

Atomic Bomb Threat Hurled At USSR

Tension Over Greece Youngstown Unionist in Mounts To New High Council Race

The tension between Washington and Moscow reached a new high this week when Secretary of Commerce.W. Averell Harriman hurled a thinly-veiled threat that the United States Own Labor Candidate

was prepared to use the atomic+ bomb against the Soviet Union. | Harriman is a member of America's wealthiest ruling families and one of the Wall Street group of Brain Trusters that is advising the Truman Administration.

The threat climaxed a war-mongering attack on "Soviet imperialism" which Harriman made Aug. 19 before the Pacific Northwest Trade Association at Seattle.

"In this atomic age there is no protection against retaliation by air," said the Secretary of Commerce. "Our ability to launch an immediate strong aerial retaliation is the greatest possible deterrent against the use of military force by others.

What gave the throat ominous im pact was the fact that the State Department had cleared the text of the speech before it was delivered, thus implying that Harriman's words correctly expressed the offi- made in consultation with American cial attitude of the Truman Administration

Only four days before, Senator area of the Mediterranean. Wall Joseph H. Ball, one of the archi- Street views control of Greece as estects of the Taft-Hartley Slave Law sential in the preparations for war as a heavy population of steel workand right-hand lieutenant of Re- on the Soviet Union. Greece and ers with a large percentage of Local

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publican leader Robert A. Taft, told the press there was "grave" danger of war with the Soviet Union exwas "ever present," he said, and could flare into conflict.

lowed persistent rumors that 5,000 United States Marines were being interpreted this as a threat to send er is opposing in this election an readied for transportation to Greece U.S. troops to Greece and engage in anti-CIO, union-splitting Democrat



HARRIMAN

officials eager to entrench American armed forces in this strategic

gateway to the Black Sea path of invasion into Russia.

Steel Local Endorses

By Harry Frankel

YOUNGSTOWN, O., Aug. 16 — A rock has been heaved into the stagnant pool of Democratic-Republican politics here in the shape of an independent labor candidate for city council. John Ausnehmer, a member and officer of CIO United Steelworkers Local 1330, has been endorsed by his local as a councilmanic candidate. Local 1330 is organized in the large Ohio Works of the Carnegie-Illinois subsidiary of U. S. Steel. Ausnehmer is a railroader in the mill and a lifelong resident of the Fourth Ward in which he is a candidate.

By running a Fourth Ward candidate, the labor movement is attacking the stronghold of the Democratic Party here in Mahoning County, which is in turn the stronghold of the Democrats in this whole region. However, the ward is a labor stronghold, too. The Ohio Works

and the union headquarters, as well

Turkey dominate the Dardanelles, 1330 members, are in this ward. The incumbent Democratic councilman, Edgar T. Morley, who is Meanwhile in the United Nations, seeking re-election, is a roll-turner acrimonious debate continued be- at the Carnegie-Illinois McDonald tween the U.S. and Soviet delega- Works, but he has empittered the tions over Greece. As reported in unionists here by his refusal to join last week's Militant, Herschel V. the CIO Steelworkers and his ator war with the Soviet Union ex-ploding at any time. A brush be- Johnson, deputy American represen-tempts to split the steel union with tween soldiers of the two countries tative declared that the U.S. would an independent craft setup in his take action on Greece outside of the department. The Republican candi-United Nations, if the Soviet delega- date, Coates, is yardmaster in the Harriman's menacing speech fol- tion continued to veto his proposals. Ohio Works railroad department. The capitalist press unanimously Thus, labor's candidate Ausnehm-

to bolster the reactionary Glucks- full scale military action. The edi- and his own Republican foreman! berg dynasty. It was reported last torial comment of the Aug. 18 Wall The Ohio Works Organizer, offiweek that the Greek monarchy had Street Journal was typical: "There cial paper of Local 1330, came out "Investigating" the Price Conspiracy

Marshall Presses Wal Street's War Aims at Conference in Brazil

By Joseph Hansen

The opening sessions of the Inter-American Conference at sent." This was hailed by the capi-Petropolis, Brazil, quickly revealed how this gathering fits into talist press as a concession to cer-Wall Street's preparations for World War III.

'no state skall be required to furnish armed forces without its contain of the Latin American governments who are reluctant in the face

High Living Costs To Stay, Admits PresidentTruman

By Art Preis

The Truman Administration, hoping to make political capital for 1948, has opened a noisy sham-battle on the price front.

The "call to arms" was sounded by Attorney General Clark two weeks ago when he announced

ally bring many prices down." (United Press).

than toss a feather in the air anywhere in the vicinity of Wall Street and Washington to have it float in-

that the Department of t Justice intends to Profiteers Grab "probe" for any priceboosting conspiracies in food, clothing and housing. This was followed up by announcements of threatened federal hearings and suits for price-fixing and restraint of trade charges against the steel and rubber corporations. Whatever the results of these highly - publicized "probes" and suits, three decisive things they will not accomplish are apparent in advance: 1. They will not halt the profiteerpowered price spiral; 2. they will not halt monopoly fixing of high prices; 3. they will not send a single big corporation owner or executive to jail. SEES LITTLE RESULTS It took just two days after Clark's and long known - price-gouging announcement for Truman himself

to dispel any pipe-dreams about the Some prosecutions may get a brief promised price-conspiracy "investigations." He confided to his press impression that Truman is "doing conference on Aug. 14 that "he something" and then fade out into doubted that Department of Jus- chicken-feed fines, against a couple

United Press). At most, he admitted, it might Party campaign funds. And just to take a bit of the phony tinge off. "put the finger" on those charging some small-time price-chisellers may higher prices "than warranted." As be given jail raps. Not Benjamin if you need to do anything more Fairless, head of U.S. Steel, of course **RISES CONTINUE**

While all this horse-play is going to the lap of some price conspirator. The press snickers derisively at on, rising prices continue to strip the administration's shadow-box- the hides from the American working. A N. Y. World-Telegram Wash- ers and low-income consumers. Even ington correspondent calls it a the deliberately-diluted consumers "new Capitol extravaganza" that price index of the U.S. Bureau of 'previews like a real turkey." The abor Statistics records that by midpress of the plutocrats knows from une consumer trices had hit an allpast experience how little the capi- time peak, 18% above a year ago talists have to fear such "probes" and 57.1% above the 1935-39 level by their own government agents and But something nearer the true facts about how high prices have political office boys. There will be a little stink raised shot is revealed by an Associated about some of the more glaring—¹ (Continued on Page 2)

A Bigger Slice Wages and salaries dropped from 70% of the national income in 1944 to 62% in the last quarter of 1946, while reported corporate net profits rose from 6% to 9% of the national income in the same period, according to the Department of Commerce Labor took the big reduction in the share of the national income. Salaries, which go mainly to the big corporation owners and executives, remained up.

Corporation dividends rose 16% in the three months ending June 30th The cost of living, according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, is now rising at a rate of

practices of a few corporations. play in the headlines, spread the tice price investigation would actu- of big outfits that aren't contributing enough to the Democratic

25% a year.

appealed to Washington for Ameri- arises . . . the possibility that even- in its last issue with a front-page people This request was undoubtedly tled by arbitration.

elect him.

Dutch Continue Slaughter Of Java Freedom-Fighters

The second anniversary of the Republic of Indonesia strafing villages and highways in passed Aug. 17 with Java in flames as the Indonesian freedom accordance with Nazi blitzkrieg tactics. And Dutch communiques fighters continued putting the torch to immense stores of

rubber, oil and other products to prevent them from falling into the hands of imperialist Holland's armed forces.

In a grim speech on that day Lieut. Gen. Soedirman, Commanderin-Chief of the Republican Army, declared: "It is better for the country to become a sea of flames rather than a colony again."

Meanwhile, half way around the world, the Truman Administration coldbloodedly played the game of the Dutch despots. The State Department, backing Queen Wilhelmina in her attempt to keep the war on Indonesia out of the United Nations, tried to high-pressure the young Republic into accepting its "good offices" as a "mediator," thus by-passing the Security Council.

ASK UN ARBITRATION

The Indonesian government accepted the proffer of Truman's "good offices," but asked that these "good offices" be used to get the United Nations Security Council to send an international arbitration commission to the East Indies.

This was sufficient for Washington to declare that the Indonesians had rejected the offer, and when the Indonesian government insisted on its position, the offer was withdrawn

The Dutch colonial despots, unwilling to stand with blood dripping from their hands in the spotlight of publicity attending a United Na- | a "cease fire" order on Aug. 4, they tions hearing, hailed Truman's of- have methodically continued what fer as an alternative agreeable to they call "mopping up" operations. them.

Washington's diplomatic maneu- patches from Indonesia, consists of

boast of the capture of a number of NMU Urges Boycott

Of Ships Loading Dutch War Cargo

tional office of the CIO National Maritime Union announced yesterday that a unanimous decision had been reached to recommend to the organization's 90,000 memis "that they boycott all ves-

cels carrying war cargo designed to aid the Dutch in their war of aggression" on the Republic of Indonesia.

backed by giant American cor-

The resolution, which was sent to all United States ports, concluded: "We are confident our membership will not stand idly by but will join with all other maritime unions throughout the ships whose cargoes will enable the Dutch to suppress and enslave the Indonesian people."

ver gained the Dutch imperialists

they have utilized to the utmost. Although they had agreed to issue "Mopping up," as reported in dis-

NEW YORK, Aug. 18-The na-

"Imperialist Dutch interests,

porations and an interventionist U. S. foreign policy," said the statement, "are waging murderous warfare against 70 million Indonesian people."

world in refusing to man or load



towns and strategic points since the "cease fire" order was issued. The cynicism of the Dutch despots can be judged from the lying affirmation of Dr. Eelco van Kleffens, Queen Wilhelmina's chief delegate to the United Nations. that "all we want is to end anar-

chy and chaos." Van Kleffens, obviously imitating Nazi propaganda techniques, accused the Indonesian people of the very crimes committed by the Dutch imperialists.

"rape, murder and arson." He made this accusation while theaters in the United States began running newsreels from Indonesia The scenes of bombed villages show

what the Dutch can accomplish with American planes and tanks. The long lines of starving Indonesian children, who look more like skeletons than living beings, rival

to the Nazis. STRONG RESISTANCE

with the most modern instruments of slaughter turned out by American factories, have made swift gains against the ill-armed Indonesians. But they have far from won the war they started.

The resistance of the Indonesian people, particularly as they begin hearing of acts of sympathy from the labor movement abroad, will

stiffen and gain in strength.

Indonesian League

Demonstration Picture on Page 6

In a press interview the first day, Aug. 15, Secretary of can troops to aid it in the reign of tually we will send troops to Greece banner - headline endorsement of State Marshall announced that the other their armed forces to Wall Street's terror it is waging against the Greek in an effort to settle by a show of Ausnehmer and reported extensive his delegation of Democrats sor" on the toe, then all the other their and disposal. armed might what could not be set- plans for a "powerful campaign" to and Republicans would press be obligated to carry out at once the

for an agreement making it obliga- following measures: tory for all powers in the Western "Recall of chiefs of diplomatic cooked up by the State Department Hemisphere upon a two-thirds vote missions; preaking of diplomatic re- to avoid the accusation that the to carry out the short-of-shooting- lations; breaking of consular rela- treaty would commit the armed war measures of the Chapultepec tions; breaking of postal, tele- forces of the United States to a pos-Act in the event of "aggression" graphic, telephonic, radio-telephonic affecting any of the signatories. relations; interruption of economic, consent of Congress. This means that if the United commercial and financial relations." Marshall's first statement thus States, for instance, should become | That is the wording of the Chapulteengaged in a war with the Soviet pec Act.

Union and pinned the label "aggres- Marshall declared, nowever, that



Last week The Militant printed the correspondence tion for the final drive to subjugate following issues: between James P. Cannon. National Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, and Norman Armour, Assistant Secretary of State, on the use of American arms by the Dutch imperialists against the Indonesian people.

Cannon demanded that President Truman recapture these arms under the provisions of the Lend-Lease Agreement. Armour, speaking in behalf of Truman and the State Department, baldly admitted the facts but rejected the demand, contending that "each government has indicated that it does not intend to exercise generally its right of recapture of such articles.'

Cannon thereupon responded as follows: "I cannot accept any of the horror scenes ascribed this argument. Involved here are not any 'general' propositions. but a SPECIFIC instance of a SPECIFIC and glaring violation of the terms of lend-lease and the avowed aims of The Dutch capitalists, equipped the Atlantic Charter under which it was extended."

Cannon insisted once again on "the immediate return by the Netherlands Government of lend-lease equipment which is being employed in a war of conquest against the Indonesian people."

To date the State Department has not seen fit to respond pass it because it was busy with the to this demand. It is clear that Truman does not intend to recapture these arms if he can avoid doing so.

It is necessary to mobilize public opinion against the Truman Administration. Let every union body rally to the aid of the hard-pressed Indonesian people in their heroic struggle for independence.

Demand that Truman recapture the American arms and ammunition being used by the Dutch murderers. Address these demands to the White House and give them full publicity formal off-the-record discussions at convention. Prior to the convenin the labor press.

of popular opposition to commit

Actually the "concession" appears to be only a legalistic formula

sible major foreign war without the

revealed that Wall Street's major aim at the conference is to outlaw in advance the neutrality of all countries in the Western Hemis-

phere on the outbreak of war and bind them by treaty to participate in the conflict on the side of Wall Street.

America as part of its empire. Now day fifteenth convention, which to it wishes to integrate its vast natconcluded its fourth day here toural and human resources directly into the war machine in prepara- day, have put up battles on the appointment of dictator -receivers

the whole planet. In that mad 1. For democratizing the convendream of conquest the Western tion rules. This was to lay the basis Hemisphere appears only as a base for a battle against giving Tobin gates, representing a claimed 900,000 of operations. The purpose of the the power to appoint an executive

consolidate this military base. "supervision and orders," a "crown The N. Y. Tings, Wall Street's prince" post designed to permit eading mouthpiece. observed edi-Tobin to name his successor. torially Aug. 14: "Had the last ses-2. Against increasing the per sion of the United States Congress passed the Inter-American Military from 30 to 40 cents to swell Tobin's his bureaucratic grip on the union Cooperation Act the meeting at \$17,000,000 treasury. Tobin was through additional undemocratic Petropolis might have gone on from forced to yield before the over-

drafting of a treaty to the detailed whelming opposition of the condiscussion of ways and means of invention to such an increase. egrating the military forces of the hemisphere into a cohesive defensive unit."

The Act referred to by the Times would place the seal of official aper-operators. proval on the brazen militaristic scheme to organize all Latin America's armed forces according to Wall Street specifications. The first session of the 80th Congress did not Taft-Hartley Slave Labor Law. However, it is slated for passage next

session.

thorization has not prevented the to run the convention with an iron brass hats from coolly proceeding hand. His conduct has been markwith this part of Wall Street's blue-

concrete military steps constitute Nevertheless an opposition to one of the main subjects of the in- Tobin has made itself heard at the ion. Tobin had waged a campaign Petropolis.

FeamsterConvention Held After 7 Years

By Della Rossa

SAN FRANCISCO, Aug. 14 - Fighting the dictatorial one-man rule of Daniel J. Tobin, general president for 41 years Wall Street has long viewed Latin of the AFL Teamsters, opposition forces at the union's six-

> to eliminate all militant local leaders by bureaucratic expulsions and over a large percentage of the locals.

