered weapons.

THE ONLY HOPE

The only hope now is the socialist revolution. If the profit-mad imperialists are not deprived of political control over the destiny of the world they will inevitably plunge humanity into a suicidal conflict. The working class must understand clearly the alternative that now faces us.

Everything hinges on the capacity of the working class to raise up a leadership capable of guiding to a successful conclusion the strugge for a Workers' and Farmers' Government. The first step in creating that leadership in the United States is to build an independent Labor Party.

Vote Trotskyist!

In the Coming New York Elections

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

WORKING CLASS POLITICAL ACTION!

The modern battles of labor are being fought out more and more on the political field. To support any of the boss politicians or boss parties is to stab labor in the back.

BUILD AN INDEPENDENT LABOR PARTY!

Take labor's fight into the halls of the legislatures and Congress! Establish a workers and farmers' government!

Protests Mount Against Layoffs As Reactionary Congress Meets

(Continued from page 1)

"Full Employment" Bill that the workers are demanding ever more insistently that government itself take over and operate the idle plants. Last week, on Sept. 3, Murray himself was compelled to make a specific demand for the government to operate seven government-owned, but privately-operated aluminum plants, now closed or scheduled to be shut down.

The workers everywhere are enraged by the crass policy of Congress and the administration in taking such generous care of the profiteers during "reconversion." Congress did not delay in guaranteeing profits-tax rebates and other measures to ensure the corporations "normal profits" for many years after the war, even if the plants operate at a very low capacity.

OVER 4 MILLION OUT

This is what Congress has already provided by way of "relief for the greedy." But within 10 days after Japanese surrender, **over 4,000,000 workers were fired; "8 Million Unemployed By Christmas" is the slogan coming out of Washington; and those still employed are suffering take-home wage slashes, through reduced hours, amounting to 30 and 40 per cent.**

Washington politicians would like to "forget" their promises of 60,000,000 jobs — but the millions of workers already walking the streets, trying to survive on starvation "states rights" unemployment insurance, haven't forgotten. The workers are demanding that if the government can guarantee "normal profits" while the plants are closed down, it must also guarantee the workers permanent jobs at union wages and conditions.

But what is the most this Congress is considering offering the workers? The two principal measures which Congress is preparing to debate in the next few weeks are the Murray Full Employment Bill and the administration-sponsored Kilgore Unemployment Compensation Act.

WHAT CONGRESS OFFERS

Even the sponsors of the Murray bill admit it contains not one specific measure to provide employment. At most, it is a vague promise to "assure" full employment, principally by aiding the corporations and the "free enterprise" profit system.

Much deception has also been spread about the Kilgore unemployment insurance bill. IT WILL NOT PROVIDE $25 WEEKLY FOR ALL UNEMPLOYED. It provides that the federal government supplement state unemployment insurance up to a MAXIMUM of $25 per week for 26 weeks of unemployment. Most workers, under the proposed graduated schedule of payments, would secure LESS than $25 weekly. **At present price levels even the Kilgore provisions, slightly superior to the state average, would mean "not enough to live on and just too much to die on."**

It is highly speculative that even these "best" measures will pass Congress in their present form. Big Business lobbyists are swarming into Washington, lining up their Congressional agents in order to emasculate or scuttle the proposed inadequate measures that would at best toss a few dry bones to the workers.

CANCELLED BY STATE LAWS

We find, for instance, that even if the Kilgore bill were passed in its present form, some forty states have laws which provide that any federal supplements for unemployment insurance are automatically deducted from the amounts paid by the states. The unemployed would not get a cent more than at present.

What are the official union leaders doing in the face of this obvious Big Business-government conspiracy to swindle the workers and impose starvation conditions? The top union leaders advance no program of their own. They continue to place full reliance upon capitalist "friends of labor" in Congress who are already prepared to "compromise" even the little for which they have promised to "fight".

LABOR LEADERS SCARED

At the same time, the labor leaders are scared to death of mobilizing the ranks of labor for a real struggle. They confine their activities to occasional meetings where the workers can let off steam and listen to capitalist politicians, or to back-room conferences with this or that capitalist Congressman who condescends to grant the "labor statesmen" a few minutes of his precious time.

All the powers of Big Business, in and out of the government, are mobilized to knife labor in the back or prevent anything but the stalest crumbs from dropping off their rich tables for the unemployed workers and veterans.

Therefore, all the power of labor must be mobilized to block the sinister scheme of Wall Street and its political agents to starve the workers out and smash the labor movement.

This means that the labor leaders are duty-bound to establish machinery to exert maximum pressure on this session of Congress, machinery that will concentrate the full striking power of labor where and when it is needed— right now and in the weeks to come in Washington.

WHAT IS NEEDED

What is called for as this capitalist Congress goes into session, is the simultaneous convening in Washington of a giant NATIONAL LABOR CONGRESS, representing every union local and labor body in the United States.

That Congress of Labor, speaking as the voice of millions, must draft its own legislative program — a program that will really meet the workers needs. Then, it would remain in continuous session to hammer away daily and hourly upon the capitalist political scoundrels for passage of labor's program.

LABOR'S OWN PROGRAM

That program will not be a mere echo of the capitalist program. It will be built around three key points, the minimum needed to meet the present crisis.

FIRST: NO IDLE PLANTS! GOVERNMENT OPERATION OF ALL IDLE PLANTS UNDER WORKERS' CONTROL!

SECOND: FULL TRADE UNION WAGES FOR ALL UNEMPLOYED DURING ANY ENTIRE PERIOD OF UNEMPLOYMENT!

THIRD: THE SLIDING SCALE OF HOURS AND WAGES! FOR THE THIRTY-HOUR WEEK WITH NO REDUCTION IN TAKE-HOME PAY!

International Solidarity Fund Near $5,000 Goal

By FARRELL DOBBS
Campaign Director

Nine more branches of the Socialist Workers Party passed the 100 percent mark this week in the $5,000 International Solidarity Fund campaign, making a total of 94 percent, or $4,680.05 now paid in. Adding to the number of responses from friends and sympathizers throughout the country, donations were received this week from readers of **The Militant** in Plymouth, Michigan; Baltimore, Md.; and East St. Louis, Ill.

MASSES STIRRING

A collection of $248.76 was taken at the Trotsky Memorial Meeting held on August 22 in New York to aid our co-thinkers abroad. In the message of solidarity sent by the meeting to our international co-thinkers, the Socialist Workers Party declared:

"The forces of reaction are still powerful. But the frightful days of unbridled butchery are nearing their inevitable end. The masses are beginning to stir. When the revolutionary storm breaks, it will not halt until capitalism has been swept from the face of the earth.

"Throughout the war-torn lands of Europe and the Far East, and in the colonial lands, the cadres of the Fourth International are assembling. In concentration camps and in prisons, in the face of savage reprisals, they are struggling unflinchingly for world socialism. In the United States, the very citadel of world capitalism, the Socialist Workers Party, despite bitter persecution, has held aloft throughout the war the stainless banner of Trotskyism... The adherents of Trotskyism will head the mighty forces of the international proletariat in shaping the new world which will emerge from capitalist horror and bloodshed — the new world of peace and plenty for all. To our co-thinkers in other lands we extend warmest fraternal greetings."

International Solidarity Fund SCOREBOARD

BRANCH	Quota	Paid	Percent
N. Y. Youth Group	$ 15.00	$ 29.25	195
Milwaukee	30.00	44.00	147
Buffalo	125.00	165.00	132
Newark	100.00	123.00	123
St. Louis	25.00	30.00	120
Allentown-Bethlehem	60.00	65.00	108
San Francisco	375.00	397.00	106
Reading	25.00	25.00	100
Pittsburgh	25.00	25.00	100
Rochester	15.00	15.00	100
Cleveland	75.00	75.00	100
Philadelphia	125.00	125.00	100
Bayonne	100.00	100.00	100
Detroit	400.00	400.00	100
Toledo	100.00	100.00	100
Los Angeles	750.00	750.00	100
Youngstown	85.00	85.00	100
Akron	75.00	75.00	100
New York	1000.00	1000.00	100
Boston	125.00	120.00	96
Chicago	500.00	450.00	90
Twin Cities	250.00	162.50	65
Seattle	350.00	189.00	54
Members-at-Large and Friends	245.00	130.30	53
San Diego	25.00	0	0
TOTAL	$5,000.00	$4,680.05	94%

Los Angeles SWP Branches Hold City Conference

LOS ANGELES, Aug. 12 — Over 40 delegates participating today in the first delegated conference of the Los Angeles Local of the Socialist Workers Party, worked out plans for even greater activity in the period ahead. Among the tasks scheduled were recruiting, a Labor Party campaign, and continuation of the Local's campaign to drive the fascist Gerald L. K. Smith from Los Angeles.

