

"The History Of American Trotskyism"

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THE MILITANT

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Real Meaning Of Latest Shift In Tactical Line Of American Stalinists

STATEMENT OF THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY

The new policy of the Communist Political Association is a tactical maneuver intended to serve the power politics of the Soviet (Stalinist) bureaucracy, not the interests of the working class.

Kremlin's game of power politics. With the crushing of Germany, the inherent conflict between the Soviet Union and Anglo-American imperialism has come to the surface.

Why The "Turn" Was Proclaimed

When Churchill turned "lend-lease" planes and tanks against the Greek workers, the Stalinists saw no need of a new "turn."

The new Stalinist tactic represents not a break with the policy pursued up to now, but its continuation under a more radical mask.

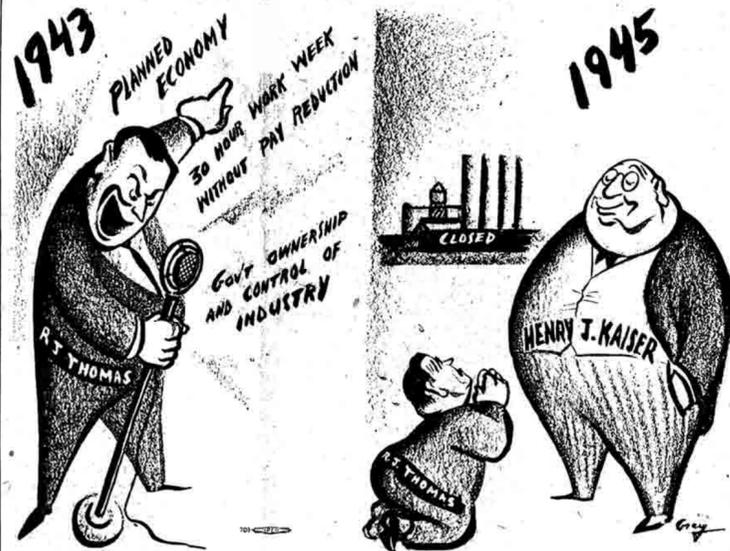
They demand the continuation of national unity: "support every effort of the Truman administration to carry forward Roosevelt's program"

They continue openly to stand for class peace and strikebreaking: "Continue uninterrupted war production and uphold labor's no-strike pledge for the duration."

The new Stalinist tactic serves exclusively the purpose of shaping the Stalinist organization into a more effective bargaining agency in the

Union Leaders Fail To Fight For Effective Jobs Program

From Words — To Deeds!



First Anti-Strike Law Victim Appeals To Labor From Prison

By Art Preis

UNIONTOWN, Pa., June 8 — I am writing this in white-hot anger. Just a half hour ago I talked with a courageous, loyal and sincere union man, William Patterson, coal miner from Daisytown.

IN THE NEWS

Sad—Ain't It?

Multi-millionaire Wall Street promoter and speculator Barney Baruch at a fashionable restaurant turned down a fair lady's plea to buy more war bonds with "I've bought all the bonds I can afford this week."

Segregated in Death

"No Negro fighters are in the Navy's film of Iwo Jima, though Sec. Forrestal saw 2,000 Negro Marines on the island. So Forrestal ordered a special film showing Negroes in various Naval services."

Slave Labor

U. S. Army officials in Paris on June 9 revealed plans to retain 600,000 German prisoners of war as "laborers" for the American army, although the war in Europe is officially ended.

Buy An Apple, Mister?

Ohio's House of Representatives recently passed by a vote of 110 to 0 a bill to permit World War II veterans to obtain free peddler's licenses in Ohio.

Shh — Don't Talk!

New York's Mayor LaGuardia recently criticized Robert E. Hannegan, Democratic National Committee chairman and new Postmaster General, for saying: "If rewarding your friends for political favors is spoils, put me down as a spoils politician."

Vote "Right," Or Else...

The Arab delegation at the San Francisco Conference were financially embarrassed when they overdrew on the cash advanced them by Standard Oil.