This convention of 2,400 delemembers, is the first in seven years. Petropolis Conference is to further vice-president under his complete The next one is scheduled for 1952. and every four years thereafter. Tobin's principal concern in the convention, as shown by his "Re-

port," has been to get a bigger cut capita tax to the international of the dues money and to tighten constitutional amendments.

WILLING TO WEAKEN UNION

He demanded that "at this con-3. Against giving the General Exvention the laws of the Internaecutive Board power to amend contional should be strengthened to stitutional provisions on memberthe end that men who cause unship, with special reference to ownlawful strikes, men who refuse to accept the advice and orders of 4. Against cutting the Secretarytheir duly elected officers must be

Treasurer's salary from \$30,000 expunged from membership no mat-(same as Tobin's) to \$20,000. Deleter what the cost, even if it has gates, who successfully opposed the tendency to weaken the union Tobin on this, argued such action for the time being."

His report likewise rants against the militant membership, "the socalled mob or multitude, or rank and file who are always disturbing our meetings." He offered no fighting program to defend the interests of the membership, while complaining about the Taft-Hartley Law and whining "we were betrayed by men we helped to elect."

The first day of the convention (Continued on Page 5)

would harm their own efforts to get vage raises

RULES WITH IRON HAND But lack of Congressional au-In the main, Tobin has been able

d by frenzied red-baiting and print for war. Undoubtedly these steam-roller tactics.



The above picture shows part of an imposing Sacco-Vanzetti defense demonstration held in New York City shortly before they were executed in Aug. 22, 1927. Literally thousands of such demonstrations were held in all the big industrial cities of the world during the seven-year fight to save these two foreign-born workers from murder by the labor-hating authorities in Massachusetts.

The Elemental Urge To Socialism

Bolshevik parties, the party leader, the trained and educated party member, all keep their eyes glued always upon the proletarians within their range of vision and contact. They know that by these great history is made, and that among them history is always being prepared. The more conscious the revolutionary, the more he recognizes the importance of following every shade of opinion in the unconscious historical process. No one ever exceeded Lenin in this

A few weeks before the October Revolution, Lenin was in hiding and his wife, Kfupskaya, went to see him. In the railroad coach full of soldiers the talk was not about Ministers and parliamentary combina-

tions but about insurrection. Writes Krupskaya, "When I told Ilyich (Lenin) about the talk of the peared for the first time in history soldiers, his face became thoughtful; Nobody quite knew what to make later, no matter what was under of them. The workers however discussion, the thoughtfulness did were calling the Soviets "the Prolenot leave his face. It was clear tarian government." Lenin knew. that he was saying one thing and in Trotsky's phrase, how to eavesthinking of something else—the in- drop on the proletariat. From this ter glass of tea than the others.



By J. R. Johnson

LENIN

Bolsheviks. Lenin celebrated it as a great victory, and an indication of the rightness of his position.

THE FIRST SOVIETS In 1905, the Soviets (councils) ap-

Demonstration In New York We'll Never Forget Martyrdom Of Sacco and Vanzetti In 1927

A few minutes after midnight on August 22, 1927 the State of Massachusetts legally murdered Sacco and Vanzetti. In connection with the twentieth anniversary of the death of these martyrs, we reprint with a few minor omissions an article which originally appeared in the LABOR DEFENDER, October 1927, shortly after their execution. The author, James P. world.

Cannon, was then Secretary of the International Labor Defense, which he helped found and organize. In this capacity he was instrumental not only in mobilizing the defense for these two victims of American juridical frame-up but also in bringing their case so forcefully before the eyes of American labor and of the whole

By James P. Cannon

After seven years of delay the electric chair has finally claimed its victims. In defiance of the civilized world, in the face of the protest of the world's millions, Sacco and Vanzetti have been executed. This foul murder is the cynical answer of the American capitalists to the people of other countries who appealed to America in the name of humanity and justice.

At the same time it is their with those elements who sought to traitors exposed themselves more warning to the protesting blur the class character of the case clearly than in the Sacco-Vanzett: workers of America that they and conduct it in an orderly and case.

are prepared to go to any length to "respectable" manner which would Unlike Debs, who played his part beat down the labor movement, and not offend the Judge and the Goy- in the fight nobly till the day o that legal murder is one of their ernor and other executioners of the his death, certain elements of the capitalists. Socialist Party were behind Mr established weapons. In this act of assassination the The infamous slander regarding Green and company only to the exruling class of America shows its funds hurled against the ILD by the tent that their influence was

real face to the world. The mask Boston Committee in the columns smaller. First, by refusing to parof "democracy" is thrown aside. of the capitalist press, was a reflec- ticipate in any kind of united front Judge Thayer and Governor Fuller tion of this basic conflict over policy action with the left wing and the (of Mass.) stand forth not as ex- and was in reality, an attempt to Communist workers and, second, by ceptional officials, apart from all demoralize and break up the pro- trying to discredit and sabotage all others, but as the authentic spokes- test movement. In spite, of the protest activities undertaken indemen of American capitalism. The bourgeois liberal influences that pendently by the left wing, these face of Governor Fuller is the face dominated the official Defense Com- office boys for the big labor fakers of the American capitalist class. It mittee at Boston, the militants did their bit to hamper and deis this yengeful, cruel and murder- would not allow the defense to be moralize the organization of the ous class which the workers must confined merely to the narrow mass protest movement of the workfight and conquer before the regime groove of Massachuset's legal ers which was the only possible salof imprisonment, torture and murder technicalities. With indefatigable vation for Sacco and Vanzetti. The can be ended. This is the message work and sweeping vision they baseless attacks on the International Labor Defense, the organizer from the chair of death. This is the painted the whole monstrous frameup on a canvass big enough for the of the protest movement, on the lesson of the Sacco-Vanzetti case. ground of "misuse of funds," were FRAME-UP VICTIMS workers of all the world to see. merely a part of the game of de-The ILD devoted much of its re-

Sacco and Vanzetti were victims of the frame-up system which is an sources and energies to the work of established part of American police organizing the protest mass movemethods insofar as labor prisoners ment in America and throughout them was a transparent fake from of the militants that the crucifixion start to finish, as everybody who has of Sacco and Vangetti was not prephernalia of the frame-up against the world.

the Haymarket martyrs, against BLOW AT LABOR

The industrial masters of Amerlabor cases was repeated here. The ica, through their legal hirelings,

ings of Labor leaders that have workers themselves.

the workers' parties had their head- runner of others which will inthe Soviet, who hated the Bolshe- not simply an extraordinary "misviks, seized the opportunity to carriage of justice," as many apolo- openly about all these questions launch an attack, upon them and to gists of the capitalist order attempt, sacco and Vanzetti will have died condemn their revolutionary per- to maintain. Sacco and Vanzetti were labor

Federal government in the midst of

noralization In appealing to the workers for olidarity with Sacco and Vanzetti, are concerned. The case against the world. It was due to the work and in organizing the protest movement in their behalf, the ILD never considered the cale as simply that investigated the facts, knows. Faked Dared and carried out in a quiet and of two individuals involved in a "orderly" way in whispered consul- trial at law. We always pointed out diced judge and jurors, dynamite tations behind closed doors, but be- its direct connection with the gen-"plants" and newspaper lies and came a tumultuous issue, storming eral issues of the struggle between misrepresentations - all the para- through the streets and factories of the classes and endeavored to link up the fight for them with the gen-

Mooney and Billings and in other

Trotsky used the same method. Sacco-Vanzetti case, in addition, plotted and carried out the execu-In July, 1917, the Petrograd masses however, was characterized by such tion of Sacco and Vanzetti with the aim of dealing thereby a blow to the were thrown back. In the country out torture of the victims as to call labor movement. But in summing up the case now, and drawing the issue of the class struggle, we had lessons for' the future, it must be no illusions about the possibilities But in all of its main features, plainly said that they were not of "justice" from the judges or the

responsible. They were persecuted the Sacco-Vanzetti case was a without allies, both conscious and Governor. Time and again we repetition of the many legal lynch- unconscious, in the camp of the warned against these illusions, against confining the defense to the We will only do justice to the task of collecting money for lawyers

memory of Sacco and Vanzetti and whose vision did not extend beyond quarters, the right-wing leaders of evitably follow in the future. It was to the cause of labor which they Judge Thayer's courtroom. lived and died for, if we speak The best defense for Sacco and

NO ILLUSIONS

Viewing the case always as an

would be in today if the union lead-

Vanzetti was to concentrate all energies in arousing the protest in vain if the real meaning and the movement of the masses. Sacco and causes of their martyrdom are not Vanzetti themselves understood this. These humble workers saw with

clear-eyed vision that their hope lay LABOR SKATES In the front ranks of the allies in the masses and not in the courts victims of the Palmer reign of ter- of the executioners of the heroic or the Governor's commission. The ror. It was neither a "criminal" rebel workers, the official leaders of contemptuous refusal of Sacco to in the Smolny, noticed that when case nor a "Massachusetts" case, but the American labor movement, sign the legal papers brought to a class frame-up with the United Messrs. Green, Woll and company him was a gesture more eloquent ant would cautiously slip him a hot-states government behind the prose-took their places. Their role was to than all the arguments of all the buck up the protect more than a the argument of the protect took their places. hush up the protest movement of lawyers. Every utterance that came Working Class Martyrs



The two victims of capitalist frame-up, Bartolomeo Vanzetti and Nichola Sacco, are shown here under armed guard shortly after they. were sentenced to death in Massachusetts.

belongs to the militants, and they lowed to dissolve. The first and foreneed no one's permission to carry most task in honor of the memory on their work in the name and spirit of the martyrs is to bind this moveof Sacco and Vanzetti. For those who saw the long tor- infuse it with a stronger spirit and ure and cruel death of the two a broader vision and understanding the case of Sacco and Vanzetti is case.

a day. So let it be with them.

heroic workmen as a personal affair of the manifold questions which or an isolated miscarriage of justice, were involved in the Sacco-Vanzetti ended. For some people who con- The electric flames that consumed nected themselves with the case in the bodies of Sacco and Vanzetti one, way or another without really illuminated for tens of thousands of knowing what it was all about, the workers, in all its stark brutality, whole affair is a piece of business the essential nature of capitalist

which is to be wound up now, the justice in America. The imprisonbooks closed and a "final" state- ment, torture and murder of workment rendered. All big fires draw ers is seen more clearly now as part moths which flutter about them for of an organized system of class persecution.

ment more closely together and to

But for the labor militants who Against this system—the system of fought with and for them, the light labor frame-ups-we must deliver eral defense of the scores of labor of Sacco and Vanzetti burns more our heaviest blows. The defense of prisoners confined in the peniten- brightly and fiercely than before. individual workers, the material suptiaries today and with the broader For us the last word has not yet port of their families and our genfight of the toiling masses for lib- been spoken. We have work to do enal work of defense agitation must eration from the yoke of capitalism. and we must be about it.. The great be carried on as a part of the fight movement of the working masses for to build a wall of labor defense Sacco and Vanzetti must not be al- against the frame-up system.

Our Program:

I. Defend labor's standard of living!

- A sliding scale of wages an escalator wage clause in all union contracts to provide automatic wage increases to meet the rising cost of living!
- Organize mass consumers committees for independent action against profiteering and price-gouging! Expropriate the food trusts! Operate them under workers control!
- 2. Full employment and job security for all workers and veterans!
- For the 6-hour day, 30-hour week! A sliding scale of hours-reduce the hours of work with no reduction in pay to prevent layoffs and unemployment!
- Government operation of all idle plants under workers' control! Unemployment insurance equal to trade union wages for workers and reterans during the entire period of unemployment!

3. Against all anti-labor laws and government strike-

Scientific socialism is the con-scious expression of the unconscious historical process; namely, the in-stinctive and elemental drive of the schedule and the construct society on communist beginnings. These or-ganic tendencies in the psychology of workers spring to life with ut-most rapidity today in the epoch of crises and wars. -Leon Trotsky, 1940 of an oppressed man that speaks. It takes a great deal of thinking out,

that one does, but it will repay the trouble

nade an armed demonstration and monstrous cruelty and long-drawnat large the Bolsheviks, hated by the for the indignant protest of the reaction and known as extreme rev- entire civilized world. olutionaries, were accused of being

by the government, their leaders jailed, their press suppressed.

In the Smolny Institute where all taken place in the past and a fore-

spective as a mortal danger to the working class. Bolshevism was un- agitators and foreign-born radicals, understood in all their implications. arrested at the instigation of the der heavy fire. Some of its mem-

bership dropped away.

their activities in behalf of other SIGNS OF SYMPATHY Then Trotsky, leader of the party he went to the canteen, the attend-

surrection and how best to prepare mass colloquialism there developed Trotsky looked around. All the lowfor it."

LENIN'S FAMOUS LETTERS

dictatorship of the proletariat. It was after this incident that "Marxism and the Insurrection." In most obscure remarks of the masses. these he demanded immediate ac- The Russian peasants used to say, tion, the rousing of regiments and "The land belongs to God." This factories, the arrest of the Kerensky means, said Lenin to a Bolshevik capitalist government, the seizure of Congress in 1917, that the poor peaspower by the workers, peasants and ant is opposed to sales, transfers, Lewis had Lewis defied Truman on soldiers. According to Trotsky the mortgages and all the legal manipuletters "did direct the thinking and lations by which a rich peasant beactivity of the Central Committee comes richer and a poor peasant into new channels.'

occasions on which Lenin, feeling land. his way to a grasp of what a con-

poorer. He means to say that he plied: There are almost equally famous believes in nationalization of the At a critical stage of the struggle crete critical situation demanded, for peace in Russia in 1917, every-

counters with the masses. worker savs that he is against an-He could listen to workers, and nexations I believe him. When watched always what they were do- Guchkov, the War Minister says express the most advanced ideas ing or thinking, as intensively as he that he is against annexations he is and needs of their class. But only studied Marx's works. At the fa- lying."

mous conference in 1903 when the WORKERS SPEAK TRUTH split between the Bolsheviks and the Finally there is perhaps the most listen to them with the necessary Mensheviks took place, among the wonderful of all his sharp judg- concentration and sift out of their delegates there were only three ments about workers: "When a instinctive reactions their often workers among scores of intellec- worker says that he wishes to de- amazing contributions to their histuals. The three workers joined the fend his country, it is the instinct | toric destiny.

the Leninist theory of the Soviet er staff, porters, elevator-men, etc., ago in the West Virginia area. They were asked if they thought the

the \$3,000,000 fine. Without the slightest hesitation one of them re-

"Sure they would have followed him. That would have made all labor come out in his defense and now we would have had no Taftly, as is their wont, agreed with him. It was strategy on a grand scale. All the workers do not at all times

Bolshevism which knows and bases itself upon their historic role can

cution all the time. ANOTHER HAYMARKET

the workers and to frown upon all from them was infused with this talk of demonstrations or strikes. spirit. Sacco and Vanzetti were power as the concrete form of the in the Smolny were unobtrusively It was clear from the beginning Under cover of an appeal for blood-brothers to all labor militants, but firmly showing that they sym- that the stage was being set for an- "clemency," Mr. Green proposed to bound by a thousand ties to the His conscious mastery of the his- pathized with the Bolsheviks. Trot- other Haymarket. This was under- the Governor that Sacco and Van- labor fighters in the front ranks of Lenin wrote the famous letters, "The toric process enabled him to make sky says that then he knew the stood by the militant and conscious zetti, who were innocent of any the class struggle and to those lan-Bolsheviks Must Take Power," and the boldest elucidations from the Bolsheviks were, so to speak, safe. workers, and their insistance on a crime, should be imprisoned for life guishing in the process enabled mint to make sky says that then he knew the stood by the mintant and conserves 2200, who were innocent of any in class in age. Let me finally relate a conversa- policy based on this point of view in the Massachusetts penitentiary. the cause of labor. The deathless tion with four miners some months brought them into constant conflict Never have these black-hearted heritage of the two great martyrs



crucial juncture in the life of the sion." (Associated Press, Aug. 14.) (Continued from Page 1) Nobody and nothing will protect Press survey made public on Au- American working class? It is a gust 15, the same day the Depart- compound of loud talk and do- labor from the rampaging price inment of Labor warned that higher nothing. They have reached, in flation except their own organized desperation, down into the trash action on a program of their own prices are imminent. The dollar bill today, reports the basket of all their worthless schemes that will beat back the onslaught

Associated Press on the basis of spot and proposals of the past, rum- of Big Business on both the ecoprice surveys in leading cities, is maging up scraps and tatters of dis- nomic and political arenas. Consider, for instance, the advantageous position the workers

worth exactly 50 cents in terms of carded policies. 1939 purchasing power. The average "LABOR STATESMEN"

actory worker who gets about \$48 a For example, we have Textile ers two years ago had put forward week today is getting not more than Workers Union President Emil Rieve, the program of the sliding scale 24 in goods and services at 1939 speaking for the CIO, as head of of wages to meet rising prices. erms. Millions of workers now get- its Full Employment Committee, Every union would have fought for ing \$30 a week or below for a 40 to seriously proposing as a "solution" a clause in its contract that would 18 hour week are actually receiving to the all-out profiteering price- have meant an automatic wage inis little or less than a WPA relief gouging that Truman call another crease, above the fixed and guarworker in 1939 getting \$15 a week labor - management conference, anteed basic minimum wage, for 'or 30 hours' work. where presumably the corporation every increase in the cost of living.