Reports submitted to the convention included one on the first election campaign in the history of the Los Angeles Local. A highlight of this campaign was the wide distribution of literature propaganda making known the ideas of our party. Our candidate for mayor, Myra Tanner Weiss, spoke before trade unions, workers' political organizations, liberal groups, etc. A series of four radio broadcasts brought the party program to additional thousands of workers. Bus cards advertised our campaign. These were organizational methods never before utilized by the Trotskyists on the West Coast.

A report on **The Militant** subscription campaign pointed to a total of almost 4,000 subscriptions obtained here in the period between the previous Conference and this Convention.

Educational work took great strides forward, a third report revealed. A training course for teachers had an attendance of over thirty, and more than a dozen basic training courses in socialism were carried through. In addition, an extensive program had been prepared for the West Coast Summer School to be held in September.

Two new branches were formed in Los Angeles during the last six months and several more are in prospect. The Socialist Youth Club, set up recently, is growing rapidly and has already taken a prominent part in several party campaigns. Militant Discussion Clubs are now being organized which will play a prominent role in party work for the next period.

Los Angeles comrades are well satisfied that the Convention has prepared the Local for a period of intensified activity.

MYRA TANNER WEISS

Red Sunday Drive Scheduled for Jackson Pamphlet

The National Office of the Socialist Workers Party has announced a National Red Sunday Mobilization of all the branches, September 9, to sell the new Pioneer Pamphlet, "A Practical Program to Kill Jim Crow." Branches throughout the country responded immediately by asking for 8,500 copies of the pamphlet in preparation for the mobilization. These orders, which came in within ten days after publication of the pamphlet, break all records for branch orders on a new Pioneer publication.

The author of this attractive illustrated pamphlet is Charles Jackson, whose column "The Negro Struggle" appears weekly in **The Militant.** Jackson makes a stirring call to all workers black and white, to join together in putting an end to the capitalist system which makes race prejudice profitable. "Only a Workers' Government as was established by the Bolsheviks in 1917 in Russia will successfully abolish racial discrimination!... Only by uniting in struggle against the common enemy, on both the economic and political field, can the doubly oppressed Negro minority be liberated... Join the Socialist Workers Party today. Together we will send Jim Crow to its well-earned grave!"

Friends of **The Militant** are invited to participate on Sunday, September 9, in this national mobilization to sell **A Practical Program to Kill Jim Crow.** Consult the headquarters of the Socialist Workers Party branch in your locality for time and place.

Carlson Gets Warm Welcome From Audience In St. Paul

By Grace Carlson

ST. PAUL, Aug. 27.—In every city in which I have spoken on this tour, I have reported on my experiences with the vicious Jim Crow set-up of the federal prison system. Audiences have been particularly incensed by the story of how Reverend Clarence Nelson, President of the St. Paul Branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, was prevented from visiting me in Alderson penitentiary last year.

Last night, Reverend Nelson was present at the public meeting sponsored by the St. Paul branch of the Socialist Workers Party. The St. Paul audience was able to get a first-hand account of his shameful treatment at the hands of the representatives of American "democracy". **As a general rule, prison authorities are very pleased to have ministers visit the inmates, but not when interracial lines are crossed! Jim Crow comes ahead of everything else with these people.**

I have spoken at many meetings in St. Paul in the past — as candidate for mayor or senator, or as the organizer of the St. Paul Branch of the Socialist Workers Party, but last night's meeting was the best ever! I'm glad to say that the old idea that prophets can't get along in their home countries doesn't always operate.

But the meeting in Missoula, Montana, on August 19 was my first visit there, and, in fact, was the first Trotskyist meeting held there. It was a fine meeting. Rodney Salisbury's family is carrying on there in the same militant spirit in which he lived and worked until his tragic death in 1938.

It was pleasant to greet Marie again and to meet Rodney's fine boys and girls. And it was doubly pleasant to be able to tell them that the name of Rodney Salisbury, the fighting Communist Sheriff of Plentywood, Montana, is honored by all Trotskyists.

ST. PAUL, Minn., Aug. 26 — Grace Carlson, only woman among the 18 Trotskyist leaders imprisoned during the war under the Smith "Gag" Act, spoke here tonight to an audience of 50 Socialist Workers Party members and friends on the subject of "Women in Prison." The meeting was part of her national speaking tour.

Many new friends of the Socialist Workers Party attended the meeting and showed keen interest in Comrade Carlson's talk and her appeal to join in the fight for a socialist society. The audience contributed $31.50 in the collection for party work.

John G. Wright Starts National Lecture Tour

(Continued from page 1)

the lessons for American labor from this great historic event.

From Boston, where he speaks on Sept. 14, Comrade Wright will proceed to meetings in Philadelphia on Sept. 18, Reading on Sept. 2nd. **The Militant** will keep readers informed regularly on the progress of the Wright meeting in your city. Be sure to attend it.

JOHN G. WRIGHT TOUR SCHEDULE

CITY	DATE
BOSTON	Friday, Saturday, Sept. 14-15
PHILADELPHIA	Tuesday, Wednesday, Sept. 18-19
READING	Thursday, Friday, Sept. 20-21
ALLENTOWN-BETHLEHEM	Sunday, Monday, Sept. 23-24
NEWARK	Tuesday, Sept. 25
BAYONNE	Wednesday, Sept. 26
NEW YORK	Thursday, Friday, Sept. 27-28
ROCHESTER	Sun., Sept. 30-Tues. Oct. 2
BUFFALO	Wednesday, Friday, Oct. 3-5
YOUNGSTOWN	Sunday, Tuesday, Oct. 7-9
AKRON	Wednesday, Friday, Oct. 10-12
CLEVELAND	Saturday, Monday, Oct. 13-15
TOLEDO	Tuesday, Thursday, Oct. 16-18
DETROIT, FLINT	Friday, Wednesday, Oct. 19-24
CHICAGO	Fri., Wednesday, Oct. 26-31
MILWAUKEE	Thursday, Friday, Nov. 1-2
TWIN CITIES	Monday, Friday, Nov. 5-9
SEATTLE	Tuesday, Friday, Nov. 13-16
PORTLAND	Sun. to Tuesday, Nov. 18-20
SAN FRANCISCO	Friday, Monday, Nov. 23-26
LOS ANGELES, SAN DIEGO	Thurs., Nov. 29, Wed. Dec. 5
KANSAS CITY	Monday, Tuesday, Dec. 10-11
ST. LOUIS	Thursday, Friday, Dec. 13-14
PITTSBURGH	Sunday, Tuesday, Dec. 16-18

SWP'S NIGERIA PROTEST RECEIVES BRAZEN REPLY

In reply to protests cabled on July 17 by the Socialist Workers Party, the British Colonial Office brazenly justifies its whole course of violent suppression of the Nigerian labor movement. British government actions included the arrests of leaders of 150,000 workers on general strike in Nigeria; the suppression of two newspapers, **West African Pilot** and **Daily Comet,** supporting the strike; and threats to deport the publisher of the two publications, **Nnamdi Azikiwe.**

Answering James P. Cannon, National Secretary of the SWP, in a letter signed by G. H. Middleton and sent through the British Embassy in Washington on August 24, the Colonial Office justifies the suspension of the two papers on the ground that they were "misrepresenting the facts concerning this strike." As has been pointed out in **The Militant,** the government issues a daily bulletin presenting the official point of view. The letter from the British Embassy thus confirms the fact that the strikers' point of view is prevented by outright decree, from reaching publication.

IGNORES ARRESTS

As to the arrests of the strike leaders, the letter simply ignores the protest on this point and by implication acknowledges the charge that ten or more of the leaders have been imprisoned. It speaks in defense of "union leaders" who were exerting themselves to persuade the workers to return to work" and who were sharply criticized in the two publications mentioned.