FARRELL DOBBS, 'MILITANT' EDITOR, RUNS FOR MAYOR OF NEW YORK CITY

The New York Local of the Socialist Workers Party this week announced its candidates in the November election. For Mayor it will run Farrell Dobbs; for the City Council, Louise Simpson.

Farrell Dobbs, 38, editor of The Militant, was one of the 18 leaders of the SWP and Minneapolis CIO Truck Drivers Union railroaded to prison in 1943 under the notorious anti-labor Smith "Gag" Act for opposing imperialist war and advocating revolutionary socialism.

FOR CITY COUNCILLOR Louise Simpson, 21, is a militant young Negro trade union-

tary of the newly-formed council of drivers' locals in the north-west area, the North Central District Drivers Council. Out of this council, in which Farrell Dobbs played a leading role, grew the Eleven State Area Committee.

(Continued on page 4)

New York Meeting To Launch Tour Of Grace Carlson

NEW YORK — Grace Carlson, sole woman among the 18 Socialist Workers Party leaders imprisoned in the Minneapolis Labor Case, will speak on "Women in Prison" at a mass meeting in New York, Friday, June 22, 8 P. M. at Webster Hall, 119 East 11th Street.

As a result of her experience as a prisoner in a federal penitentiary, Grace Carlson has unusual understanding of the plight of thousands of women in the prisons of America. She believes them to be victims of capitalist exploitation and poverty — one of the products of depressions and imperialist war.

CANNON TO SPEAK

Farrell Dobbs and Louise Simpson, Trotskyist candidates in the New York mayoralty election will also speak. The chairman will be James P. Cannon, national secretary of the Socialist Workers Party. Both Dobbs and Cannon were among the 18 imprisoned for opposing the Second World War and advocating revolutionary socialism.

A special feature of the evening will be a report by Art Preis, correspondent of The Militant, who has just returned from the Pennsylvania coal region.

He will tell how William Patterson came to be the first trade unionist in the country to be

(Continued on page 3)

I hope I can transmit my feeling of protest and outrage to every worker in this country. Because after talking to him this morning inside his grim prison, I am more convinced than ever that not Bill Patterson but those who framed him up and conspired against him are the ones who should be behind bars.

"This is not a case just of personal persecution," was the first thing he said to me in his quiet, firm voice with a trace of southern accent. "This case involves all labor. It affects every laboring man who ever comes under the conditions of the Smith-Connelly act. It would take his civil rights away, his freedom of speech and make him an industrial slave."

THREAT TO OTHERS His very next thoughts were not about himself, but the 29 other union miners who have had a suspended sentence hanging over their heads since the 1943 national mine strikes when 30

See Editorial On Patterson Case Page 8

miners from this area were tried under the federal anti-strike law. They were persuaded to plead no contest of the charges and convicted under the most vicious anti-labor law of modern times.

"The labor movement should contest the constitutionality of this bill. What I'm afraid of is the threat against the others who were involved in the 1943 trial. They treated me pretty salty when they said I violated my probation when my local went on strike last February and May. But what I'm worried about is the other poor devils. My case sets a precedent which may leave them in a hell of a shape."

He then told me a few facts about his case. "There were 27 of us called before a judge on August 27, 1943. There were 30 supposed to come up, but three had been hurt in the mine, and were not tried until later. We never did have any jury trial. We had been indicted by a grand jury that we never even saw. All the testimony came from other people. But we were advised by our lawyers to plead nolo contendere — no contest — and threw ourselves on the mercy of the court."

He continued with the circum-

stances of his imprisonment after a hearing on June 1 for alleged violation of his probation. "They had 11 strikes chalked up against me when I appeared at the hearing. There were a bunch of men from the mine (Jones and Laughlin Steel Corp's Vesta No. 4, Richeyville, Pa.) to testify that I wasn't responsible for the strikes, but the judge wouldn't let them testify. I told the judge that every man was essential to the other in the mine, and I couldn't work when a strike was on, even if I wanted to. But I guess they wanted a test case and I was a victim of circumstances, so I'm it."