DEPRESSED LIVING

nterests.

spokesmen and the "labor states- In the past 12 months alone, that That is the reality of price-robbery men" might come to some gentle- would have meant not less than a ind depressed living standards that manly agreement about the need 25% wage increase for every worker. confronts the American people to- to lower prices. That program must still be lay. It is the reality determined Truman himself slapped that idea fought for. It can be won, as it when Wall Street dragooned this on the head by reminding Rieve was won by the CIO Sinclair Oil country into a \$300 billion im- about the similar conference in workers whose sliding scale conperialist war adventure; when October 1945 that preluded the great tract has just brought them an ad-Truman and Congress thrust a \$40 strike wave and the subsequent ditional substantial cost-of-living

billion a year peacetime war budget profits and price-boosting orgy of bonus above the 25-cent total of down the throats of the American the monopolies, aided by the gov- hourly wage boosts secured since people; when Congress passed, and ernment. last November. Truman signed, a whole series of We hear the cry go up for the KICK OUT TIME-SERVERS measures disemboweling price con- Big Business government to "roll Above all, the fiction that the trol and propping up monopoly back" prices, like an appeal to a Democratic and Republican poli-

prices for various special capitalist wolf to give up flesh-eating and ticians in Washington may be turn to vegetarianism. We hear a wheedled into "doing some hing" Confronted with this compelling plea for a special session of Congress on prices must be tossed out the

eality and the growing demand of to act on prices-this same Congress window. The job isn't to plead with he workers for a real program to which just concluded the most re- these time-servers for Wall Street. efend their living standards, the actionary session in its whole his- It is to kick them all out of Wash-'nion leaders are giving a nauseat- tory. And this plea in turn was ington - but for good! ng demonstration of bewilderment, brushed aside by Truman, who Put workingmen and women in powardice and downright stupidity. opined "he saw nothing special on Power in Washington through a What is their program at this the horizon to require a special ses- Labor Party!

breaking!

No restrictions on the right to strike and picket! No injunctions! No compulsory arbitration!

4. Build an independent labor party

- 5. Tax the rich, not the poor! Repeal the payroll tax! No sales taxes! No taxes on incomes under \$5,000 a year!
- 6. An 18 billion dollar appropriation for government low-rent housing!
- 7. Full equality for Negroes and national minorities! End Jim Crow! End anti-Semitism!
- 8. For a veterans' organization sponsored by the trade unions!
- 9. A working class answer to capitalist militarism and war.

Take the war-making powers away from Congress! Let the people vote on the question of war or peace!

- Against capitalist conscription! Abolish the officer caste system!
- Full democratic rights in the armed forces!
- Trade Union wages for the armed forces!
- Military training of workers, financed by the government, but under control of the trade unions!
- 10. Solidarity with the revolutionary struggles of the workers in all lands!
- For the complete independence of the colonial peoples!
- Withdraw all American troops from foreign soil
- 11. For a Workers' and Farmers' Government!

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leaned heavily on short casual en- one was crying: end the war with no Hartley Bill." The others cautiousannexations. Said Lenin: "When a

(Please Print)

IN MEMORY of LEON TROTSKY - 1879 - 1940

Why GPU Killed Founder **Of Fourth International** armed it to withstand successfully

By Pablo Seven years have elapsed since the agent of the GPU, the ordeal of the Second Imperial-"Frank Jacson," alias Jacques Mornard, assassinated Leon Trotsky in Mexico in August 1940.

That abominable act repre-+-

Trotsky died with the profound conviction that his life's work, concretized in the formation of the Fourth International, would endure, and confident that its final triumph

sented the consummation of a clash of "sordid personalities," or long series of crimes perpetrated monopoly of power in the USSR, in was assured. "factional antagonism" over the since 1927 by the thermidorian re- the Party, in the International. The events which have unfolded action in the USSR against the pro-But the revolutionary proletariat

since his assassination do not conletarian wing of the international already recognizes and, with the tradict him.

Stahn who armed the assassin's

hand perhaps believed that, by

plunging an axe into the head of

Leon Trotsky, he would snuff out

the thought of the proletarian revo-

lution itself for an entire period.

It has not turned out that way.

thought, continue to live in the vital

communist movement, and particu- aid of unfolding events, will recog-The Fourth International has larly against the Old Guard of the nize more and more readily that passed victoriously the test of war, the struggle of Trotskyism against it has been able to resist all the op-Russian Bolshevik Party. After exterminating Zinoviev, Stalinism is historically of no less portunist currents, it has been the Kamenev, Bukharin and a count- importance than the struggle of only international proletarian orless procession of the outstanding the Marxist revolutionists-of Rosa ganization which has preserved its figures of the Russian Revolution Luxemburg and Lenin-against the ideological cohesiveness and which of 1917 and of the Civil War, Stalin opportunist degeneration of the has defended the program of revowas finally able to achieve the phy- Second International. As was the lutionary Marxism. sical extermination of Leon Trot. case then, so today the fate of the

practical work was the embodiment

epoch of the extreme aggravation

of all the contradictions of imperial-

ism and of the advanced degenera-

tarian revolution in our epoch.

Following all the great leaders of

the proletarian movement since

Marx, he did not separate his theo-

retical work from practical day-to-

The Fourth International has workers movement and of socialism come out of the war reenforced hinges on the outcome of this strugideologically and numerically.

This struggle to the death began immediately after Lenin's demise in 1924 inside the Russian Bolshevik Party, and then extended after 1927 Viewed in this light, the assassininto the whole Communist Interna-

ation of Leon Trotsky was a tertional. Stalin used this Interna- rible blow against the forces of the tional to inflict unprecedented inproletarian revolution. furies upon tens of thousands of Leon Trotsky's theoretical and Trotsky's work, his ideas, his militant workers outside the USSR.

in Spain, in France, in Greece, in Bulgaria, and elsewhere. This struggle which has cost the lives of so many, has a very profound and definite historical meaning.

sky.

ties throughout the world. It replaced the wcapon of the ideological struggle with calumny, falsification, violence and assassination. it is in the last analysis only aner expression of the advanced decay of world capitalism, amid the retardation of the world socialist

revolution. **STALINIST FALSIFICATION**

In its war against the revolutionary wing of the workers movement, as it falsely claims "the socialist orand fascist reaction." It simply defends its own interests as the privileged bureaucratic caste which has generation; on the tactics of the taken root parasitically on the body of the first proletarian state established by the 1917 revolution.

Dilettantes in politics, pettybourgeois intellectuals, "disgusted". by the "organic immorality of Bolshevism," identify, for their own reactionary purposes, either from sheer ignorance or malice, the Bolshevism of Lenin and Trotsky's continuation of the Leninist tradition with the totalitarian caricature of Stalin. They profess to see nothing in this struggle except a

German proletariat in 1933, with the dvent of fascism and with the

opportunism.



Leon Trotsky

Founder of the Fourth International

Stalinist police-brutality prevail-ed both in Lenin's party in the USSR as well as in the Communist To the World Struggle for Negro Emancipation

upon all aspects of the Negro ques- important political measure left to

tion. Any idea that the views to him to rejuvenate the declining po-

which he stuck so tenaciously were litical fortunes of the North. Sec

Trotsky saw the Negro question of the vast importance (I put it

as a peculiar expression of "the na- mi'dly) to the Northern cause of

American capitalist society. But he in the Civil War.

sharply differentiated among the

Negroes themselves. He did not

call the divisions classes, but strata.

intellectuals were not a producing

class, as the Indian cotton manu-

facturers are a class in relation to

the Indian masses. But as he said:

these Negro intellectuals "keep

themselves separated from the

masses always with the desire to

take on the Anglo-Saxon culture

and of becoming an integral part

of Anglo-Saxon life. The majority

are opportunists and reformists.

Many of them continue to imagine

that by the improvement of the

mentality and so on, the discrim-

He understood that the Negro

was wrong, sent him material and Lincoln in 1862 found himself in American Civil War, as he wished,

memoranda, all of which he read an impasse, we have his own testi- the whole past and future of the

Republican Party split into two

wings: the reactionary profiteers

large scale capitalism in the United

radical intellectual wing, the revo-

day revolutionary activity. By J. R. Johnson

of revolutionary Marxism in our movement of the Fourth Interna-

tional

THE GUIDING SPIRIT In the first letter that he and preserved. He carried on un- mony for the fact that the emanci-The working class movement is

wrote to the Trotskyists in the wearied discussions with people pation of the slaves was the most revolutionary struggle would have indebted to him not alone for en- United States, Trotsky, in exile riching the doctrine of Marx and Lenin with a series of works on in Prinkipo, posed to the comthe character, development and the rades the Negro question as a casual opinions is false to the core. ondly, we have also his testimony Stallnist reaction does not defend dynamics of the social revolution in vital part of the struggle for our epoch (the theory of the Per- the proletarian revolution in the der against the agents of capitalist manent Revolution), on Fascism, United States . From that time to tional question in relation to the actual intervention of the slaves on the evolution of the first Work- his death, his interest in the quesers' State and its bureaucratic de- tion continually grew.

The basis of his approach was his workers movement and so on. We deep conviction of the revolutionare also indebted to him for his in- ary character of the masses of the defatigable work toward the or- Negro people. He had learned this ganization of the revolutionary by his vast experience of revoluforces on the international scale. tion and that mastery of principles Trotsky was the guiding spirit, first which distinguished the Bolsheviks in Russia, and after 1929 throughof the great epoch, Lenin and Trotout the world in organizing the sky above all the others. Thus forces of the proletarian opposition armed, he was anxious from the to the Stalinist bureaucracy, which very beginning that a Trotskvist converted the Third International organization in the U.S. should first into centrism and then into recognize what the revolution would mean to Negroes and what Negroes After the historic defeat of the would mean to the revolution.

NATIONAL QUESTION

Heroic Life of a Fighter For Socialist Revolution

By Rose Karsner

Leon Trotsky was born November 7, 1879 in a remote village of Czarist Russia which he described as "an obscure corner where nature is wide and manners, views and interests are narrow." He lived there until he was nine years old, then went to school in Odessa, a big city.

At the age on 19 Trotsky+for her, personal consideration espe-+ and a group of students were cially." arrested during a Czarist raid on The escape was effected. when in the dark of night, publicized the interior, he frame-up court "tripls" which ended their headquarters. Among them established contact with his com- frame-up court "trials" which ended was Alexandra Lyovna, an active rades and set to work among the in death sentences after "confesleader of the South Russian Work- Russian workers. Two years later, sions" had been extorted. ers Union.

obliged to emigrate. two years, pending exile to Siberia. Here he met some revolutionists who introduced him to Marx, Engels. Lenin. He became an avid student of their works. As exile was nearing, Leon and

Alexandra decided to get married. They were sent to the same Siberian village. Two children were born of this union. Soon after they settled in Siberia, news of ferment among the Russian farmers and workers reached

them. ESCAPE FROM SIBERIA

American revolution.

Alexandra, Trotsky tells us, "was the first to broach the idea of escape when we realized the great tasks ahead" because "duty to the revolution overshadowed everything

classic Stalinist fashion: concentra-The escape was effected. When tion camps, sudden disappearances

in 1903, the Czar's secret service In 1934 Trotsky took his family The group was sent to prison for caught up with him, and he was to France. He no sooner arrived than the government ordered him He lived in various European to leave in spite of the visa they countries until news of the 1905 had granted him. While trying to Revolution reached him. Without gain admittance to some other hesitation, he returned to Russia to country, he lived semi-legally in a play a leading role in the events. French village. Many trying months serving as chairman of the first passed until a socialist in the So-Petrograd Soviet. When the Revo- | cial Democratic government of Nor-

PAGE THREE

lution was defeated, he was again way secured a visa for him. obliged to emigrate. In France he MONSTROUS PURGES

Then came the infamous 1936 riend, co-worker, comrade and frame-up Moscow trials. Trotsky was accused in absentia of plotting to overthrow the Russian govern-Expelled from France, Trotsky and the defendants. Once more, went to Spain, served a short prison Trotsky became an unwelcome visiterm and was then deported to the tor. The Norwegian government Inited States. Here he edited a confined him to an island fortress.

Through these years of trials, tribulations and hardships, Trotsky he American papers. Again he did never ceased writing, meeting with tot hesitate for a minute. Nor did representatives of groups from all Natalia. His place was with the parts of the world, laying the basis Russian masses. Together they up- for constituting a Fourth Internarooted the little family and started tional. Isolation in the fortress beame unbearable. No country but one would admit him. President Car-

denas of Mexico, a consistent liberal, ion, they reached their homeland offered Trotsky and his wife asylum.