As **The Militant** pointed out in a **British Tribune** article by George Padmore (reprinted by us Aug. 4) such leaders — among them Mr. T. A. Bankole, the president of the Nigeria Trade Union Congress — were repudiated by their organizations and expelled from office by their membership. **Thus the British authorities not only suppress publications voicing support for the strikers and arrest their leaders but attempt to foist upon them officials whom they themselves have rejected.**

STRUCK FOR 50-CENT DAY RAISE

The strike was originally called to secure an increase of about 50 cents a day, to meet the rising cost of living. The strikers remain adamant in spite of all the arrests, suppression of the press, and intimidation. In addition to the original demand, the strikers now demand full pay for the time they have been on strike, guarantees that pensions and gratuities of civil service workers — which the British governor, Sir Arthur Richards, has threatened to cancel — will be maintained, that none of the strikers will be victimized, and lastly, that all arrested leaders be released.

The letter from the British embassy denies that Azikiwe has been arrested or that the government contemplates his deportation. If this is true, only the aroused public opinion of the world labor movement has stopped the colonial authorities from taking such action. **Protests from labor and Negro organizations must continue to flood the British colonial office in support of the militant workers on strike in Nigeria. Their cause is the cause of the oppressed in all lands.**

PHILADELPHIA

Hear

JOHN G. WRIGHT

Wednesday, Sept. 18

speak on

"The British Labor Victory — Its Meaning for the American Workers"

LABOR FORUM HALL
405 W. Girard

8 P. M. Admission free

The History Of American Trotskyism

COMMUNIST LEFT OPPOSITION SOUNDED THE ALARM AGAINST RISE OF HITLER

By James P. Cannon

Earlier installments of Comrade Cannon's book described the emergence of the American Communist Party out of the left wing of the Socialist Party in 1919. Factional struggles between the proletarian and petty-bourgeois elements in the party began in 1923, culminating in the expulsion of the proletarian left wing for "Trotskyism" on October 27, 1928. Slandered, ostracized and physically attacked by the Stalinists, the handful of American Trotskyists nevertheless won over individual members of the Communist Party. First contact with Leon Trotsky was established in the spring of 1929, and the program of the Left Opposition published in The Militant. *At their first national conference, the Trotskyists determined to operate as a faction of the Communist Party. Then Stalin's "left turn" resulted in isolation for the Trotskyists. Tremendous sacrifices were necessary for every task. "Tenacity, tenacity, tenacity!" wrote Leon Trotsky. This is the sixteenth installment of Comrade Cannon's book.*

* * *

LECTURE VI

THE BREAK WITH THE COMINTERN

We have now had five lectures in this course. With the fifth one last week, as you will remember, we covered the first four years of the Left Opposition, the Communist League of America—1928 to 1932. These were the times, as I remarked last week, of the severest isolation and the greatest hardship for the new movement.

Last week I emphasized, perhaps over-emphasized, the negative sides of the movement in that period: the stagnation, the poverty of forces and material means, the inevitable internal difficulties accruing from such a set of circumstances, and the lunatic fringe which plagued us as it plagues every new radical movement. This isolation together with its attendant evils was imposed upon us by objective factors beyond our control. We could not prevent it, not with the best efforts, the best will. It was the condition of the times. The most important of these factors making our isolation so almost absolute was the upsurge of the Stalinist movement which resulted from the crisis in all the bourgeois countries at the same time that the Soviet Union was bounding forward under the first Five Year Plan of industrialization. The enhanced prestige of the USSR, and of Stalinism which appeared to be its legitimate representative in the eyes of uncritical people—and the great masses are uncritical—made our oppositionist movement appear somewhat bizarre, unrealistic. Besides that, there was great stagnation in the general labor movement. There were no strikes. The workers were quiescent. They were not interested in any theoretical questions. They were not even interested in any actions at that time. All this acted against our small group and pushed it into a corner.

"Our Task Was to Hold On"

Our task in that difficult time was to hold on, to clarify the great questions, to educate our cadres in preparation for the future when objective conditions would open up possibilities for an expansion of the movement. Our task also was to test out to the very end the possibilities of reforming the Communist parties and the Communist International, which up to that time had embraced practically the whole workers vanguard in this country and throughout the world. **The events which began to break over the world in the early part of 1933 showed that we had succeeded magnificently in our main task. When things began to move, when the opportunity came to break out of our isolation, we were ready. We lost no time in grasping the opportunities presented to us, beginning in 1933, and especially in 1934.**

Our movement had been educated in a great school under the direction and inspiration of Comrade Trotsky, the school of internationalism. Our cadres had been forged together in the heat of study and dispute over the greatest world questions.

The great weakness of the American Communist movement in the past, as I have mentioned in previous lectures, was its national-mindedness, not in theory but in practice; its ignorance of international events and unconcern about them; its lack of real instruction and of serious interest in theory. These faults were corrected in our young movement. We educated a group of people who proceeded in all questions from fundamental considerations of theory, from international experience, and learned how to analyze international events. The mysteries of the Russian problem were solved by our movement. In article after article, pamphlet after pamphlet, and book after book, Comrade Trotsky opened up for us a world view on all questions. He gave us a clear understanding of the complexities of a workers state in a capitalist encirclement, a workers state degenerating and throwing up a retrograde bureaucracy but still retaining its basic foundations.

Germany was already then becoming the center of the world problem. Trotsky as far back as 1931 wrote a pamphet which he called **Germany, the Key to the International Situation.** Before all others he perceived the menacing growth of fascism and the inevitability of a fundamental showdown between fascism and Communism. Before anyone else, and clearer than anyone else, he analyzed what was coming in Germany. He educated us to an understanding of it and tried to prepare the German Communist Party and the German workers for that fatal test.

Educating the Party On the Chinese Revolution

The Spanish revolution, which broke out in December 1930, was also studied and comprehended by our young movement, first of all with the assistance of the theoretical writings and interpretations of Comrade Trotsky.

We took time in those days of isolation to study the Chinese question. I mentioned last week that during this difficult period our movement, despite all its poverty and weakness, managed to publish a full-sized book, **Problems of the Chinese Revolution.** This book contained suppressed theses, articles and expositions of the Russian Opposition, written in the decisive days of the Chinese revolution, 1925, 1926 and 1927. That great world historical battle had unfolded, you may say, behind the backs of the blindfolded members of the Comintern, who had never been permitted to learn what the great masters of Marxism in the Russian Left Opposition had to say about these events. We published the suppressed documents. **Our comrades were educated on the problems of the Chinese revolution. That is one of the important reasons—in fact, it is the important reason—why our party has such a clear and firm stand on the colonial question today; why we do not lose our heads over the defense of China and the struggle of India for independence. The significance that this great uprising of the Asiatic peoples can have for the international proletarian revolution is clearly understood by our party. That is part of its heritage from those days of isolation and study.**

In the early part of 1933 we began to intervene more actively in the general labor movement. After long propagandistic preparation, we started our turn towards mass work. I have already told you about the fight we had in our organization with some impatient people who wanted to begin with mass work, jump over our own heads so to speak, leaving for the future the education of our cadre, the definition of our program and our propagandistic work. That was turning things upside down. We worked out our program, formed our cadre, did our preliminary propagandistic work first. Then, when opportunities arose for activity in the labor movement, we were ready to put our activity to some purpose. We did not engage in activity merely for the sake of activity, which some wit once described as all motion and no direction. We were prepared to enter the mass movement with a clearly defined program and with methods calculated to bring the maximum results to the revolutionary movement from the minimum amount of required activity.

In reading the bound volumes of **The Militant,** which contain a chronological record of our activities and plans and hopes, it is reported that on January 22, 1933 there was an unemployment conference in New York. It had been called, of course, on the initiative of the Stalinist organization but it was a little different from some of their previous conferences from which we had been excluded. This time, in their waverings and wanderings from right to left, they started dabbling with the united front, trying to interest some non-Stalinist organizations in a general unemployment movement. To that end, they issued a call inviting all organizations to the conference. We commented in our paper that this was a turn in the right direction toward the united front, at least a half turn. I wrote an article which pointed out that by inviting "all organizations" they had finally opened up a small crack through which the Left Opposition might enter that movement; we would make our way through that crack and open it wider. We showed up at that conference—Shachtman and Cannon, big as life—prepared to tell the entire proletariat how the struggle against unemployment should be carried out. And it was no joke either. Our program was the correct one, and we explained it at length. **The Militant** carried a full report of our speeches advocating a united front of the political parties and the trade unions for unemployment relief.

On January 29, 1933 there was held at Gillespie, Illinois, a conference of the Progressive Miners Union and other independent labor organizations to consider the question of a new labor federation. I attended the conference by invitation from a group of the Progressive Miners, and spoke there. This was the first time in nearly five years that I had been able to get out of New York. It was also the first time that any representative of the American Left Opposition had a chance to speak to workers as such outside the small circle of intellectual radicals. We seized the opportunity. I was sent out there by our League, spent a few days with the miners, and made some important contacts. It felt very good to be once again in touch with the living movement of the workers, the mass movement.

First News of Hitler's Rise to Power

Coming back on the bus from Gillespie to Chicago—I recall it very distinctly—I read newspaper accounts of the appointment of Hitler as Chancellor by President Hindenburg. I had the feeling then, at that moment, that things were beginning to break. The stagnation, the stalemate in the world labor movement was breaking wide open. Things were moving to a showdown. We were fully ready to take our part in the new situation. As I checked the reports the other day, preparing my notes for this lecture, it seemed to me that this action of our League, our reaching out for the first time to participate in a workers mass meeting in Gillespie, Illinois, was symbolic of our attunement to the new period. Our action was unconsciously synchronized with the breakup of the stalemate in Germany. We reacted very energetically to this new development, to the beginnings of new stirrings in the labor movement here, and especially the situation in Germany. We were like athletes, trained and poised for action, but restrained by external difficulties and unable to move forward. Then suddenly a new situation opened up and we leaped into it.

Our first reaction to the German events was to call a mass meeting in New York. For a long time we had abandoned the idea of mass meetings because the masses wouldn't come. The best we could do was to hold small open forums, lectures, circle gatherings, etc. This time we essayed a mass meeting: Stuyvesant Casino, February 5, 1933. "The Meaning of the German Events" with Shachtman and Cannon as speakers. The report in **The Militant** said that 500 people turned out to our mass meeting.

The Trotskyists Sound the Alarm

We sounded the alarm on the impending showdown between fascism and Communism in Germany. Then, while the issues were so acute, every day in Germany witnessing new developments, we did an absolutely unprecedented thing for a group so small as ours. We transformed our weekly Militant—by that time it had become a weekly—and brought it out three times a week, each issue blazing away with the message of Trotskyism on the events in Germany. If you should ask me how we did it I wouldn't be able to explain. But we did it. It wasn't possible, but there is a saying among Trotskyists that in times of crisis you do not do what is possible, but what is necessary. And we thought it necessary to break out of our routine discussions and criticisms of the Stalinists, to do something to shock the whole workers movement into realizing how fateful for the whole world were the happenings in Germany. We wanted to call all workers, and especially the Communist workers, to attention. We speeded up the tempo. We began to shout, to sound the alarm. Our comrades ran to every meeting they could find, to every slightest gathering of workers, with bundles of The Militant under their arms, shouting at the top of their voices: "Read The Militant!" "Read the truth about Germany!" "Read what Trotsky says!"

(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.

A Reply to Victor Howell

Editor:

I found Victor Howell's "Letter to Negro Children" in the last issue of **The Militant** very interesting. I agree wholeheartedly with his declaration that "The Socialist Workers Party is the only organization of its kind to plead our cause." By "our" cause, I take it he includes not only Negro children but all the oppressed of all colors, both the young and old. Comrade Howell says "I have but one hope left and that is that Socialism will replace our present form of government." This would indicate he has come very close to the Socialist movement and that he is considering devoting himself to proclaiming its truths and struggling for its success. Class-conscious workers who **read The Militant,** will I am sure appreciate such sentiments.

There is another side to Comrade Howell's letter, however, which appears to me to reflect an early training not yet subjected to careful appraisal. I refer to his impressing religious beliefs upon the children he addresses. I know that Comrade Howell undoubtedly does this with the best of intentions and that it may arise from the comfort he has drawn in a brutal world from the assurances of a better future existence.

Yet it is obvious that religion permits a great variety of interpretations. The ruling class of Japan utilized religion to delude many soldiers into dying for a god-emperor called the Mikado, although the real purpose of the ruling class in entering the war was to loot and plunder, and strengthen Japanese capitalism. With similar sordid objectives the ruling classes of the United Nations appealed to the religious beliefs of their soldiers and claimed god to be on their side. Consequently we have millions of people slaughtered with utmost brutality and savagery by professed followers of Christ, the Prince of Peace!

America's native fascists, the Southern Bourbons who ooze venom against the Negroes and other minorities, the lynch mobs and instigators of race riots and pogroms, you may be sure, all proclaim their staunch faith in god and Christ and attack the scientific view of religion. No doubt the majorify of them are convinced they are sincerely religious. Similar instances of the ease with which religion combines with the most reactionary aims could be cited endlessly. Clearly, religion can lend itself admirably to the purposes of the ruling class.

I do not wish to discuss the relative merits of one religion over another, for that would be to fall into the trap of the capitalists, who like nothing better than to see the workers of the world squabbling over religious doctrines and thereby prevented from uniting in struggle against their oppressors. All I want to point out is that religion, manipulated by unscrupulous rulers, can so blind poor people from seeing where their true interests lie that they will kill each other in the name of sacred deities.

This fact is not peculiar to our times. It has been noted by great and good men for thousands of years. Some of the noblest minds, completely devoted to the welfare of humanity have pondered the question of religion, made diligent research into its origin and nature and published most interesting and enlightening discoveries. Without exception these men have been persecuted and hounded by the rulers and their teachings denounced and kept from the people by one means or another.

The rulers who wish to dominate the masses insist on teaching the children religion and oppose teaching them the scientific discoveries about religion. Yet an inquiring person, not afraid of truth, cannot help wondering what he would have believed if his parents had belonged to a different faith, or if they had not taught him any religion whatsoever! Such a person, in my opinion, is duty bound to investigate what science has to say about religion.

I should, therefore, like to suggest that Comrade Howell, or anyone who believes as he does, study side by side with the teachings of socialism on economic and political problems a few of the scientific works devoted to religion. For a good general survey of the origins of many present day beliefs, I can suggest **The Golden Bough,** by James George Frazer, a scientist who devoted a lifetime studying and comparing the many religions of primitive peoples. Published by the Macmillan Company, it is available at most libraries and bookstores in a low-priced one volume edition.

For a person interested in the economic and social basis of religion I would place above **The Golden Bough,** Karl Kautsky's great classic, **The Foundations of Christianity,** published by International Publishers. But it is out of print and may not be easily located.

The Marxist attitude toward religion has been outlined very succinctly by Lenin and a collection of his articles has been published in this country in a pamphlet entitled **Religion.**

The psycho-analysts, particularly Sigmund Freud, have made important contributions to the understanding of the psychology of religion, but to my knowledge none of them have dealt forthrightly with the peculiar interest of the ruling class in fostering religion.

For an objective comparison of the morals of the utterly corrupt and degenerate capitalist class with the morals of the revolutionary socialists, I know nothing better than Leon Trotsky's admirable and highly readable study **Their Morals and Ours,** published by Pioneer Publishers.

I hope that Comrade Howell will not take these suggestions amiss but consider them as offered in the spirit of warmest comradeliness and the hope that whatever his eventual opinion of religion might be he will continue on the course he has begun so excellently — marching resolutely with the Trotskyists in the fight for a better and happier world right here on earth.

Joseph Hansen
New York

The Tory Is My Shepherd

By a Neath Tin Worker

The Tory is my Shepherd,
I am in want. He maketh me
To lie on Park Benches,
He leadeth beside still factories,
He disturbeth my Soul.
Yea, though I walk through the
Valley of Depression
I anticipate no recovery, for he is with me.
He prepareth a reduction in my salary
In the presence of mine enemies;
He anointed my small income with taxes;
My expense account is running over;
Surely unemployment and poverty
Shall follow me all the days of my life
And I shall dwell in a mortgaged house
Forever.

Reprinted from **Socialist Appeal,** organ of the British Revolutionary Communist Party (Trotskyist).

Cast-Off Of Capitalism

Editor:

Of the several thousand workers laid off at Signal Battery Co., Milwaukee, Wisconsin, there is this case which, to my mind, illustrates the utter disregard of the capitalist system for the individual.

A 78-year-old floor sweeper had worked 13 months at the plant and now faced the alternative of living on the starvation money of his Old Age Pension or going back to the Minnesota farm of his son and working for him. The pension was miserably inadequate, even for the limited needs of a man this age.

"Nobody wants to hire an old man like me," he said, visibly broken. And he was right. No capitalist wants a worker who has already been worn out with years of toil and from whom a profit can no longer be squeezed.