They made the long, arduous in intensity. They lost no time in journey, which of necessity had to taking their places and remained be conducted with great care and active participants in the battle secrecy so as to ward off Stalin's which culminated in the October GPU assassins. When they arrived they settled in Coycacan, a small

But Stalin could not rest in peace organizing and inspiring the Red as long as this powerful opponent Army to heroic deeds and the popu- was alive. For Trotsky was taking lace on the home front with a spirit advantage of this respite to expose possible for them to withstand the world events and to reiterate fundamental Marxist principles which

The GPU apparatus in the United States and Mexico was ordered to Party, Stalin was in a position to liquidate Trotsky. Two unsuccessful August 20, 1940 succeeded. Stalin's stricken people. Thus he was able hired assassin who called himself to begin building an apparatus in Jacson, drove an alpine pick into the base of Trotsky's skull while he was bending over a manuscript which Jacson had presented "for

emerged as an organic part not only of the past but of the coming **Revolution**. While Trotsky, in close collabora- suburb of Mexico City. Trots'y did not see the revolutionary workers and the masses of tion with Lenin, was occupied with the people on one side and the party, the subjective factor, on the other. For him at all stages the Finally, after the Civil War, the party could only live and prosper of sacrifice which would make it the Russian bureaucracy, to analyze by considering itself a part of the

who had used the war to establish strength and nourishment from it. In 1939, as those acquainted with tellectuals with whom is associated are aware, Trotsky was deeply disthe name of Thaddeus Stevens. The turbed about the situation in the dispense privileges and patronage attempts were made. The third, on Socialist Workers Party. He felt lutionaries, were distinguished by that the party contained too many this above all that in their effort petty-bourgeois intellectuals and

greatest benefits from the revolu- degeneration. Fundamental to his tion that was the Civil War, they solution was the bringing into the Stalin, though not a popular figure discussion." became the most ardent advocates party of workers, including Negro among the masses, already had a for complete equality for the Negro workers. For the great Bolshevik, sizable muchine to do his bidding. UNDYING CAUSE people insofar as that is possible in not only did the party educate and Lenin had been aware of Stalin's Thus ended Trotsky's life. A life

heir trek. After many unpleasant incidents, ncluding a short arrest and detenwhere the struggle against Czarism ESCAPE TO MEXICO was in full force, mounting hourly

Negro people and their relation to

mass movement and drawing ravages of civil war and counterrevolution, Stalin was busy build- Stalin was betraying. ing his personal machine. As Gen-States, and the wing of radical in- the published history of the party eral Secretary of the Communist

which meant so much to famineto win for the American nation the that these constituted a danger of his own image.

When Lenin died early in 1924,

Russian Marxist weekly until 1917, when news of a renewed upsurge in Russia flashed in headlines across

net Natalia Sedov, who became his

nother of two boys.

XILE RETURNS

Trotsky Appraised In Fourth International A thought-provoking article "Leon Trotsky—The Man and His Work," by Ernest Germain, is featured in the July-August Fourth International, now on sale. Germain appraises Trotsky as the collaborator of nin. Of different background ind temperament he shows why these two were titanic personalities.

Single copies 25 cents, yearly bscription \$1 can be obtained from Business Manager, 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.

ternational in 1948. He endowed it with a program of action recapitu-He guided this International in or not was not decisive. What mat-

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tangible proof given by these events that this International was beyond reform, Trotsky proclaimed the national question" and it was on slogan." necessity of building a new Internecessity of building a new inter-national, the Fourth International revolutionary experiences that Trot- a question of "awakening the Negro, after it, we have the logical frame-And immediately set about this sky worked. As he told an Amer-

task. ARMED THE WORKERS Before the criminal hand of the Stalinist reaction put an end to his to become a nation; if they are, intense life, he was able to partici- then, that is a question of their pate in the founding of that In- consciousness, that is, what they

the Transitional Program.

indeed.

its first steps, and he especially

these principles based on his own ican comrade in April 1933:

material under definite conditions. . . . We do not obligate the Negroes desire and they strive for." That was the general theory of

For Trotsky the main task was

masses." For them he always had the deepest sympathy and the most "Nations grow out of the racial penetrating understanding. He was keenly interested in the Garvey movement. He understood why the masses had followed Garvey. He saw it as an active rejection of the

fate imposed on them by bourgeois not with numbers here but with society. To impatient comrades who developing classes. The coming hotly pointed out that Garvey was proletarian revolution will show lating the whole experience of the "the national question" in the a faker, the co-leader of the Ocworkers movement in our epoch, Marxist sense. Whether the Ne- tober Revolution and the founder groes wanted to become a nation of the Fourth International used to reply with an ironical but kind-

tered was that "suppression of the | ly smile: "Yes, I know that Garvey was a Negroes pushes them toward a pofaker. The question is why should litical and national unity." Trotsky left no writings upon the so many Negroes have followed

Negro question. He carried on dis- him. You find that out and you cussions and these discussions were will find the road to the masses of the Negro people." recorded and often printed with-It was not only what Trotsky out his personal revision. But the said concretely that mattered. It main line of his orientation is unwas the perspectives that he opened mistakably clear. It was an inup. He believed that the American sistence upon recognition of the fact that the masses of the Negro people Civil War was to the coming Amerfrom their special oppression in the ican Revolution what the French United States could be expected to Revolution was to the proletarian react, in ways of their own, with revolutions in France. Not only a special revolutionary energy was this so for the American Revolution as a whole. It was particagainst American capitalism in the ularly so for the Negro question. period of its death agony. It is necessary not only to re-But if he never wrote, Trotsky

peat these dicta but to give some was no dilettante on the Negro indication of what Trotsky meant, question. The idea that he and for example, by his insistence that Lenin, educated Europeans, altoone needed to study the Civil War gether apart from their caliber as Bolsheviks, believed that the Ne- in the United States in order to penetrate more deeply into the Negroes in the United States constigro question. tuted a nation, that is impudence

TWO STRATA IN CIVIL WAR Trotsky had read widely on the The Negroes in the Civil War Negro question. His books had consisted of two strata - the free notes and markings to which he re- Negroes in the North and the ferred easily. When his views be- masses of Negro slaves in the South. came known, sympathetic Negro In the period preceding the Civil intellectuals from the United States, | War the class with revolutionary anxious to convince him that he aspirations in Northern society was

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a capitalist regime Lenin it was who had placed the ination will disappear. That is why Negro question as a part of "the they are against any kind of sharp REPUBLICANS SPLIT

In that pattern, before the Civil

saved from degeneration. work by which it is possible to We cannot do better than end penetrate into the relations between with some of the weightiest words Negro movements and the basic that Trotsky ever addressed to class relations in the country from members of the revolutionary movethe Civil War to the present day. ment in the United States. He was The logic of the dialectic deals summing up the discussion of 1939:

every member of the party, especially the intellectuals and semiintellectuals who, during a period that the free Negroes of 1860 have of six months, cannot each win a become the Negro petty bourgeoisie, worker member for the party, struggling to attach itself to the should be demoted to the position left wing of the capitalist class. of sympathizer. We can say the The revolutionary free Negroes of same on the Negro question. The the pre-Civil War period have been

old organizations beginning with replaced by the Negro proletariat. the AFL are the organizations of Where the free Negroes were allied the workers' aristocracy. Our party to the revolutionary petty bouris a part of the same milieu, not of geoisie, the Negro proletariat is tied the basic exploited masses of whom by industrial and social bonds to the Negroes are the most exploited. the organized labor movement. . . If the workers' aristocracy is REVOLUTIONARY POTENTIAL the basis for opportunism, one of

the all more than we will be the

Where Abolitionists and escaped the sources for adaptation to capislaves constantly kept the slave talist society, then the most opquestion before the nation, today pressed, most discriminated class, the Negro people, the revolutionary of which the Negroes are the most oppressed and discriminated, are elements among the proletariat, and the radicals constantly keep the the most dynamic milieu of the Southern torture of the Negro peoworking class.

ple before the nation, despite all NO PRIVILEGES HERE

the efforts of the Republicans and "We must say to the conscious Democrats in the North to comelements of the Negroes that they promise on the issue with the are convoked by the historic de-Southern Bourbons. velopment to become a vanguard We can boldly outline the future of the working class. What serves course of development. During the as a brake on the higher strata? revolutionary crisis, the revolution-It is the privileges, the comforts ary proletariat will be able to draw that hinder them from becoming behind it the great masses of the revolutionists. It does not exist Negro people, North and South, as for the Negroes. What can trans-Lincoln drew them during the Civil form a certain strata, make it more capable of courage and sacrifice? In the crises of the struggle for It is concentrated in the Negroes.

power and in the early days of the | If it happens, that we in the SWP revolutionary regime, the party of are not able to find the road to revolutionary socialism and the this strata, then we are not worthy proletariat as leader of the nation. the petty bourgeoisie. The active it all. The permanent revolution will turn to the great masses of and the rest would be only a lie.' revolutionists were the Abolitionists. the Negro people - the deepest Marxism understands that in the One year after these words on layers of the population, as Stevens period preceding the actual outthe Negro question, Trotsky was and the Republican Radicals turned oreak of hostilities, escaping slaves murdered. But his contribution to to them after the Civil War, and and the Abolitionists, the free Nethe Negro question in the United Lenin and Trotsky in the great States remains with the Socialist groes and escaped slaves in the North, provided the driving force crisis of the Russian Revolution Workers Party and has guided it turned always to where lay their for an agitation which wrecked during the past years. Succeeding most devoted following - the massyears will only further demonstrate. every compromise attempted bees who had been awakened to full that Trotsky's heritage on the Negro question is one of his greatest contributions to the struggle for the We can be certain that if Trotproletarian revolution and the so-

help the workers and the masses of machinations and sounded the alarm that was motivated by a deep sense the Negro people; genuine prole- in his "Testament." tarian elements and revolutionary Negro workers were the means whereby the party itself could be

ternationalism. In its stead he proin one country."

STRUGGLE BEGINS

"Many times I have proposed that

walks of life. With these fear-inspiring meth- struggle. That they might carry on ods, plus patronages, Stalin finally when he would leave off. succeeded in isolating Trotsky-the idol of the overwhelming majority later, he banished Trotsky to Alma rest me." Ata, then deported him to Prin-

10 S. 4th St.

the Communist Party of Russia, with only slight repercussions from was: the more courageous ones. These, as well as every man, woman and child closely or remotely related to Trotsky, he took care of in time in

of justice; an eager search for By the fall of 1924, Stalin was truth; a fierce adherence to the ready to come forward with his re- workers. By these principles he vision of the Marxist theory of in- lived, worked, fought. Nothing and no one could swerve him from his pounded the theory of "socialism course. Czarist prison and Siberian exile were of no avail, nor were Stalin's reprisals and constant hounding, with the threat against Trotsky took open issue with this his own life an ever-present mennew theory, but Stalin set his ma- ace. Ever conscious that his days chine in motion with lies, slanders, were numbered, Trotsky worked and vilifications, economic reprisals. wrote feverishly against time. All Simultaneously, he strengthened his his ideas, theories, warnings were secret service octopus, the GPU, committed to paper so the younger which reached its tentacles into all generations might benefit by his experiences and knowledge gained in

From prison he once wrote: "I feel fine. I sit and work and of the Russian people. Three years feel perfectly sure they cannot ar-

We can be confident that on his kipo, Turkey, and expelled him from death-bed, when his lips could no longer shape words, his last thought

> "Stalin murdered me, but he cannot kill my work." Yes, Leon Trotsky is dead. **Trotskyism** lives!

> > 855 Grand Ave. 3rd Floor

TROTSKY MEMORIAL MEETINGS CHICAGO NEW YORK Showing of Speakers: Eisenstein's Dramatic Film GEORGE CLARKE "THUNDER OVER MEXICO" Organizer, N. Y. Local ROBERT WILLIAMS Speaker: SWP Candidate for State Senator M. TERBOVICH In 23d Senatorial District Thursday, Aug. 28, 7:30 p. m. Chairman: C. THOMAS 777 West Adams St. MILITANT CHORUS Wed., Aug. 27, 8 p. m. **Beethoven Hall NEW HAVEN** 5th St. & Third Ave. Speaker: ALVIN ROYCE MINNEAPOLIS Saturday, Sept. 6, 8 p. m. "Trotsky's Ideas-GRACE CARLSON Guide for American Labor Speaks on Today'' "Trotsky's Great Role Thursday, Aug. 28, 8 p. m. In the Workers' Movement" Admission Free New Haven Labor School

ween the Northern bourgeoisie and the Southern planters, and educated bolitical life by the revolution itand prepared the nation for the in-

War.

When the war actually began, and sky had been able to write on the cialist society in the United States.

evitable revolutionary crisis.

and the contract of many for many for Contain Strategy

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3

27

THE MILATANT.



"Capitalism will not disappear from the scene automatically. Only the working class can seize. the forces of production from the stranglehold of the exploiters. History places this task squarely before us."

Leon Trotsky

Policy of the Ostrich

AFL President William Green, speaking at the Teamsters convention in San Francisco on Aug. 11, offered the following bit of advice on how to fight the sponsors of the Taft-Hartley Slave Labor Law:

"Pay no regard to political parties, but find out what the candidates stand for and then vote accordingly." This course, he claims, can "defeat every member of Congress who voted for the bill."

This pearl of wisdom is not, in our opinion, without flaws. A majority of Republicans happen to have voted for the Taft-Hartley Act. Consequently does Green mean by paying "no regard to political parties" that labor should vote the Democratic ticket?

But a majority of Democrats in Congress. likewise voted for the Taft-Hartley Act. So does Green's advice mean that labor should vote for the Republican ticket?

If labor opposes both the Republicans and Democrats who should the working man and his family and friends vote FOR to replace these enemies of unionism?

Nothing could be more obvious than the fact it is precisely political parties which labor must pay "regard" to. Anything else can lead to the smashing of organized labor in America.

Even a blind man should be able to see that both the Democratic and Republican parties belong lock, stock and barrel to Wall Street. Only by building its own independent party to take the field against these parties can labor effectively defend its vital interests.

Who else but Wall Street can gain from the advice to "pay no regard to political parties"? Doesn't that mean deliberate refusal to challenge Wall Street's political monopoly?

Green's policy is the policy ascribed to the ostrich. When in great danger it is reputed to bury its head in the sand and "pay no regard" to its enemies.

said to be on the agenda of the Washington conference is increasing "incentives" for the German coal miners. This would include living up to past promises of bonuses as well as enough food regularly to supply the energy for a normal day's work.

The obvious solution to the crisis of Allied rule in Germany, however, is not on the agenda. This solution is to get out of Germany. The withdrawal of Allied troops is the sole "incentive" needed by the German workers to put their economy into the working order needed to save Europe.

Washington and London are convinced that if they withdrew, the German workers would swiftly set up a revolutionary socialist government. This would mean the end of Wall Street's dream of domination of Europe. It would mean the end of the plan to shore up German capitalism. And it would mean the finish of the western bloc they are constructing as a springboard for their projected assault on the Soviet Union. That is why nothing will come out of the Washington conference that will offer any real hope of bringing production up to full capacity in the industrial heart of Europe.

The Struggle in Greece

Dispatches from Greece report that a "free" government has been set up by the guerrillas in opposition to the monarchy. The precise nature of this step is not yet clear. News cleared through official channels is highly suspect in view of the notorious way in which the Greek puppet government doctors and deliberately falsifies information; and details about the moves toward setting up a rival government are extremely meager.

Our Paris correspondent, however, writes that Greek Minister of War Dragumis has admitted that the partisans have succeeded in cutting off and isolating the whole region of the Albanian-Yugoslav-Greek frontier around the town of Florina. This would be the area where a "free" government would most likely be set up although partisan activity now extends far beyond these limits.

The enraged monarchy, says our correspondent, is replying by intensifying its reign of terror. Mass arrests continue and executions of those condemned to death are constant.

Greek Trotskyites have suffered 30 victims in this latest wave of repressions, he reports.