Under socialism, there would be provision for workers grown old. They would have sufficient means to avoid the bleak future many face today. Besides, with the planned economy of a socialist society, workers would also not have to grow old before their time. Another point is that there is not much opportunity to save money for old age under this present system, for by the time a person does save a little, a depression comes and wipes all of it out.

H. Burns
Milwaukee

Likes 'The Militant' For Telling Truth

Editor:

I am glad to read **The Militant** and to see that it tells the truth. The capitalists are busy right now guarding the Eastern part of the world to hold the people under submission, to keep them from organizing, so they can be exploited. I am very glad that this war has exposed the Democrats and Republicans, that the axe has been laid at the root of the tree. All trees that are not found bearing fruit shall be hewn down and cast into the fire.

The two old parties are condemned before their supporters. A Democrat or a Republican has to go to hell or change his ways in a rush. Everyone can now see what we have been telling about the Siamese Twins is the truth.

Maybe the reason that Truman has stopped the lend-lease grab is on account of the labor class in England. The Labor victory may have also caused the compromise with Japan. They are figuring deeply!

Let's try to destroy the last devil on earth and then we will know that there isn't any more. For every man that doesn't vote for the Cooperative Commonwealth is a stranger to God the Lord, who says come ye out from amongst them and be ye separate.

When I get a little more time I will hunt up a couple of subs.

L. B. Courts
Hamilton, O.

Letter from Britain

Editor:

I am a member of the British section of the Fourth International, the Revolutionary Communist Party, and have just been reading copies of **The Militant** for June 2 and 9. I feel I should like to drop you a few lines.

I dispose of 500 copies of each issue of our paper (**Socialist Appeal**), but I always look forward to reading yours, which I am sorry to say I do not get regularly. I expect there are not sufficient copies to go around.

I must congratulate you on the magnificent response to your three-month subscription campaign for **The Militant.** It goes to prove the trend of the working masses, and I wholeheartedly wish you success for the future.

It is with much interest I read James P. Cannon's "History of American Trotskyism."

You will have heard the results of the general election in this country, which is now moving well on the way to socialism.

I have only been in this movement about nine months, but it has been a period of great interest to me, and I have learned more in this period than I did in all the years previous to my joining the movement.

Our local branch is growing and we are on a campaign for new readers. One of our comrades went out one evening and got 31 new readers in about two hours. I hope in the near future we shall be able to increase our quota from 500 to 1,000.

Wishing you every success in your movement,

P. H.
England

Capitalist Press Distorts News

Editor:

Workers are now getting first-hand experience of the lying and deceit practised by the capitalist press and big business. Immediately after V-J day, the local papers were minimizing the effects of cutbacks and pointing out that New England was in a very favorable position for reconversion. Spokesmen for the big industries here were quoted as explaining that there would be very few layoffs and these of a "temporary nature." The Lynn General Electric Plant expected to lay off a few hundred at a time and these "only" women. However, last Monday, not a few hundred workers, but 9000 workers, were laid off at the Lynn G. E. in one day.

Last Sunday, there was a long article in the **Boston Globe,** extolling the exploits of the Bethlehem Fore River Shipyards and their contribution to the war effort. In the article was mentioned the fact that 742 workers had been laid off since V-J day, and that few more layoffs were expected in the near future. However one worker there told me that over one thousand workers were laid off in one department alone, and that more expected to get the gate shortly.

Incidents like these, coupled with the propaganda about wartime wages, are convincing the workers that the capitalist press does not "print all the news," but only the news big business wants to print. For the real news, the working man will have to depend on a workers' paper.

M. L.
Boston

SWP BRANCH ACTIVITIES

National Red Sunday Mobilization, to sell the new pamphlet, *A Practical Program to Kill Jim Crow,* by Charles Jackson. Sunday, September 9. Consult the branch headquarters for details of time and place.

BUFFALO — Open house every Saturday night at the **Militant Forum,** 629 Main St., 2nd floor. All invited. Lectures on subjects of interest to workers twice a month. Watch this column for details.

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CLEVELAND — Open meetings are held at Pecks Hall, 1446 E. 82nd St. (off Wade Park N.) on Friday evenings, 8:30 p. m. **Friday, Sept. 14** — "Why Full Employment is Impossible Under Capitalism." Speaker: I. London.

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DETROIT — All **Militant** readers invited to the SWP Open House held every Saturday evening, from 8 P.M. on. Music, dancing, cards, refreshments. Admission free. Room 21, 3513 Woodward.

Forums on topical questions held every Sunday evening at 3513 Woodward, Room 21, at 8 P. M. **Militant** readers are urged to attend. Refreshments and social hour following forum. No admission charge.

SATURDAY, SEPT. 15—"September Follies" social, 3513 Woodward, Room 21. Enjoy good entertainment, music.

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Los Angeles—Buy **The Militant, Fourth International and other Marxist books and pamphlets as well as information about the SWP at the following places in the Los Angeles area: LOS ANGELES, Socialist Workers Party, Rooms, 200-05,** 232 S. Hill St. SAN PEDRO, Socialist Workers Party, 1008 S. Pacific, Room 214. For additional information phone VA-7936.

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

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NEWARK — Lectures are held every Friday at the Progressive Workers' School, 423 Springfield Ave., at 8:30 p. m.

Friday, Sept. 14 — Frank Lawrence, staff writer of **The Militant,** will speak on: "America's Role in Europe."

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NEW YORK — **The Militant** can now be obtained at all newsstands in the greater New York area. Ask at your neighborhood newsdealer.

Saturday, Sept. 8—Members and friends of the SWP will meet at 116 University Place, corner 13th St., to launch a city-wide sale of Charles Jackson's new pamphlet, "A Practical Program to Kill Jim Crow." After the mobilization, enjoy a social to aid the International Solidarity Fund. Refreshments.

BROOKLYN—Bill Morgan, staff writer of **The Militant** will speak on "Jobs for All — Fact or Myth", at Brooklyn School of Social Science, 571 Pacific St., Thursday Sept. 13, 8:30 P. M.

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

Socialist Youth Group meets Friday evenings, 8:30 p. m.; all young people are invited. Labor Forum, 405 W. Girard.

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PORTLAND—Visit SWP headquarters, 220 S. W. Alder St., room 500; open 1 to 4 p.m. daily except Sunday, and 6 to 8 p.m. on Tuesday and Friday.

Sunday, Sept. 16—"Will the End of the War Bring Peace?" Open forum; speaker, C. M. Hesser. 8 p.m.

Sunday, Oct. 21 — "Unemployment . . . How to Fight It." Speaker: C. M. Hesser.

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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.

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TOLEDO — Forums held every Sunday evening at 905 Jefferson Ave., Room 304. All **Militant readers, friends invited.**

Sunday, Sept 9—Watermelon Festival all-day outing. Ted Selander will speak on "Labor in Postwar World." Transportation from your home to picnic grounds in Temperance, Mich. provided, Adults $1, children 50 cents. Beer, food, baseball!

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YOUNGSTOWN — Open forum Sunday, Sept. 16, at 8 p. m., on "Cutbacks and Reconversion." Speaker: Eloise Black. 225 N. Phelps St.

Goodrich Local 5 Enforces Contract For 36-Hour Wk.

AKRON, O., Aug. 28 — Tirebuilders of Goodrich Local 5, CIO United Rubber Workers, today frustrated a company move to forestall immediate return to the 6-hour day. Appearing at the Local 5 Hall before a departmental meeting of more than 800 tirebuilders, T. G. Graham, vice president of the B. F. Goodrich Co., pleaded for "temporary" acceptance of the 8-hour day. The reply of the tirebuilders was a unanimous vote to uphold Local 5's established policy in regard to the 6-hour day.

The clause in the union contract limiting hours of work to 36 per week, in effect for many years in all the Akron rubber shops, had been set aside by War Manpower Commission for the duration of the war. **The Goodrich workers are the first in this locality to force a return to the working hours specified in the contract.**

CULMINATION OF STRUGGLE

The tirebuilders' meeting was the culmination of a short but bitter struggle to compel the company to live up to the contract. One week following the announcement of V-J Day, production of passenger and truck tires was placed on a 6-hour 4-shift per day basis. It was expected that other departments of the factory would follow suit day by day until the entire plant was returned to the 6-hour day.

Instead of following through on this program, the company attempted to reverse the process. It ordered the passenger tirebuilders and certain of the truck tirebuilders back to the 8-hour, 3-shift day on the grounds that there were an insufficient number of workers to man all the machines on a four-shift basis. The men, however, refused to comply with the company order. All shifts worked no more than the normal 6 hours and reported to work at the usual times for the four shifts instead of the starting times ordered for a 3-shift schedule.

WORKERS' JOBS SAVED

Plant wide return to the 6-hour day is now assured. As a result, many workers slated for layoffs will remain on the pay roll.

"I don't know whether Akron is wrong or the rest of the country is wrong about the 6-hour day," T. G. Graham remarked in his talk. But Akron rubber workers know that the 6-hour day, with no reduction in take-home pay, is a key point in the fight for jobs in Akron and throughout the nation.

The vote to uphold the 6-hour day was taken only after the representatives of the corporation and the capitalist press were ushered out of the hall. During the discussion, John Saylor, President of Local 5, took considerable and deserved criticism for inviting the bosses into a union meeting. A motion was unanimously adopted that this would never be repeated.

Pioneer to Issue New Edition of Book By Trotsky

Pioneer Publishers has acquired all publication rights and the plates for *The Revolution Betrayed,* by Leon Trotsky. Arrangements have been made for immediate reprinting of the book, which will be ready for distribution by the end of October.

The Revolution Betrayed was first issued by a commercial publishing house in 1937. It has been out of print for several years, and recently the occasional copies that could be found in second-hand bookstores have been sold at profiteering prices. Pioneer is now able to make widely available again this great classic of the world Trotskyist movement.

EXPLAINS STALINIST RISE

The general content of the volume is indicated in the sub-title for Pioneer's new edition — **"The Marxist Analysis of the Class Nature of the Soviet Union."** After describing the achievements and economic growth of the USSR during the first years of the planned economy, Trotsky explains the basic economic and social causes for the rise of the Stalin bureaucracy and the degeneration of the Bolshevik party. A detailed analysis is given of Stalin's foreign policy which, developing out of his false and tremendous "theory" of "socialism in one country" led to complete abandonment of the program of international revolution.

In one of the most important sections of the book Trotsky examines the class character of the bureaucracy, and explains it, not as a new ruling class, but as a parasitic caste within the workers' state — the workers' state which still rests on the foundations of nationalized property and planned economy.

OCTOBER REVOLUTION BETRAYED

"The October revolution," he writes, "has been betrayed by the ruling stratum, but not yet overthrown. It has a great power of resistance, coinciding with the established property relations, with the living force of the proletariat, the consciousness of its best elements, the impasse of world capitalism, and the inevitability of world revolution."

Leon Trotsky's brilliant analysis in this book is essential to an understanding of the role and aims of the Stalinist bureaucracy today, and of the underlying reasons for the increasing conflicts between the imperialist powers and the Soviet Union in the present "postwar" period.

Pioneer Notes

The first reports on the new pamphlet, **JOBS FOR ALL — A Fighting Program for Labor,** by Art Preis, indicate the enthusiastic response of the workers to this latest Pioneer publication. A letter from the New York Local reads as follow:

"At the CIO 'Jobs for All' Rally on August 29, the New York Local had its first opportunity to sell the new **'Jobs For All'** pamphlet. In less than two hours and a half, the comrades sold 410 copies! A sympathizer who participated sold 89 copies. Howie Mason was runner-up with 73 to his credit. With this splendid response to its first efforts, New York Local is confident it will sell its quota of 2700."

* * *

Los Angeles and Chicago report good results from sales of **American Workers Need a Labor Party,** by Joseph Hansen. Chicago writes:

"We sold 98 of the **Labor Party** pamphlets at the big CIO mass meeting last week. I believe we could have sold many more if we hadn't had so much Stalinist interference — it was really under difficulties."

And from the Los Angeles branch which recently ordered 300 more copies of the pamphlet: "You will be very interested in hearing some of the initial results of our Labor Party campaign... 12 copies of the Labor Party pamphlet were sold at a street corner meeting. Six copies were sold in front of consolidated Steel, four copies in the garment center, and at a street corner meeting two weeks ago, 15 copies were sold."

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JOBS FOR ALL! — **A fighting Program for Labor,** by Art Preis, 10c.

American Workers Need a Labor Party, by Joseph Hansen, 15c. Order from Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.

A recent issue of **La Lutte Ouvriere** (Workers' Struggle), organ of the Revolutionary Communist Party, Belgian Section of the Fourth International, carries a report entitled, "American Comrades Are Steadily Progressing." The first paragraph of the story reads: "In our last issue we announced the magnificent success of our comrades of the Socialist Workers Party, supporters of the Fourth International in the United States, in their campaign for new subscriptions to their organ, **The Militant.** Their objective of 10,000 new subscriptions reached the final total of 22,000 after an energetic three-month campaign."

The story reports the successful May Day meetings throughout the country and comments on the speeches delivered at the New York meeting by James P. Cannon and Albert Goldman. The story reviews the opposition of the Socialist Workers Party to imperialist war and commends the stand of the leadership in carrying out its duty despite imprisonment. **The article mentions in particular Grace Carlson, the only woman among the imprisoned leadership and reports her lecture tour on "Women in Prison."**

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New York Local of the Socialist Workers Party participated in the "Jobs For All" demonstration held at Madison Square on August 29 under the auspices of the Greater New York Council. Our Comrades distributed 2,500 copies of **The Militant** and sold 410 copies of Art Preis' new pamphlet, "Jobs For All," published by Pioneer Publishers.

Mili Adams of the West Side Branch writes: "As we circulated through the crowd of more than 50,000 workers, we noticed very few of our papers lying on the sidewalks. There were hundreds of **Militants** stuffed into back pockets and purses and all along the benches in the park, workers were reading the pamphlet. Many were grinning approvingly at the Laura Gray cartoons.

"One worker we noticed especially was carefully removing the sub blank from one corner of The **Militant. He put it into his wallet and walked off with the paper under his arm. Yes, sure enough, his sub came through in the mail this week. The sub blank is becoming more popular all the time and we can expect to receive many more from this distribution."**

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Proof of the growing popularity of our paper is the ever-increasing number of subscriptions. This week 96 subs were received — 44 one-year and 52 six-month. San Francisco tops the list with 11, New Haven is second with seven, and Boston and Seattle tie for third place with six each. Of the 96 subs, 13 were sent directly to us without solicitation, either on a coupon from **The Militant** or by letter. John Taylor of Brookwood, Alabama sent in four subs for friends. Other subscriptions came from Pine Bluff, Ark.; New York City; Memphis, Tenn.; Newark; St. Louis; Portland, Ore.; Seattle.

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John Quinn of Flint sends the following information which attests to the widening influence of The Militant in the unions: "It may interest you to know that two UAW local papers of the Fisher Body and AC have reprinted the article, 'Flint Spark Plug Union Cast Vote for Strike Action,' which appeared in the July 28 issue of The Militant."

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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!

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116 University Place
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☐ To join the Socialist Workers Party.

☐ To obtain further information about your organization.

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THE MILITANT

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

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

— Leon Trotsky

An Immediate Task

Testifying last week before the House Ways and Means Committee, CIO United Automobile Workers President R. J. Thomas declared that the Michigan State Employment Office is "a hiring hall for sweatshops." He said the UAW office is being "deluged" with protests from fired auto workers about the denial of unemployment compensation unless they agree to take jobs at starvation pay and non-union conditions.

This testimony dramatically points up the desperate situation confronting the unemployed union workers, as well as the deadly threat this situation poses for union conditions and the very existence of the unions.

If the corporations and their government agents have their way, the unemployed will be used as a spearhead against union standards. They will be forced into open shop plants to undermine the unionized shops.

As long as unemployed workers must deal with the government agencies as individuals, they are powerless to prevent themselves from being used for the vicious purpose of the labor-hating corporations. They must submit to the intolerable conditions imposed by the government agencies or starve.

Only the unions themselves can halt this dangerous threat. The unemployed unionists must go before the government agencies as an organized force. They must get the same union representation as they received while on the job.

Without delay, every union should establish an Unemployed and Placement Committee to organize its unemployed members and defend them in the "sweatshop hiring halls" with union power.

Lend-Lease

Max Lerner is one of the hacks on the staff of *PM* who specializes in appealing to the illusions of the petty bourgeois liberals. In the September 3 issue he assumes an indignant tone over the "irresponsible way in which we ended lend-lease, without making any provisions for a substitute." Apparently Lerner favors a sort of Herbert Hoover philanthropy for Europe, but he attempts to present an argument that would appear "realistic" to a banker. "The abrupt ending of lend-lease," he affirms, "may cause the collapse of the economic structure not only of Britain, but of all Europe. And since the world is economically a unit, that will mean a body blow to our own already weakened structure of employment."