The attitude of the Greek Trotskyists toward the establishment of the "free" government projected by the Stalinists is as follows according to the sources of information available to our correspondent:

"They are against a government named bureaucratically and subject to control by the Stalinist party, which will only continue the policy of 'national conciliation;' that is, capitulation before the bourgeoisie in exchange for posts in the capitalist government and a friendly foreign policy toward the USSR. The Trotskyists are prepared, they declare, to support only a government based on democratically elected committees of partisans, poor peasant and workers which will apply a minimum labor program.



press.

It's not often that a gift of \$1,000,000,000 draws barely passing notice in the capitalist



"Why should they worry about being laid off? It's too hot to work, anyway."



STALIN MUST HAVE those of the Anglo-American im pacifying the fears of the Anglo-PEACE by Edgar Snow, perialists. American imperialists, that the Playing upon the undeniable suf- Kremlin's real desire is for peace. Random House, 1947, 184 reing and sacrifices of the Rus- The program to attain these ends pp., \$2.50.

sian masses during and after the is summed up by Snow in four In his explanation of why Stalin war, Snow makes their doubts the points. 1. Open direct Sovietmust have peace, Edgar Snow, or- doubts of Stalin on the interna- American negotiations for basic tional arena. He offers a sympa- political, economic and military dinarily an ardent Stalinist apologist, takes the liberty of criticizing thetic picture of the Russian work- agreements. 2. Economic collaborahis leader, only in order the better er and then attempts to transfer tion with the USSR. 3. Collective to be able to sell Stalin's line to that sympathy to the person of security, the price of European col-Stalin. He attempts to justify the laboration. 4. A common political demands of Stalin, in territory, in program. The book, which discusses in de-

tail "Why we don't understand the reparations, in political concessions, In stating his case, he makes Russians" and expatiates at some as the just demands of an outraged many valid arguments against the length on how the situation looks people. While admitting that "Ivan role of American imperialism. But Ivanovitch lives under a dictator- this can in no way exculpate Stalin a chapter entitled, "Investment in ship and has access to only a cen- for his crimes against the working sored press and selected books," he class and the workers revolutions talks of his mythical Russian in a in Europe, which Snow is careful to manner that would indicate that cover up.

There is no denying that the The solution of Snow is at the the Russian man in the street knows existence of stock piles of atomic everything that is going on in both same time both unrealistic and bombs, and their effect on the the Kremlin and the White House. | ridiculous. Completely slurring over thinking of Stalinist statesmen, In explaining Stalin's departure and ignoring all class antagonisms, makes itself felt throughout the from Marxism, Snow condones state he advocates that Stalin and the oook. Motivated by the fear of war subsidies for the church, revived American imperialists sit down and between the USSR and American nationalism, family stability, and work out a common political proimperialism, the book seeks to exthe re-establishment of "privilege gram. How, when or by what pound the theory of collective seand inequality" as due to new con- means the class struggle can be recurity as the solution to the threat ditions that Lenin never foresaw, solved around a conference table, and for which the Stalinist leaders Snow fails to show.

Snow starts his explanation of have no precedent. The dubious value of the book, if the Russian soul with the idea that He says that "in Lenin's day it any value can be attributed to it, the terminology of politics means would have seemed inconceivable lies in the manner in which the different things to Russians and that the Red Army could occupy Stalinist line in the next stage of Americans. Therefore the diploma- half a dozen countries of Europe world imperialism is presented. Pretic dispatches are read differently and Asia and not establish a pro-senting a sugar-coated Stalinist by the masses of each country. letarian dictatorship in them, but version of world affairs, serves Therein, he says, lies the basis of instead to honor agreements with neither the cause of Marxism nor the misunderstanding, leading to the end of exposing the real role the imperialist jackals." different conclusion and opposite Arguments that Stalin's self- of American imperialism. Only a actions. If not for this misuncreated impasse constitutes new presentation of the basic struggle derstanding, the two peoples conditions, necessitating new tac- between the proletariat and the might live in perfect harmony tics, may convince readers of the bourgeoisie for control of the eco-

The Inevitable Decline **Of The British Empire**

By Leon Trotsky EDITORIAL NOTE

The text below is a preface written by Leon Trotsky for the American edition of his book WHITHER ENG-LAND (1925). Some 25 years ago he foretold the inevitable advance to world domination by the United States which could take place only at the expense of Britain and which would in turn, accelerate the pace of revolutionary developments in Great Britain.

This forecast of Trotsky, which appeared in its day so fantastic to most people and especially to the Tory statesmen, is now unfolding before our eyes us an unmistakable reality.

The reader will note that in the concluding paragraph Trotsky refers to revolutionary developments in America as lagging behind those of Europe. This estimate refers to the conditions as they existed in the 'Twenties when European revolutions stood clurly ahead of the United States in the order of succession. After 1929, Trotsky evaluated the altered world situation and came to the conclusion that the march of events was projecting America, too, into the very "front rank" of revolutionary developments.

The present work is devoted to a consideration of the ultimate destinies of England, a subject that may be of interest to the American reader for two reasons: first, because England occupies a very prominent position in the world; second, because the United States and Great Britain may be regarded as twin stars, one of which grows dim the more rapidly as the brilliance of the other increases.

A REVOLUTIONARY FORECAST

The inference to which I am led by my study is that England is heading rapidly toward an era of great revolutionary upheavals. Of course, the English Secret Service men and their American disciples will declare that I am engaging in propaganda for a proletarian revolution, as if it were possible for an outsider, by means of pamphlets, to alter the course of evolution of a great nation. As a matter of fact, I am simply attempting by analyzing the most important factors in the historical development of England, to explain the historical path by which that country will be made to encounter obstacles-internal as well as external-to its continued existence. To accuse me of revolutionary meddling in the affairs of foreign countries, on the basis of such statements, would be almost equivalent to accusing the astronomer of bringing about a solar eclipse because he has predicted its occurrence.

But do not understand me as saying that astronomical phenomena are parallel to the phenomena of society. The former are accomplished outside us, the latter through our agency. Which does not mean, however, that historical events may be achieved by our mere wish or directed with the assistance of pamphlets. Far more books and newspapers have come out and are still coming out with the avowed purpose of defending and maintaining capitalism-including British capitalism-than have ever been published to attack it. Ideas of any kind may be effective only when they are based on the material conditions of social evolution. England is headed for revolution because she has already entered the stage of capitalist disintegration. If the guilty must be found, if we must ask: what accelerates England's. progress on the path of revolution, the answer is, not Moscow, but New York.

BRITAIN BECOMING SECOND RATE POWER This answer may appear paradoxical, yet it is the simple truth. The powerful and constantly growing influence of the United States on world affairs is rendering more and more untenable and hopeless the situation of British industry, British trade, British finances, and British diplomacy.

The United States cannot but tend to expand in the world market, failing which its own industry will be threatened with apoplexy because of the richness of its blood. The United States can only expand at the expense of the other exporting countries, which means particularly, England. In view of the patented Dawes method of harnessing the economic life of an entire mighty nation in the traces of American supervision, it almost provokes a smile to hear people speak of the revolutionary significance of one "Moscow" pamphlet or another. Under the cover of what is called the pacifica-

tion and rehabilitation of Europe, immense revolutionary

and military conflicts are preparing for the morrow. Mr.

Julius Barnes, who enjoys the confidence of the Depart-

ment of Commerce at Washington, suggests that the

European debtors of the United States be assigned to

exploit such portions of the world market as will not

bring the impoverished and indebted European cousins

The ranks of labor must reject this stupid and suicidal advice out of hand.

Conference on the Ruhr

Behind tightly barred doors in Washington, negotiations are now under way between British and American delegates on the fate of the Ruhr. The press has been barred from the meetings. Up to this writing, not even publicity handouts have been issued. The Anglo-American masters of Western Europe are squabbling over control of this prize of war.

While they haggle, the lives and well being of Europe's teeming millions hang in the balance. For two and a half years now under Allied domination, the economy of Europe has experienced stagnation and continued decline. Unless production is swiftly increased, famine will stalk Europe this winter.

The key to increased production is the Ruhr. Only half the coal mined there before the war is now being brought out from underground. The amount of coal needed to speed up Europe's industrial wheels happens to be precisely the difference between pre-war and present production in the Ruhr.

The Allied propagandists blame this drop in production on the German coal miners. They say the miners lack the "incentive" to dig the needed amount of coal.

But the real blame lies on the shoulders of the Allies who are quartering their armies in Germany. It is their military governments who are running Germany. It is they who chopped up Germany into separate zones, dismantled factories, prohibited the manufacture of essential commodities, and imposed starvation rations on the German people.

Even the N. Y. Times, leading spokesman of Wall Street, acknowledges this now. "It is the American Government," admits an Aug. 11 editorial, "which originated and imposed the program for German de-industrialization that is at the bottom of Europe's misery and weakness." Now these imperialist rulers are frightened at the consequences of their policy. They fear furthur continuation of the failure to restore production can well lead to a political crisis this winter that will doom capitalism on the European continent. Consequently, one of the points

Yet that's what happened on Aug. 14 when the Truman Administration announced the cancellation of the \$1,000,000,000 debt owed the United States by Italy according to the terms of the peace treaty imposed on that defeated power by the victorious Allies. The editorial staffs knocked out a few perfunctory remarks about Uncle Sam's "generosity" and let the matter go at that.

A billion dollars may not seem like much in these days of astronomical expenditures for war. Still this lack of enthusiasm seems somewhat singular-until you start to look a little more closely at the teeth of this gift horse.

First of all, \$523,000,000 is for relief supplies given Italian civilians when their land was converted into one of the major battlefields of World War II. Another \$305,000,000 represents the cost of maintaining Allied bayonets in Italy. And another \$175,000,000 represents miscellaneous claims connected with the war.

Italy was utterly unable to pay this huge bandits' assessment. Consequently the cancellation represented nothing but a bookkeeping transaction to clear U.S. books of an uncollectible debt.

In addition to this "generous" gesture of the conqueror, the Truman Administration released \$60,000,000 of frozen Italian funds and handed back 13 ships which had been seized as war booty and 15 Liberty ships to replace Italian vessels that were sunk.

No one, of course, can oppose the easing of the harsh terms of the peace treaty the Italian government was forced to sign. But this particular gesture scarcely deserves applause. You don't praise a bandit who recognizes when he's gone the limit in bleeding his victim. Particularly when he clearly has an ulterior motive.

The easing of the peace terms is designed principally to bolster reaction in Italy. It is intended as grist for the propaganda mills of the Italian quislings serving under Anglo-American imperialism. It is designed to help stem the leftward political shift of the masses in accordance with the reactionary aims of the Truman doctrine.

We think the Christian Science Monitor, probably without realizing it, expressed the gist of the matter neatly in a prominent headline: "U. S. PROPS DE GASPERI RE-GIME," with a smaller line of explanatory type tucked below- "\$1,000,000,000 Debt Canceled,"

with each other. Needless to say, Saturday Evening Post, but such nomic sources of social and politi-Snow never poses the Marxist solu- arguments have no place in Marx- cal power can serve that end. This tion to the problems of the world ist theory. He seeks only to explain Snow is incapable of doing. -John Fredericks as being in any way different from that Stalinist tactics are aimed at

Why Truman Atom-Bombed Hiroshima

On the second anniversary of the greatest single atrocity of all time, the atomic annihilation of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, Truman again claimed his order to drop the atom bombs was nothing less than a humanitarian act to save the lives of some 200,000 American troops by shortening the war.

the general American public.

to Ivan Ivanovitch, concludes with

peace," the essence of which is

Stalin's program for America.

of armed conflict.

Of course, this solicitude for American lives did not prevent U.S. capitalism from plunging this country into the Second Imperialist World War that cost about 350,000 American war-dead.

But let us examine Truman's excuse for the atomic slaughter at Hiroshima and Nagasaki at its face value. This excuse, in itself, is a deliberate lie.

Hiroshima and Nagasaki were not military-strategic objectives. They were guinea pigs in a frightful experiment.

This is the hideous fact, suspected from the first by all thoughtful observers, which is now partially confirmed in a new book by two leading war correspondents formerly

attached to Gen. MacArthur's headquarters in Tokyo. Frank Kelly, Assistant Chief of the New York (Original emphasis). Then the authors ask the start-Herald Tribune's Washington

Bureau, and Cornelius Ryan, a staff ling question: "Was the bomb member of Life magazine, disclose dropped simply to justify two years' the truth behind the Hiroshima- experiments-to justify the outlay Nagasaki atrocities in their book, of two billion dollars?" (Original Star-Spangled Mikado, an expose of emphasis). MacArthur's rule in Japan, pub-This is their revealing answer:

"From what a senior officer, at- Ryan state: lished by Robert M. McBride & Co.

After describing the terrible blast- tached to the Manhattan District ing and burning of major Japanese (atomic bomb project), told one of least 90 per cent of the correspondcities by B-29 fire-bomb raids that the authors a year later at Bikini, had "the Japanese literally beaten this did have an important bearing dropped, and everybody who visited to their knees long before the on the decision to drop the bomb. atomic bomb was dropped," the au- "The bomb,' he said, 'simply had to thors write: be a success-so much money had

"The Japanese knew all was lost been expended on it. Had we failed, when the Russians threatened to how would we have explained the the plan of mankind's destruction enter the war. Our combined chiefs huge expenditure? Think of the had been completed."

of staff had known at Yalta that public outcry there would have In short, the bomb did not "save" Russia would enter the war three been! Very few people knew about 200,000 American lives. It opened months after the defeat of Germany it, and when President Roosevelt Therefore there seems less rea- died we began to feel worried in- the way for the obliteration of all son, as we look back on it, for using deed. There was nothing on paper. mankind.

There were no direct orders, everything had been kept completely secret. We did not know but that the very people who were in on the secret in high government quarters might have been the first to jump on the bandwagon, shouting they had known nothing about it.

"'The whole business was fantastic, and there was no way out. The bomb simply had to be a success. As the war in Germany rushed to a close, work in the plants was speeded up. Then, when Germany surrendered, we expected the Japanese to quit straight away. Frankly, we thought the Pacific war would finish before we had a chance to use the bomb. As the time grew shorter, certain people in Washington tried to persuade General Groves, director of the Manhattan Project, to get out before it was too late, for they knew he would be left holding the bag if we failed. The relief to everybody concerned, when the bomb was finished and dropped, was enormous.''

Thus, we find, that the concern of those directing the bomb production was not to end the war speedily. They feared that the war would end too soon for them to use the atom bomb!

Summarizing the views of correspondents and observers who have visited Hiroshima and Nagasaki, where at least 200.000 were slaughtered and another 200.000 horribly seared and mutilated, Kelly and

"The authors can safely say at ents felt it should not have been the two places and saw the unimaginable destruction by the atomic bomb, knew a perfect blueprint for of the United States into competition with the expansion of their creditor across the seas. In aiding to restore the European monetary system, the United States is simply exploding one inflated illusion after the other, by giving the Europeans an opportunity to express their poverty and dependence in the language of a firm currency. By exerting pressure on its debtors, or giving them an extension, by granting or refusing credit to European countries, the United States is placing them in a gradually tightening economic dependence, in the last analysis an ineluctable situation which is the necessary condition for inevitable social and revolutionary disturbances. The Communist International viewed in the light of this knowledge, may be considered an almost * conservative institution as compared with Wall Street. Morgan, Dawes, Julius Barnes-these are among the artificers of the approaching European revolution.

In its works in Europe, and elsewhere, the United States is generally acting in cooperation with England, and through the medium of England. But this collaboration means for England an increasing loss of independence. England is leading the United States to hegemony, as it were. Relinquishing their world rule, the diplomats and magnates of England are recommending their former clients to deal with the new master of the world. The common action of the United States and England is the cloak for a profound world-wide antagonism between these two powers, by which the threatening conflicts of the perhaps not remote future are being prepared.

"INEVITABLE HOUR WILL ALSO STRIKE FOR AMERICAN CAPITALISM"

This brief preface is not the place in which to speak of the fate of America itself. There is not a doubt that capitalism today nowhere feels itself so strong as in America. American capitalism grew marvelously, chiefly at the expense of the European belligerents at first, now by reason of their "return to peace," their "rehabilitation." But in spite of all its huge power, American capitalism is not a self-contained factor, but a part of world economy. Furthermore, the more powerful the industry of the United States becomes, the more intimate and profound becomes its dependence on the world market. Driving the European countries further and further into their blind alley, American capitalism is laying the foundation for wars and revolutionary upheavals, which in their frightful rebound will not fail, to strike the economic system of the United States also. Such is the prospect for America. In revolutionary development America does not stand in the front rank; the American bourgeoisie will still enjoy the privilege of witnessing the destruction of its older European sister, But the inevitable hour will also strike for American capitalism; the American oil and steel magnates, trust and export leaders, the multimillionaires of New York, Chicago and San Francisco, are performing though unconsciously their predestined revolutionary function. And the American proletariat will ultimately discharge Moscow, May 24, 1925 theirs.



the atomic bomb, if that use was simply to defeat the Japanese."

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.

But No Apartment Editor:

While out hunting for an apart- orate upon their thesis of a sliding ment (that of course I couldn't find) | wage scale. The workers themselves I came across an evicted family whose troubles made mine seem small by comparison. John Pointeck and his family of eight were being able harm or whether they are conevicted from their apartment on clusive theories upon which they East 21st Street, Manhattan. Pointeck, a member of Local 39

International Marine & Shipbuilding workers, CIO, has been on strike for eight weeks at the Atlantic Basin Iron Works where he is employed. Even in the midst of his household troubles, he said he didn't have much time to talk with me because question did not call for "the patchhe had to go to a strike meeting ing up of the capitalist system" by

despite the strike he never failed to pay his rent.

ing to brag about. During the war rocketing prices. there was no superintendent. Garbage piled up in the basement until Mrs. Pointeck took over the work because they were fed up with "sweeping maggots out of the kitchen." Now the Rowley Realty Company, which owns the building, is evicting the Pointecks to make room, they say, for a superintendent. There was no court order authorizing the eviction.

Mr. Pointeck is father of six children. The oldest, a boy of 20, is serving in the U.S. Army in France. The family was completely unprepared for this eviction, and have no place to go. They were caught unassurances from a Tenants League that they could not be evicted. But now the whole family is out on the street.

Betty Vincent New York

Opposes Cooperatives And Sliding Wages

Editor:

"Bureaucrais and Cooperatives,' the title of your editorial in the Au- with price jumps. It is obvious, it gust 4 Militant, is merely another call for the patching up of the cap- would afford effective protection for italist system. Cooperatives in the the family budget. main, in fact in toto, are nothing but capitalist enterprises in and of does not mean that the workers' themselves, and as such serve no standard of living is stuck at a fixed means of bringing the working class level. The standard of living can nearer to socialism.

Calling to the working class to unions' strength, militancy and abilembrace cooperatives as a panacea ity to win higher pay in ratio to liv- Calls Attention or a "temporary" resting place on ing costs. The sliding scale acts the road to true socialism appears only as insurance against price to be a rank subterfuge. Surely hikes, thus helping to preserve gains Editor: a party which pretends to speak in already won.

The failure of the trade union the name of Marxism cannot continue to make calls which it must bureaucracy to fight for this pro- Party," you state: "The Executive itself realize will amount to no more vision, so clearly needed at present, Board of the AFL Sheet Metal than the final and utter disillusion- shows how much they fear the mili- Workers passed a motion urging the ment of the workers it strives so tant struggle that would be required AFL Council to launch a campaign hard to educate.

It should be noted and noted well Once such a struggle began on a 1948; and suggested John L. Lewis Republican Governor Earl Warren, per capita to the international. Tobin's proposal to reduce the that cooperatives, while causing the wide scale they fear it would lead as a possible nominee." to profound revolutionary developin the prices a worker must

Finds Evicted Family | of the worker when he is seeking a | Mid-West Camp remedy for his dire position. Wins Another Fan Perhaps the SWP would care to elucidate and more fulsomely elab- Editor:

Seeing is believing. After having been at the Mid-West Camp, I can understand why the comrades were should know whether these schemes such ardent spokesmen for the camp. are to redound to their own inevit- For the first time on vacation we breathed the free air of a friendly, socialist environment, where coworkers in the struggle for socialism might lean until they can organize could get to know one another, and take power of the legislative macould exchange experiences, could

relax in an easy atmosphere—away Norman Johnstone from the pressure of hostile capital-Westville, N. J. ist ideas and petty-bourgeois individuals.

Editor's Note: The editorial in that afternoon. He told me that building cooperatives. In fact the

chinery.

which the Pointecks have been liv- cooperatives in giving even immeing for four years is certainly noth- diate and partial relief from sky-

At the same time the editorial indicated that it would be incorrect dealing with the history of American to oppose cooperatives in principle. struggle of the working class to es- IWW. And toward evening, Dave tablish a socialist society. As pointed out in the editorial. the AFL and CIO top bureaucrats have recently begun advocating the mal reports given by comrades from building of cooperatives. But they all over the country on their trade

falsely maintain that cooperatives union activities, for here everyone can "wipe out monopolies and production restrictions." Our editorial called attention to these false claims Workers Party in action, and of the and explained that the bureaucrats high caliber and competence of our could go swimming. I didn't want prepared, because they had received were making these claims in order to comrades who are advancing our avoid militant struggle for effective program and giving it concrete measures against the rising cost of flesh and blood.

living. In opposition to the false claims and diversionary tactics of the trade

posed what we have long advocated: a sliding scale of wages as a practi-

prices. Union contracts containing a sliding scale provision would call for

> workers. be bettered to the extent of the

In an editorial of the August 4 Militant, "Action Needed on Labor

This is a little misleading

floor.

to 9 p.m.

1926.

store.

ing Class.

By Winifred Nelson .

ST. PAUL, Minn., Aug. 16-We have just returned from the county workhouse, after seeing the neat, attractive, 33vear-old mother of six children, jailed "on suspicion of child neglect and violating health ordinances." Four of us from the labor movement-two members of General Drivers Union Local 120. the wife of one, and I-went there this afternoon as an investigating committee to see what we could do to help.

Mrs. Marie Curtis, a widow since her husband died five years ago,

While lazying around on the grass, has been working as a waitress for lapping up enough sunshine to last the past year to supplement the misfor another 50 weeks, we combined erable allowance doled out to her education and pleasure. Not until for "Mother's aid." Last Tuesday you hear William Warde's analysis night, police found her three sons, main point of the editorial was to of the first American revolution, the aged 11, 10 and 7, out hitchhiking, The first floor front apartment in call attention to the inadequacy of conflict of the classes within the picked them up and took them revolutionary forces, and the daring, "home. There they found the three militant role of the "Boston boys," girls, aged 14, 12 and 4.

can you fully appreciate the Marxist 1. About the same time (10:00 p. m.), interpretation of American history Mrs. Curtis returned home-just in Dick Kirk, too, had a fine course, time to be taken off to jail because she had been out on a "date"trade unionism, evoking a good deal getting a little well-earned relaxa-

though subordinate role in the on the Knights of Labor and the 7 a. m. to 11 a. m., and as a wait- I just bought new shades and curtains last week.' ress from 11 a. m. to 7 p. m.! Weiss had some good points on the

ENTITLED TO RELAXATION technique of public speaking.

Most inspiring of all were the inforgot the feel of the power of our pro-This is the story she told: gram, of the power of the Socialist "I gave the boys a dollar Tuesday next two months."

morning and told them that they

New York

They Forget Those Who Die in Poverty Editor:

any left for carfare home." When a President's mother dies, she gets a lot of publicity. Now I police reports that her home was you help yourself," she added, at- the answer she is looking for. It is am sorry to hear of anyone's death, "one of the dirtiest they had ever tempting to smile.

Joe

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A Visit in Jail With Mother of 6

"LEARN TO RELAX ... TOT CIPEUS

since they can play a progressive al- of excellent discussion, particularly tion after her day as a mother from stairs," she said, and added, "Why, keep a home in repair or a lawn well cared for!

Mrs. Curtis's story differed, too Mrs. Curtis told us about the man with the statement by Ruth Bowthe newspapers called her "boy man of the county welfare board, We thought a woman was en- friend." She has been going with that the children do not want to retitled to three hours of relaxation him for a year and two months now. turn home, and that court action once in a while, so we went out to "My kids like him and he is good may be taken to remove them bequestion her further on the case. to them," she said. "We plan to cause "the situation is not at all get married soon-sometime in the fair."

> The children, whose picture in the daily press showed them to be good-SACRIFICES FOR CHILDREN looking, healthy youngsters, have

my boys to steal, so I gave them The mother had tears in her eyes been in the city hospital since they money. The oldest boy is 11, but as she told of her love for her chil- were taken from home Tuesday. Efhe's a bright boy and watches out dren. "I do care for them," she de- forts are being made to interest I.N. for the others. I told them to use clared. "All of them have nice labor unions and liberal persons in the money for carfare, and-it was clothes and I went without myself the case, in order to reunite the a hot day, you know-they could to give them things." Again and children with their mother. get some pop and ice cream. They again, she thanked us for coming.

said. "And I'll do anything I can mother. Capitalism cannot solve Pierce with 20 points. ice cream and pop and didn't have to get my children back. You can't her problem. Only under a socialist We questioned Mrs. Curtis about expect anyone to help you unless society can the toiling woman find

not Mrs. Curtis who is guilty of This story differs a great deal child neglect, but rather the society

the old age homes, etc. We never Since she must work outside the filthy home (which the mother owns serve as breadwinner, child-tender hear of them, and they are not giv- home, she explained, naturally she -it was left her by her parents). and housemaid. No, Mrs. Curtis en a decent burial or a grave marker. can't watch hourly to see that her We drove past the house this after- and the many other women like her This shows class division. That's home is spic and span. (What noon and saw that it is not in very are not guilty. It is the rich, placwhat it is; the aristocracy and the working mother of six children can!) good condition—the house needs ing their profits above human wel- visits per sub, but it can be done."

housecleaning just last week. "My what working mother of six chil- fare, who sit under indictment by Youngstown, Ohio oldest daughter helped me go over dren, on "Mother's aid," can hope the working class-GUILTY, of all the floors and wallboards down- to have either money or time to child neglect.



| headed by Dave Beck, West Coast | ably have recommended adverse acwas filled with speech-making, in- Teamsters leader, did a quick about tion." Therefore there was no sense to win it for all of organized labor. for a labor presidential candidate in cluding an address by California's face on the question of increased in proposing "what can't be passed."

Beck said the proposal for an in-

advised that caucuses held in va-

rious parts of the country regret-

By C. Andrews

whom the State AFL bitterly de- Fearful of sustaining a defeat on Secretary-Treasurer's salary from

THE MILITANT ARMY

Los Angeles Scores 141 Subs in July

Detroit and Philadelphia com-

Total subs for July dropped to

The subs received during July are

Los Angeles easily takes all the From Plentywood, Mont., honors for new and renewal Mili- two subs and a \$20 donation to help tant subscriptions during July, finance The Militant. Many thanks while Cleveland completed a very to J. B. successful three-months campaign.

* * *

rades sold subs while at Midwest Al Lynn of Los Angeles writes: The hot weather (California Camp and Vacation School in Cen-Chamber of Commerce please note) | tral Michigan. Detroit also sent in has slowed down the sub drive, but three one-year renewals. "Driving back to Camp after so far we are very pleased to have

spending a day in Flint," writes a 50% increase in subscribers in the first half of the campaign. We Theresa Stone of Philadelphia, "we have another newsstand this week, gave a lift to a woman and her two with several patrons who will ask children going to a lake. Formerly for the paper there regularly. We a school teacher, she is now a waitknow the Stalinists will try to have ress. Of course we talked unionthe paper removed from the stand, ism and politics. She was sure her but we don't think they'll succeed husband, a tool and die maker, would like our paper, so she subthis time." scribed.'

The San Pedro Branch of the Socialist Workers Party sent in sev-452, the lowest number since last eral batches of subs to help swell November. The extremely hot the Los Angeles Local's July total weather during July plus the fact to 141, against a quota of 50. One that many comrades were on vaca-San Pedro letter had this explanation undoubtedly accounts for the tion: "Comrade Pink was unable steep decline in subs. With the because of work, to come out to cooler weather of autumn and the Sunday's mobilization, so he went return of comrades to their jobs, out to see some of his neighbors subscriptions should again pick up. one night after work and came back with six subs."

A. Woods, Hollywood Branch literature agent, sent in 11 subs obtained in the Roger Young Village, a quonset hut housing unit occupied entirely by veterans. "This was our second mobilization in this. village. The first netted us 12 subs. We feel we are finding a good response, many of the people being very sympathetic and anxious to discuss with us."

Cleveland "completed our sub campaign a week ago with the Red. Invaders nosing out the Pace Makers by two points," reports Comrade A. K. "Final score was 55 to 53. The situation is not fair, but it's Cur pace setter was Sally C. with probably spent all their money for "I certainly do appreciate it," she not the fault of a hard-working 24 points; runner up, Frances

"Considering the bad weather al summer and the number of comrades available, we feel the cam paign was successful. Over a period of three months we renewed about 75 subscriptions. We found that if expired subs are followed up immediately it is possible to ge close to 100% renewals. It may

G & M News, 9th & Superior Wade Drug Store, Mayfield & Eu-

Family Theater Newsstand, oppo site theater: Carls Book Store, 910 Woodward Ave. Militant Bookshop, 6108 Linwood. Michigan & Lafayette Newsstand

NE Corner, 5th and Main: 326 W. 6th Street; Consolidated Bldg. 6th and Hill; 2210¹/₂ Bklyn. Ave.; 1660 N. Cahuenga and Hollywood Blvd., 1065 N. Los Palmos and Hollywood Blvd., 316¹/₂ W. Pico Blvd.

Newsstand, N. E. Corner Planking-ton, 2nd Wisconsin

MINNEAPOLIS Labor Book Store, 10 South 4 St.

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Total

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CHICAGO 777 W. Adams; University of Chi- cago Book Store. CLEVELAND C. & M. News, 0th & Superior	Kauffman's Dept. Store, Bcok Dept. 2279 Centre Ave., Hill District. M. Rose, 1332 Fifth Ave. P & A, 220 Federal St. Hacfstetter's, Highland bet. Centre & Penn.

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SWP, 623 Sixth Ave. SAN FRANCISCO Ray's Smoke Shop, 1174 Sutter St.; MacDonald's Book Store, 867 Mission St.; Golden Gate News Agency, 81-3rd St. Joe's Smoke Shop, 1798 Geary. San Francisco School of Social Science, 305 Grant Ave., 4th Fl.