Max Lerner should have greater confidence in the capitalist ruling class he supports. If a throat is to be cut, Lerner may rest assured it will not be the throat of the Wall Street oligarchy, so long as they wield the financial knife.

"Provisions for a substitute" for lend-lease were made by the last Congress. Lend-lease was ended precisely to force bankrupt Europe to open accounts with the Export-Import Bank — at lucrative rates of interest. Lerner should recognize that this is one of the fruits of victory. American imperialism, reorganizing the world in its own interests, intends to become not only the industrial and commercial center of the globe but also the banking center.

And so, while the British imperialists, for instance, insist they "do not want loans," spokesmen of American capitalism coolly point out, according to an AP dispatch of September 2, that "British negotiators. . . may obtain an immediate short-term loan from the Export-Import Bank to cover interim purchases in this country." Besides the usual rate of interest, the American imperialists demand that the British heed the voice of a "delegation of Indian business men" and "pass on some of the dollar credits to Empire areas so they could buy United States goods."

On top of this, the American imperialists suggest it would be well "to eliminate or drastically modify the empire preference system of trade controls." The demands of Wall Street, if complied with, would "open to American business men the Empire and Near East markets now virtually closed to them."

Thus it would seem that Lerner is too easily alarmed. The imperialist war-mongers who dared to smash the economic structure of Europe and drop the atomic bomb on Japan to preserve their "structure of employment" can be trusted to follow up these military measures with financial moves designed to win the "peace" in strict accord with approved Wall Street standards.

Discrimination

With cost-plus guarantees in their war contracts, the capitalist profiteers put everyone possible on the pay roll. In response to patriotic propaganda as well as family needs, youths left school in droves to take factory jobs. When husbands and brothers were drafted, women flocked to the machines to keep up the family income in the face of skyrocketing prices. Negroes, long barred by reactionary Jim Crow practices, were in many areas granted industrial jobs for the first time.

The youth, the women and the Negroes not only demonstrated their capacity to work side by side with the "old timers," they became solid supporters of the trade union movement. But having entered industry only after the war broke out, the Negroes, youth and women, in general, stand lowest on the seniority lists. On top of this, the capitalists are deliberately singling them out for discriminatory firing. Now, mass unemployment is hitting the women, youth and Negro workers especially hard.

The attitude of the war profiteers toward the Negroes is articulated by the Southern Bourbon Congressmen like Eastland, who boasts of his success in strangling the Fair Employment Practices Committee and who proposes to deport the colored people to Africa. The attitude of the capitalists toward women and youth is exemplified by the fact that the mis-named "Full Employment Bill" proposed in Congress applies only to those "who have finished their schooling and who do not have full-time housekeeping responsibilities."

The professional politicians of the capitalist class are thus utilizing government power — not to provide jobs — but to drive a splitting wedge into the working class through vicious discrimination against important sections of workers. It is high time labor put its own independent representatives in office to fight for a program that will provide every worker a job regardless of age, sex or color!

Foster's Line

Browder was removed from leadership in the Communist Party on the charge of "revision of Marxism." Foster was put in Browder's place and the Stalinists promised by implication that henceforth they would adhere to Marxism. At least that is what they want the workers to believe. By this switch in leaders the Stalinists hoped to regain the confidence of the workers whom they betrayed in the war. They hoped to soften the anger and hatred they aroused by their stabbing the workers in the back.

What is Foster's line in practice? An instructive example is provided in a statement on full employment printed in the *Daily Worker* of Aug. 29. This statement pretends to furnish a political answer to the present unemployment crisis. In it we find such gems of "Marxist" clarity as this: "Those spokesmen of the monopolies who sit in Congress and blockade this legislation — reactionary Republicans of the Hoover gang and those Democrats who shame the memory of Roosevelt, upon whose program they were elected, must be held guilty for this state of affairs."

Anybody who knows the ABC of Marxism knows that responsibility for unemployment does not lie with "bad" as opposed to "good" capitalists. A huge army of unemployed existed under Roosevelt as well as under Hoover.

Only the war created a false prosperity, providing jobs for the production of death-dealing instruments. During the war the workers were made virtual slaves in the factories, chained to the machines, compelled to work inhumanly long hours, denied the right to fight in their own defense. But no sooner was the last shot fired than millions of workers were thrown on the scrap heap.

Anybody who knows the ABC of Marxism knows that so long as capitalists have the right to shut down the factories and to cut off production whenever their lush profits are not guaranteed — just so long will there be unemployment. That is why the Socialist Workers Party and *The Militant* demand government operation of all idle plants under workers' control. For only the workers are interested in maintaining full production.

How can this demand be achieved? Only by the maximum mobilization of the power of the workers, united as a class, in a struggle against the capitalist class and its greedy profit interests. Only by the same methods of struggle which built the trade union movement and wrenched from the capitalists every concession the workers have ever won. Only by extending the struggle into the political arena through independent labor political action.

But the Stalinists under Foster single out "reactionary Republicans" and "those Democrats who shame the memory of Roosevelt" to blame for unemployment, instead of the capitalist system itself and all its agents. Thus they seek to sow the illusion that the issue is between "good" and "bad" capitalists and that the capitalist Congress could be trusted if "only" the "good" capitalists were in a majority.

Foster's line is in no essentials different from that of Browder. Like Browder before him, Foster pursues the line of making capitalism work, the line of betraying the workers.

"No, I don't practice discrimination, but how many janitor jobs do you think there are around here?"

INTERNATIONAL NOTES

England

When four companies of American Negro soldiers stationed at Bristol were suddenly ordered home, British girls became "hysterical" according to the London **Sunday Pictorial.** A police official admitted that "an incident occurred" when a "number of young women crowded the railroad station to say goodby to their friends." U. S. Army public relations headquarters stated that "the matter was purely social and was not reported to us."

According to **Pictorial,** however, at about 2 A.M. "a mob of screaming girls aged between 17 and 25" besieged the barracks where the Negro troops were quartered. The girls in a scene described as "hysterical" began singing "Don't Fence Me In." **Pictorial** declares the girls' emotional crisis had been provoked by the news the Negroes had been ordered home.

The soldiers broke down the wire fence enclosing their barracks and in a few minutes "hundreds of girls and United States soldiers were kissing and embracing" in heart-breaking farewells. The demonstration lasted until trucks took the soldiers to the station. As the trucks pulled out, the girls sobbed. Police tried to persuade them to go home.

France

The staggering cost of the Second World War to France is indicated by statistics released Aug. 27 by Minister of Justice Teitgen. He estimates the financial expense at 4,897,000,000,000 francs —$97,940,000,000, according to the official rate of exchange.

The war cost France the destruction of 1,785,000 houses, 5,000 bridges, about half the railway stations, 300,000 out of 500,000 of the country's railway cars and "almost all" French trucks.

On top of this, France lost half her livestock and three-quarters of her agricultural machinery. The German occupation costs were estimated at 860,000,000,000 francs.

Not counting labor, the loss equalled the average total national income for two years. The national debt now stands at the colossal figure of 1,160,000,000,000 francs.

Meanwhile the food situation remains acute. In Dijon the prefect warned August 27 that only six days flour supply remained. In Paris, where distribution of 300,030 cans of meat given by Argentina to Parisians began a few days ago, the cans were bringing the equivalent of $2.80 on the black market.

Hunger is so general that the de Gaulle regime plans to give civilian foodstuffs priority on France's railways — after the United States Army Service returns control of the railway system to the French government.

De Gaulle's cabinet has announced plans for "substantial increases" in rations "during the coming winter," but even if the plans are fully realized the French food standard will still be far below American and even British standards. **The cabinet hopes to increase food supplies by increasing considerably the prices paid "producers." What effect elimination of price controls will have on the present already inflated retail prices is not mentioned in the Cabinet's plans.**

The Netherlands

The general health of Dutch workers is at such a low level the average Netherlander of the western provinces still cannot do more than 60 percent of a full day's work. This is a result of the malnutrition suffered last winter and spring. The workers tire easily and betray the "mental instability" of persons who have undergone a great strain, declares an August 30 report to the N. Y. **Times.**

West Indies

During the war 52,000 West Indian workers were invited to the United States to increase the labor supply. Most of them were confined to menial jobs under contracts calling for low wages. They have now been given five days notice to get out of the country.