Eckert's corner, Washington 1st Ave.; Bishop Drug Store., Jackson St.; Rayner's Book S' 905 3rd Ave.; SWP, 1919½ Second Ave.

Hirsch Newsstand, 319 St. Clair St.

SWP Headquarters, 351/2 South Ave.

Rm. .214

and 507

Naturally, a sliding scale of wages







people that die in the poorhouse, in could not understand these reports. from the vicious press accounts of a which demands that a woman alone

To Error in Editorial

union bureaucrats, we again procal safeguard against skyrocketing

pay for commodities, at the same ments in America, pointing straight the Executive Board of only one lotime contribute to a lowering of the to the replacement of the capitalist cal (No. 209 of St. Paul) that passed wages with which same worker is system by the planned economy of the resolution. Local 209 presented to enter the buying market with socialism. These capitalist-minded bureau-

which to purchase these same comcrats, at least, are thoroughly con- Executive Board with U.S. and modities. A sliding scale of wages appears vinced that the slogan of a sliding

in the light of this to be quite ex- scale of wages is not designed to But that body ignored it, giving traneous, apart from the realm of patch up the capitalist system. How the lame excuse that they could not LABOR COULD WIN supply and demand. The SWP in else explain their stubborn opposispeak for the AFL Executive Counbecoming an advocate of such "re- tion to organizing a militant strug- cil! formist" measures adds only to the gle for its inclusion in union con-W. N. growing confusion and hopelessness | tracts ? St. Paul, Minn.

hold the "free enterprise" system of per capita. capitalism, complain about the "CAN'T BE PASSED' the resolution to a meeting of the Taft-Hartley Act, and offer his

(Continued from Page 1)

nounced last month. AFL Presi-

Sheet Metal Workers International moth-eaten political program of crease was "sound and unassail-"vote against our enemies and for Canadian business agents. able," but "the committee has been our friends."

SEVERAL OUTBREAKS

In his opening address, Tobin spent a lot of words attacking the

"communists" whom he regards "with fear and horror." He ad-Milwaukee SWP mitted that the organized labor **Enjoys Annual** movement, with its 14,000,000 members united, and each member getting "at least one person each to **Holiday Picnic** vote in the general election," could be an overwhelming political force. "That total of 26 or 27 million votes would win." Although he boasted that "I have

MILWAUKEE, Aug. 17fought against a third party for 40 years," he would "concede that I At a beautiful green wooded loyalty

may be forced into it." This is grove the Milwaukee Branch of the most rumor recognized as nothing but a threat Socialist Workers Party held its Beck. to squeeze a few more concessions fourth annual Socialist Workers RED-BAITING SANCTIONED

Thursday 7-9 p.m. 1418 Fifth Ave. from the reactionary Democratic "Holiday" picnic last Sunday. SAN DIEGO-Headquarters 432 F Party. Tobin is on the Democratic A crowd of over 150 people en-St., R. 213. Open Tuesday, Thurs- National Committee. joyed a steak luncheon with fried

On the question of AFL-CIO potatoes, relish, coffee, and waterunity, Tobin told the CIO to "remelon, with music coming from a turn to the AFL first, and then we loud-speaker system playing in the can settle questions of jurisdiction." background.

A popular money-raising conces-Science, 305 Grant Ave., cor. of Much of his long-winded speech as whooped up his violent jurisdiction sion was set up with valuable prizes, war against the CIO Brewery Work- and proceeds amounting to \$65 went ers and the CIO Longshoremen and to the American Committee for Warehousemen. European Relief. There were games

with prizes for the children which were played at a nearby school-

Several outbreaks against Tobin's ground

After a friendly afternoon of eatproposals came in today's session. International Convention was strue ing and drinking and playing On the question of giving Tobin's out. Thus, Tobin can now const General Executive Board the power games, including baseball, the tutionally expel any union milita to amend the constitution on cerspeaking program began with Fred or opponent of his policies as "sul Martin, Milwaukee Executive Comtain membership requirements, delegates from San Francisco and New mittee member, who stated that "American imperialism is prepared York City raised heated objection. to plunge the world into a new Joseph Casey of San Francisco declared: "I say it is a bad prece- and bloody war in an attempt to

conquer the Sovict Union in order dent to delegate powers of the convention to a small group within to open up new fields of exploitathe union." tion.'

Wednesday, 8 p.m., at Odd Fellows The other speaker, Milwaukee Or-Tobin finally took a hasty hand-Hall, 6th and Fawcett. Discusganizer James Boulton, pointed out vote and declared the amendment sions on current topics. For inforpassed by the required two-thirds that if "the workers are to mainmation, write P.O. Box 1079. vote. This was vigorously disputed tain their gains they will have to TOLEDO — 113 St. Clair St., 2nd by the opposition. When Delegate organize an independent labor party Casey demanded to know "on what to win their battle on the political

YOUNGSTOWN - 351 South Ave., basis do you say there was a twofront." Youngstown 3, O. Open 12-5 p.m., thirds vote?" Tobin replied, "I made The picnic closed with drawings of two dozen door prizes which had the ruling." Monday through Saturday. Phone Tobin's constitution committee, been solicited from local merchants

the issue, the committee itself "re- \$30,000 to \$20,000, so as not to be dent William Green spoke to up- luctantly" proposed no change in as much as Tobin receives, was voted down, although Tobin him-

self pleaded that "there is no comparison in the jobs - whoever holds them — of secretary-treasurer and president." A delegate from Honolulu argued, however, that to cut salaries "would be a beacon-light to the employers."

There was no opposition voiced on the constitutional amendment to permit Tobin to appoint and fix the salary of an executive vice-presi-

lent, generally understood to be the
'crown ' prince" to succeed Tobin.
However, opposition to this was be-
hind the earlier unsuccessful fight
o democratize the convention rules.
The post will not be filled until
December 1, said Tobin, because he
needs a man "whose qualifications
ne understood" — namely absolute
ovalty to Tobin alone The man

One of the most powerful weap-

ons handed Tobin against the mem-

Tobin.

tize the convention rules. will not be filled until 1, said Tobin, because he an "whose gualifications	NEW HAVEN Yale Co-op, 300 York Ave. Nodlemans News Depot
ood" — namely absolute Tobin alone. The man red for the post is Dave	106 Church St. NEW YORK Newsstands on 14th Street, between 2nd and 6th Aves.: 42nd St. be-
ING SANCTIONED	tween 5th & 6th., 116 University Place. NEWARK Progressive Workers' School, 423 Springfield Ave.

DETROIT

LOS ANGELES

MILWAUKEE

bership was a constitutional pro-		
vision barring from membership all members of the Communist Party		7.79
"or other subversive organizations" or anyone who even "subscribes to their doctrines" in the opinion of Tobin. Under this provision, passed without debate, the General Ex- ecutive Board can put on trial and expel any member, its decision being "final and binding." The former provision for a final appeal to the International Convention was struck out. Thus, Tobin can now consti- tutionally expel any union militant or opponent of his policies as "sub- yersive."	September 6 through 14 Adults: \$25 for 9 days, \$4 a day Children: \$15 for 9 days, \$2 a day Includes board, lodging, classes, swimming pool and all camp equipment WEST COAST VACATION SCHOOL, 316 1/2 West Pico Boulevard,	
	Los Angeles 15, Calif.	
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OAKLAND, Cal.—Meetings Wednes-Phone Richmond 4644. day, Odd Fellows Temple, 410-11th SAN PEDRO - Militant publishing St. For information write to P.O. Assn.,-1008 S. Pacific, Room 214. Box 1351. PHILADELPHIA - 1303-05 W. Gi-

LYNN, Mass. — 44 Central Square, Room 11. Discussion every Tuesrard Ave., 2nd floor. Open daily. day 7:30 p.m.; open Saturdays 1-5 p.m.

Diary of a Steel Worker The Appeal That Must Be Made

— By Theodore Kovalesky-

Every time I get the chance I like to read about Atrocity stories are a means of getting him to support the old-timers in our movement, the old fighters for the war-makers of his own government against those a better world who went out among their brothers in of another government.



the working class and preached But this very fact is one that can be turned to just the word of Socialism to all that the opposite use. If the workingman and workingwoman can be appealed to in the cause of decency and would listen.

I like to read about Joe Hill justice, then, instead of the hypocritical lies of the singing the songs of his people and imperialist war-makers, let the old appeal ring out firing their imagination with the again and again, the appeal to reason, to truth, to picture of a world owned and gov- Socialism. erned by the "working stiffs" and run for the benefit of all people.

And I like to read about those ist school system of the land teaches lies to our chil-"Wobblies" who risked-and sometimes losttheir lives at the hands of vigilante mobs all for the to the adults. Diseased, rotted capitalism lives by the cause of freedom.

I like to read and re-read their bold, bright words of freedom, of equality and brotherhood, of class solidarity; and I like to think of how their fellow-workers must have been stirred by them. Eusene Debs was another. With his great voice Always there will be the slum dwellings, growing worse

he attacked the powerful parasites who live off the each day, each year, always hunger, disease, wretchedsweat of the workers, and he filled the minds and ness and despair. Let us fight for plenty and Socialhearts of his working class audiences with a grand vision of truth and beauty.

That was years ago, and much of the world has too old, which has outlived itself, there must always changed since then. But...just how much? Have be wars and violence, even to the death of the last old you and I changed?

know I haven't. The words that so affected the and Socialism. workers that listened to Debs and the other old fighters sound the same to me and rouse in me the same that will be made over and over again. And the listen-

And I don't think you've changed either. Certainly and make it to your friends and shopmates. Let it the capitalist press uses the same kind of propaganda ring from one end of the country to the other. on you that they used in the old days, the dishonest All who understand, all who have feelings, who hate appeal to your better instincts. Just as they howled the golden greed of the few and are willing to fight in 1917 about the fiendish "Hun," the raper of de- for the needs of the multitude, all who love justice fenseless Belgian and French women, the murderer of and truth, will join us. We believe in this cause and

children; so they howled just a few years ago about will live for it. Some will be called upon to die for it the fiendish "Jap," who committed atrocities just like and will not be found wanting. the "Hun" of the last war.

It is the cause of all the peoples of the world, and This shows what the worker is like: he is one to it will be victorious. We will do our part. Join with be aroused to anger by stories of injustice and cruelty. us and do yours.

I Hate to Pay the Light Bill

– – By Joseph Hansen [.]

Our Labor Day, 1947, Message: Workers, Build Your Own Party! Let us organize and fight for truth. The capitaldren; the capitalist press, radio, and movies teach lies

THE MILITANT

NEW YORK, N. Y.

• R

"Hands Off Indonesia"

2011/07/2 NDEPENDENCE **,** 10 **NDONESIAN** 11173 INDONE STOPUS U.S.GU SOCIALIST WOR ngainst INDONE: REPUBLI COCYALIST WORKE

Some 200 workers picketed the Dutch consulate in New York, Aug. 15, to protest the war launched on the Republic of Indonesia by imperialist Holland. Crowds of shoppers, sightseers and office workers witnessed the demonstration in Rockefeller Center. Picket signs included such demands as "Ston U. S. Loans to Dutch Imperialists." "Get Out of Indonesia," and "Withdraw Dutch Troops from Indonesia." The shouting pickets denounced the use of U.S. arms by the Dutch to shaughter the Indonesians. The Indonesian League of America. which called the demonstration, was supported by the Socialist Workers Party and the Workers Party.

Militant Photo

UAW Mass Pickets Halt

troit and Toledo, led by Emil Mazey,

Clinton strikers after the company

smashed through a picketline. To-

day's mass demonstration of labor

solidarity by experienced militants

stopped dead the attempted herd-

The 900 Clinton strikers led by

(On Aug. 15 it was reported from

Clinton that the Clinton Machine

Co., had signed a union contract

granting a 10-cent hourly raise.

This ended the three-week strike

as swollen picket lines, augmented

by 1,000 sympathizers from nearby

President Headley Whiteley of

ing of scabs into the plant.

Slave Labor Law.

his scabs.)

By The Editors

No Labor Day has offered less occasion for gay celebration than this September 1. The traditional union parades and picnics are being held under ominous clouds of rising prises, union-busting laws, impending depression and preparations

war. The past twelve months have seen the capitalist profit system slash real wages to the buying

has been cut in half. On Aug. 22, the Taft-Hartley Slave Labor Law went into full effect. This venomous class legis- an effective political weapon in booby-traps for labor, all designed own. to blast the right to strike and union security. Its deadly effect

ploying class more and more discards caution and restraint. PAP BEING PEDDLED

No one-least of all Wall Street a national AFL "holiday" on Elecitself-swallows the optimistic pap being peddled in Washington about gantic labor vote to defeat the authe prospects for a long-continuing economic boom. Business commentators like Edward Donahue of

Standard & Poor's Corporation, statistical consultants, cynically report that business looks "safe" -'at least through the remainder of 1947." And the Wall Street Journal, Aug. 8, takes note of what it calls 'creeping unemployment" as the Administration puts out its rigged figures of "60,000,000 employed." of a new war . Wall Street hurls atomic bomb threats at the Soviet Union. Its agents in Washington threaten to send troops into Greece to protect the bloody monarchy from "communist plots" against Greek "independence." U. S. im-

perialism's agents are down in Rio de Janeiro black-jacking the small, impoverished Latin American countries into "hemispheric solidarity" behind American capitalism schemes for world conquest.

Only a year ago, American labor's ranks rejoiced after the greatest strike upsurge in American history. a titanic demonstration of working class might that appeared to have blocked the post-war union-busting

drive and wrested significant wage gains from the giant monopolies. Just two years ago, the workers marched on Labor Day with a feeling of overwhelming relief that the Mayor Jeffries for its failure to terrible war was over and with the hope that a brave new world of "Four Freedoms" had actually emerged from the ghastly carnage VICTORIES MELT AWAY

Detroit has two outdoor swimming accommodations. On Belle Isle the The labor victories of a year conoral nublic is confined have all melted away. The hopes | tenths of a mile of garbage-littered and dreams that came with the beach on the nine-mile shore line. war's end have faded into bitter At the same time 15 acres of the disillusion and resentment best available places on Belle Isle This Labor Day is occasion not have been leased to the exclusive for rejoicing, but for deep and Detroit Yacht Club and the Detroit serious reflection. Where will labor Boat Club at an annual rental of go from here? What program must a token \$1. Members of these two the workers forge to beat back the clubs are confined to the wealthiest ple of what's going to happen if onslaught of reaction, to meet the families. Although Negroes and the strike continues." Chester Mul- coming depression, to stem the Jews are not specifically excluded lins, fired from Kelsey Hays Wheel sinister drive of Wall Street im- from membership, none are in the perialism toward atomic war? organizations. As all eyes turn to Washington, "As mayor." declared Howard they gaze only on rampant reac- Lerner, "one of my acts in office that "if the strike is not settled tion. The overwhelming bulk of would be to persuade the Common soon, the pickets will come into the the Democratic, as well as Repub. | Council to cancel the lease to these plant and drag out the forty or lican lawmakers, have repeatedly discriminatory clubs and immediatefifty scabs" bottled in the factory demonstrated their hatred for la- ly open the park area they have bor, their servility to Big Business, monopolized to the general public."

for another imperialist world+ their war-mongering adherence to the infamous Truman Doctrine Yet it is in Washington, above all, that the fate of labor, of the working people of the world, repower of the depression year 1939. sides. It is on the arena of na-The purchasing power of the dollar tional politics that the workers will stand or fall. Today they confront the powerful two-party political machine of Big Business without

lation is loaded with hundreds of their hands, with no party of their In the face of this obvious and shameful political weakness, what will be increasingly felt as the em- real meaning can there be in

such brave - sounding proposals as that made last week by AFL President William Green. He threatens tion Day, 1948, to mobilize a githors and endorsers of the Taft-Hartley Act.