In Milwaukee 5,000 of these West Indian Negro workers were served this brutal notice.

In Camden, New Jersey, the Campbell Soup Company kicked 700 out of their jobs and advertised for replacements to unload trucks.

Many of these workers, coming from Barbadoes, Jamaica, and other islands exploited by British imperialism, do not wish to return. They have formed friendships in the United States and in some cases married American girls. They seek job training and educational opportunities. Consequently they feel bitter about the deportation order.

At Camp Murphy, Florida, where 2,200 got the notice, resentment was expressed in a short but desperate demonstration. The Southern Bourbons answered in the way habitual to the gentility of the deep South.

Deputies swarmed in from three counties and quelled the demonstrators by brute force. The workers suffered 27 casualties, including two fractured skulls and one broken back.

These West Indian workers feel that a country as powerful and rich as the United States should have no difficulty in solving the problem of unemployment. They cannot understand why their labor cannot be utilized to help produce the goods desperately needed by the poor people of the world.

Dutch East Indies

The sudden collapse of Japan has caught the Dutch capitalists unaware, according to a press report from Holland.

These capitalists feel "anxiety" over "the return of their rich colonial empire in the Netherland Indies," and are "busy gathering their scattered resources and wits."

In the mad scramble to resume exploitation of the fabulously rich and populous East Indies, the Dutch capitalists, naturally, are paying no attention whatsoever to the "democratic ideals" for which the Allies allegedly entered the Second World War. The last thing in the world they will permit is that the people of the East Indies should decide their own fate.

Hence the first thought of the Dutch capitalists is about the condition of the loot the Japanese imperialists were forced to drop. "Exports of sugar, tea, oil and rubber can be expected within a few months," declared Pieter A. Kerstens, Commissioner to the Home Gov.'t who will soon leave for the Far East. He believes little sabotage or destruction occurred under the Japanese.

The second thought of the Dutch capitalists is about the necessity of troops to replace the Japanese armed forces in holding the native population. They would like to send 20,000 Dutch troops and are irked at the presence on the spot of Australian and British troops. Kerstens believes joint administration "won't be easy. Indeed, the whole thing is difficult enough in any event." Astute capitalists in The Hague and Amsterdam are dismayed over the joint British and Australian "occupation of the empire."

Another cause of alarm and worry to the Dutch imperialists is the possibility that the people of Java, Sumatra and Borneo may be entertaining ideas of freeing themselves from all imperialist domination, particularly the Dutch from which they have suffered some 300 years.

The Dutch capitalist class seem quite conscious of their greatly weakened world position. Squeezed by British and American imperialism, they fear apparently that at best they can only be satellites and servants to these powers. Kerstens, as reported by the press, acknowledges that "Foreign capital, a major part of it American, must be realized for redevelopment of the Indies." He even goes so far as to specify that "The Government is prepared to contribute to the cost of rehabilitating the Indies, as well as guaranteeing loans floated abroad."

Kerstens of course gave lip service to the Atlantic Charter propaganda. He spoke about discarding the old caste system and of eventual equality between Europeans and natives. But he made clear he was opposed to the independence of these lands. The Committee for Independence in Java he described as Japanese-inspired and a "delayed-action bomb from which the fuse will be removed by the Dutch."

QUESTION BOX

Q: What colonies does France control?

A: The French empire includes Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, French West Africa, Togoland, Cameroons, French Equatorial Africa, Reunion, Madagascar, Comoro and French Somaliland in Africa; Syria, Lebanon, French India, French Indo-China, New Caledonia, and the Society Islands in Asia Minor, Asia and the Pacific; St. Pierre, Miquelon, Guadeloupe, Martinique, French Guilana and Inini in the Western hemisphere. Altogether it rules over a total of nearly 42 million people outside the boundaries of France.

* * *

Q: What is the public debt in the U. S.?

A: Latest official figures, as of August 1, 1945, show a public debt of 273 billion dollars, an increase of 14 billions over the first of the year. This amounts to an average of over $2,000 for every man, woman and child in the United States. On the basis of average family incomes, $1221 per year for a family of four, it would take six years of their total wages to pay off their "share" of the national debt!

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PROBLEMS FACING WAR VETERANS

By CHARLES CARSTEN

Super-Seniority for Veterans Upheld By Federal Court Judge

Super-seniority for World War II veterans was upheld by a Brooklyn Federal Court decision handed down on August 30, 1945 by Judge Matthew T. Abruzzo.

The ruling was made in the case of Abraham Fishgold, a veteran of World War II, who sued his employer for $96.40 wages which he had lost during a nine-day layoff. He was employed at the Brooklyn shipyard of the Sullivan Drydock and Repair Corp.

Fishgold charged that the loss of time occurred when a non-veteran with higher seniority was hired in his place.

In his suit Fishgold had the active backing of Colonel Arthur V. McDermott, New York Director of Selective Service, and was supported by the Kings County Post of the American Legion.

Fishgold, a member of the Marine and Shipbuilding Workers Union, Local 13 since 1937, was employed at Sullivan's as a welder for seven months before being drafted on June 5, 1943. After being discharged from the army on July 12, 1944, he was reinstated on his old job at Sullivan's.

Under the union's contract, employes in the armed forces are credited with seniority for the time spent in the service.

On being laid off Fishgold protested to the New York Selective Service Board that he had not been given his rights under Section 8 of the Selective Service Act which provides for the reinstatement of veterans in their old jobs and forbids their discharge without cause within one year.

In answering the charges the union protested that this was a breach of contract inasmuch as union seniority provisions were disregarded.

THE JUDGE'S RULING

Judge Abruzzo in his written decision on the case ruled that once a veteran is re-instated in his old job, he "shall not be discharged from such position without cause within one year after restoration."

He stated further that "the veteran is entitled to work on any day when there is work to be given, and no non-veteran shall do that work when such work can be done by a veteran."

"I am not concerned with the equity of the situation or with whom the returning veteran had to displace."

Col. McDermott, who was in court, was highly pleased with the decision and described it as "the first clear-cut decision under the re-employment provisions of the Selective Service Act."

"It is 100 percent correct." McDermott added "It sustains the position of selective service. It also means, that if work is to be had, the veteran must have that work, even if a non-veteran must be dropped to provide employment for the veteran."

The International Union of Marine and Shipbuilding Workers announced the decision would be appealed to higher courts.

Clinton S. Golden, chairman of the CIO Veterans Committee declared the decision was anti-veteran and stated: "In its attempt to place the veteran outside seniority protection for a period of one year, the veteran is exposed to employer discharge as soon as the year is up.

"This decision can mean in many plants wholesale discharge of employes not veterans of this war. This would tend to separate the veteran from the rest of the population and create artificial schisms."

The decision in the Fishgold case is not a victory for the veterans. It is another attempt to sow discord in the workers' ranks, to pit veterans against workers in the conflict over jobs. This decision conforms with the capitalist program of driving a wedge between veterans and workers.

Washington Deaf to Plea For Aid Against Polio

A "state of emergency" was declared last week in New Jersey by the State Department of Health after it had been established that there were 529 cases of infantile paralysis in the state without adequate medical and nursing facilities to combat the disease. The department's director, Dr. J. Lynn Mahaffey, appealed to the Red Cross for aid. The only thing reassuring in his appeal was the declaration that "the disease has not yet reached epidemic proportions in New Jersey as a whole."

The spectacle of government helpless to save lives is in sharp contrast to government efforts in behalf of destroying lives. This is what capitalism looks like today: **The only recorded federal expenditure for combating disease is an annual appropriation of $700,000 for the operation of the National Cancer Institute. Yet, for the development of the atomic bomb alone, the government found no less than $2,000,000,000 available!**

Total funds granted by American foundations, public and private, for research into ALL problems of medicine and health in 1940, the last year for which figures are available, amounted to a little less than $5,000,000. Compare that with the estimated $300,000,000,000 that the government required to conduct the war!

Billions for the destruction of human life! No provisions for the adequate sustenance of the lives of millions thrown out of work by the cessation of war production! And a mere pittance for the protection of these millions even against the ravages of disease!

At least 125,000 workers were found and maintained by the government to develop the atomic bomb with which to destroy two Japanese cities with a total population of around 600,000. But not enough hands can be found and maintained to care for 529 polio cases in New Jersey!

What a commentary on the thoroughly inhuman monstrosity of present day capitalism! Socialism is not merely the incarnation of the workers' hopes for a better world. It has become a matter of survival for the whole human race.