MONDAY, AUGUST 25, 1947

ACTION OR GESTURE? What a magnificent and effective

action that would be, if the workers were going to march to the polls to cast their ballots for their own candidates, union men and women backed by a mighty Labor Party. But how empty a gesture, if they are offered the choice again only of more phony "friends of labor" Over all hangs the sinister threat from Wall Street's Democratic or Republican camps.

This Labor Day the workers can march under the banner of hope and future victory only if that banner bears the slogan "Build the Labor Party Now! A Labor Slate in '48!"

Howard Lerner Scores Detroit Park Area Lease

DETROIT, Mich., Aug. 20-Howard Lerner, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Detroit, today scored the administration of incumbent provide adequate recreational facilities for the public. He pointed out that with 2,500.000

people in the metropolitan area.

I can never get used to paying the electric light some tamps with the chimney you always new to be bill in New York City. Every time I come home and cleaning.

their ransom note. So I pick it up. I don't want to bills. ok at the amount I'm instructed to remit to the ch in the belly. It happens every time.

its shakedown because of something that happened pate all the effect. me back in my childhood. About the time I pools for trout to lazy around in. So they diverted the public.

part of it to run a municipal power plant. expense of meters or the rigamarole of keep- there too.

see that slim white sheet of paper lying on the floor That was before many people in those parts where it's been tucked under the could afford more in the way of appliances than door, I feel like not noticing it. just lights, an iron and maybe an electric washing Just walk past it by accident and machine. This meant everybody used about the look the other way until after the same amount of power. Nobody minded though if this or that family burned up extra. What difference

lie. Let us fight for truth and Socialism.

Let us band ourselves together against the enemy,

Poverty. Under the system of decrepit capitalism,

there will never be enough for the people of the world.

Let us build armies in the cause of peace. Under

the ravages of the capitalist system, which has grown

man and woman and child. Let us fight for peace

This is the appeal that must be made, the appeal

ers will grow in numbers. You hear the appeal. Go

place has been swept. But you can't get around these did it make? Power Trust pirates. They've got Then we moved to a city where the power trust all the answers, including cutting had an expensive meter bolted and sealed on every off your lights if you don't answer nouse. That's when I first began noticing my lack of a calm and philosophical attitude toward light

I've tried reading the propaganda the power iduess they give. I know I'll get that same jolt. monopoly puts out as a public service about how at I look at it anyway. I always do. And when I see rate; are coming down steadily and they don't much it is this time, sure enough, it's like a gouge the consumer the way they used to, but it doesn't seem to help much. Just one single report Maybe I feel like this about the power trust and by the Federal Power Commission is enough to dissi-

Take the report issued a few days ago on "Typical began wearing shoes in the summer we lived in a Electrical Bills, Cities of 50,000 Population and More." little farming and sheep-raising town high up in There I'm reminded that in Tacoma, Washington, the Wasatch mountains in Utah. A fast stream of where the utilities are publicly owned, you pay \$1.70 ter came down out of the pines and quaking aspens for the same amount of power that costs \$5.10 in and the citizens thought it could be put to better cities like Mount Vernon, New Rochelle and Yonkuse than just providing drinking water for deer and ers, New York, where private enterprise preys on

And the report tells me again that New York The town put in poles and lines along the streets City happens to be among the cities paying the highand anybody that wanted to could hook up. All est rates. In the largest city in the world you would a had to pay was a flat \$1 a month and use all expect the lowest rates because of the huge volume. he power you wanted. They didn't bother with Private enterprise, however, happens to be operating

town a good profit and hc-pcz -ut down taxes. No-town a good profit and hc-pcz -ut down taxes. No-town a good profit and hc-pcz -ut down taxes. No-town a good profit and hc-pcz -ut down taxes. Nominded chipping in a buck a month to be private enterprise, you can't even pay a light bill nodern and progressive and get rid of the old kero- without feeling you're being robbed.

Seafarers Strike Ties Up Isthmian Shipping Line

PAGE SIX

Taft-Hartley Slave Law Threatens Hiring Hall By R. Bell

NEW YORK CITY, Aug. 19 Crews aboard vessels of the Isthmian Steamship Company in American ports walked off their ships last Wednesday in response to a strike call by the AFL Seafarers International Union when negotiations stalled over the demand for union control of hiring.

The company, a subsidiary of United States Steel Corporation, insisted on hiring its ship's personnel through its own employment of-

tion, Marine Division, Isthmian large operator of dry cargo vessels which remained non-union throughout the whole period following the great 1934 strike on the Pacific Coast. Recently the SIU won an NLRB election designating the union as the sole collective bargaining agent. It was the longest election on record, extending over a period of six months, in order to vote all the company ships as they

During the long process of conor a union agreement, the Taft-Hartley Law was enacted. The ompany seized on this union-busting measure like a drowning man at a straw. They saw here an opsetup which they had maintained over the years.

Negotiations were deliberately prolonged. It became apparent that the company was determined to stall until the anti-closed shop provisions of the Tart-Hartley Aci went into effect on August 22. The union - busting measure would then be used as a pretext for rejecting the union hiring hall. If Isthmian, which is one of the largest ship operators in the country, could get away with this, a precedent would be established for restoring the open shop in the maritime industry.

fices. This demand was rejected by the union as an attempt to legalize the company fink hall through which Isthmian had successfully warded off unionization for many The United States Steel Corpora-Steamship Company, was the only

reached an American port. ducting the election, gaining NLRB, certification and direct negotiation portunity to preserve the fink-hall

1 24



Wall Street's "Internationalism" – By Art Preis –

Amid all the blazing headlines of recent weeks, columns of the metropolitan press.

print.

This was an Associated Press dispatch from Tokyo. no patriotism. almost a month before the freeze was ordered on power.

July 25, 1941. This enabled the Japanese capitalists Japan was imminent.

duced as evidence testimony from a U.S. State De- Electric, Du Pont, Aluminum Corporation of Amerconversation on July 2, 1941, with a Japanese emiswithin the State Department that the "freezing of deed they are making bigger profits than ever. Japanese funds in the United States could be expected in the near future."

It shows how accessible to the capitalists are the about "red spies" and "loyalty purges," a tiny item "strict secrets" of the government, the disclosure of about J. P. Morgan & Co., the most powerful financial which to ordinary citizens would be prosecuted as an clique in America, managed to wedge itself into back act of treason. It also shows how readily the American capitalists hand out "top secrets" to the capi-

It rated just five inches of type in the Aug. 14 talists of other countries with whom they maintain NY. Times-you know, "All the news that's fit to business relations. Where their interests are concerned, the capitalists know no "duty to country,"

It related to testimony before the international tri- Will J. P. Morgan & Co.'s officers now be prosebunal now trying 25 Japanese war leaders. The cuted as spies, for high treason? Hardly. We have testimony was to the effect that J. P. Morgan & Co. ample evidence of numerous similar cases to show had tipped off its Japanese colleagues about the con- these billionaire members of the American ruling class templated freeze of Japanese assets in this country will continue to enjoy their immense wealth and

We need only call to mind revelations of the Deto take measures to save their assets five months be- partment of Justice and the Senate War Investigafore Pearl Harbor, when it was clear that war with tion Committee early in 1942. These disclosed the secret international cartel ties between all the big Counsel for the 25 Japanese defendants intro- American corporations like Standard Oil, General

partment memorandum. This was the record of a ica, etc., and the giant Nazi and Japanese trusts. The "patriots" who coined tens of billions in war sary, the late Tadao Wikawa. He said he had learned profits here, while safeguarding their interests on the that the Morgan company had heard from sources other side of the battlelines, never went to jail. In-

Where their class interests and profits are concerned, all capitalists are "internationalists." Let This revelation is a two-fold commentary on the the American workers, in their own class interests, ing capitalists in this country and their government. learn a lesson from the ruling American plutocracy.

Notes from the News

HITLER'S SOUL MARCHES ON — If a single is the city where 100,000 Japanese civilians were de-high officer of the CIO or AFL fails to sign an affi-berately murdered with an atomic bomb. Under the havit denying Communist ties, every CIO or AFL ame headline the N. Y. Times announced produc-

s lawed by the Taft-Hartley Slave process. Labor Law, according to a ruling ounsel of the NLRB.

* * *

meager benefits the government allows them in the returned." ostwar world they were promised would be won on the battlefields of World War II.

* * *

international or local union is out-["] ion of atomic bombs can now be doubled by a new * * * LEARNING THE HARD WAY - The Oil Workers by Robert N. Denham, general International Union contributed \$2,000 to the Con-

gressional campaign of J. Curtis Trahan, former mayor of Texas City and once an officer of that DISILLUSIONED GIS-The Vet- union. Trahan turned it down as the "kiss of death."

erans Administration reports 1,400,- Union president O. A. Knight decided "confidence in veterans have dropped out of college, more than Mr. Trahan was very badly misplaced" and that he a third of the total who went back to school. They "is now just another politician." The union voted are unable to find decent housing or to live on the to give the money to the CIO-PAC "if and when

> UNCONSCIOUS PROFIT-GOUGING - A \$48,000 fine against the Kroger Grocery and Baking Company chain for selling meat at overceiling prices has

IN COMMEMORATION - On Aug. 12 the N. Y. been set aside by the United States Circuit Court of imes reported a Replica of New York Harbor's Appeals on the grounds the overcharges were not

Statue of Liberty will be erected at Hiroshima. This made "deliberately, knowingly and willfully."

The SIU is aware of this danger and is preparing to safeguard its existence. In a "statement of policy' issued as Strike Bulletin Number 1 the union declares:

"The SIII-SIIP in the event that the U.S. Steel Corp., Marine Division, Isthmian Steamship attempts to prolong this strike until the deadline of the Taft-Hartley Bill, bile Workers fell with telling August 22, 1947, shall on or about that date request all workers in the Maritime Industry to join them in attempts of the Clinton Machine general Maritime strike to establish the full rights of all seamen to movement failed miserably. the privileges of the Union Hiring Hall and Rotary Shipping System, regardless of the Taft-Hartley Bill." ron members and pickets from De-

Wisconsin Union **Urges Labor Party** president last Monday mobilized a

By O. George

ST. PAUL, Minn., Aug. 17-A resolution favoring creation of a labor party and running of a labor presidential candidate was passed by a recent Local 608, are battling for a 15meeting of the Sheet Metal Work- cent hourly raise and contract proers Local 442, a railroad local of tection against the Taft-Hartley nearby Superior, Wisconsin.

Showing their disgust with the Republican and Democratic parties, and with the failure of the trade union leadership to act, the sheet metal workers' resolution reads:

"Labor is faced with a battle for ts organizational life. All advances of the past are in danger of being viped out.

"Presidents Green (AFL), Murray CIO), and the heads of the railroad protherhoods admit their impotence in combatting reaction.

"So, therefore, be it resolved that In order to fight the employing lass with its own weapons, Local 142 favors the creation of a party of LABOR, and the placing of a presidential candidate in the field (against both Republican and Dem- Denver Unions Elect 4 cratic parties) and,

"Further recommends that as the party's first standard bearer we enlorse John L. Lewis of the coal miners!

UNITE!"

"WORKERS OF THE charter.

Scabs At Clinton, Mich.

-This little town of 1,200 gates, Mazey warned small-town CLINTON, Mich., Aug. 13+ people was awakened today by employers that "this is just a samthe din of battle between capital and labor. The powerful might of CIO United Automoin Detroit because of his militant leadership of a wartime strike, said weight on the strikebreaking Company's president, Don Thomas. His much publicized "back-to-work" the past three days. About 1,000 union flying squad-

Negroes Injured in Chicago 50 Detroit East Side UAW Regional Director, rushed to the aid of As Race Haters Incite Violence mob of strikebreakers and violently

By Robert L. Birchman

CHICAGO, Ill., Aug. 19-Chicago swayed on the brink of voring restrictive covenants, had a race riot this past week as mobs of 2,000 to 5,000 race hating openly encouraged violence. The whites gathered nightly from Tuesday through Saturday at actionary interests, including the the Fernwood Veterans Hous-+ ing project on the far south- Union Council, CIO, Chicago Print-

side. The anti-Negro demonstrations | Liberties Union, Urban League, and | DEFENSE GUARDS NEEDED

broke out Tuesday evening after 8 so on, the police force was increased Negro veterans and their families from 30 in the area to 1,000. Some together with 63 white veterans' order was then restored by Saturfamilies moved into the project. A day night. The violence was not confined to mob of 2,000 whites sought to storm the project, but were repulsed by Halsted St. and the housing project. they did very little, at least the

the rolice guard. Ring leaders of On Saturday night a truck full of first few nights, to break up the the mob stoned the police, injuring through 111th St., firing shots pro-Enraged by their failure, ring miscuously. They wounded Arthur

Carter and his wife Willa Mae as leaders instigated the mob to move across the open fields to Halsted St., a main south side traffic arttheir 8-months-old son. ery. There they began throwing SCATTERED ATTACKS

A series of other mob attacks oc-

white men assaulted William Pease, By Saturday night more than 100 a 23-year-old veteran and mail carcars had broken windshields and rier, knocking out his teeth. A windows or other damage from the swimming party of 10 Negro boys adequately protect the Negro people stonings. More than 50 Negro men and girls were attacked by about 50 against fascist-like attacks. Only By joint political action, the AFL, and women were treated at hos- white youths armed with clubs and Trouble had been anticipated for

After stormy protests to the several months before move-in day mayor from such organizations as at the Fernwood project. Alder- ened by hat-crazed mobs.

man Reginal DuBois of the Ninth Ward, who ran on a platform fareal estate interests and other renewspaper, had incited the race

ing Trades Council, American Civil haters against the Negroes. The police did no more than they felt they were forced to. Instances were reported of their showing sympathy with the mob. While they held back the mob from the project.

he hate-crazed hoodlums sped numerous small gatherings of mobsters.

Many arrests were made, but previous experience shows that they were returning home with after the excitement dies down, the race haters are dismissed with reprimands. To date no one has been charged with "inciting to riot" or curred in various areas. Some 20 punished for his anti-Negro actions.

The reactionary labor-hating police cannot be depended upon to defense guards based on the unions and veterans' organizations could

and would provide adequate and imely protection to Negroes threat-

CIO and railroad unions of Denver shattered glass and missiles.

elected four unionists to the com-WORLD mittee which will draft a new city

cities, prepared to repel another threatened "back-to-work" linefour of them. smashing assault by Thomas and The union men militantly held the picket line firm against the at-

tempts of company stooges to break through by violence. The scabs stones and bricks at all passing cars were forced to retreat and several

were hurt in the melee. In a speech before the plant

driven by Negroes. FIFTY INJURED

City Charter Revisers

pitals for cuts and bruises from ball bats.