I knew every word he spoke was the truth. I had confirmed it in advance from the officers of UMW Local 2399 at Richeyville where I had attended the union meeting on June 3, the day after Bill was sent to prison. He had been snatched without warning from his wife and two children and shot off to jail after a speedy hearing on June 1.



WILLIAM PATTERSON



Farrell Dobbs

THOMAS PLEADS WITH BOSSES WHILE UNEMPLOYMENT MOUNTS

UAW-CIO Head Ignores Union's Program For Government Operation of Big Industry

By Joseph Keller

Mass unemployment is no mere prediction. It is already a cruel reality. More than a million war workers are officially admitted to be seeking jobs. By the end of October, 4,800,000 war workers and returned veterans will be on the 'no longer required' list, according to WPB Chairman Krug. He hoped it would be only 'temporary.'

Union War Vets Protest Terrorism Against Nisei

Special to The Militant

LOS ANGELES, June 7 —

Auto workers, veterans of World War II, have issued a sharp condemnation of terrorist attacks against Japanese-Americans on the west coast and demanded that enforcement officers bring an end to the campaign of threats and violence.

The action was taken in a resolution passed by veterans of the present war who are members of the United Auto Workers (UAW-CIO), and was adopted by the Los Angeles District Auto and Aircraft Council on May 25.

The resolution points out that "a jury in Placer County, California acquitted three persons accused of using rifles and other means of force to discourage the return of Japanese-Americans to their former homes."

It states that "we, the undersigned, veterans of World War II, strongly condemn this lawlessness" and calls upon the governors of California, Oregon and Washington to "take public steps to prevent further recurrences of this incident." It also demands that police be instructed to carry out their duty of protecting the residents of their various communities.

Typical headlines of the past week proclaim: "6 Million War Workers To Lose Jobs V-J Day;" "12,500 To Be Fired By July 31 At Lockheed Plant In Burbank;" "First Mass Layoffs Hit Indianapolis; GM Fires 5,000;" "Cutbacks Hit Reading." Multiply these headlines for every city and town in the land. An appalling picture emerges.

A GRIM REALITY

There is no denying the grim reality. Nor is there any denying the fact that Big Business which dominates American economy and politics, its government and political agents, have no program to provide either adequate relief for the unemployed or jobs.

Even Truman in his message to Congress two weeks ago was compelled to admit that present unemployment insurance standards are "clearly inadequate to protect unemployed workers against ruthless cuts in living standards." As for any plans to provide full employment for all, most government officials will agree that these are merely in the "preparatory" stage or, more truthfully, don't even exist.

Thus, the authoritative acting commissioner of labor statistics for the U. S. Department of Labor, Dr. A. Ford Hinrichs, declared before the Institute of Labor at Rutgers University on June 5, that current plans of American business men "don't add up to full employment" (PM, June 5) and envisage not

(Continued on page 2)

Packinghouse Workers Fight No-Strike Policy

By Barbara Bruce

ST. PAUL, Minn. — Midwest packinghouse workers voted to rescind the no-strike pledge at the annual conference held by District 2, United Packinghouse Workers of America, CIO, in Chicago last month.

Criticizing the international leadership of the UPWA for its "feeble policies, together with dilatory tactics and exceptionally poor strategy," the conference delegates, representing 11 unions, recommended that the 3d international convention of the UPWA, if it is held, also withdraw the pledge not to strike. If the convention is not held, the resolution demands that the international conduct a referendum vote of all UPWA members on the question of the no-strike pledge.

In line with the general dissatisfaction expressed by the District 2 convention, a third resolution directed the international executive board to begin negotiations immediately with packinghouse employers for a straight 20 cents per hour increase in wages throughout the industry and to sign one master contract instead of five separate ones with the "Big Four" (Hormel, Cudahy, Armour and Swift) and the John Morrell company.

Through a system of lay-offs, cut-backs and stepping workers down from higher to lower paid jobs, hundreds of workers at all the packing plants have been thrown out of work or have suffered wage cuts during the past several months. In protest against these blows suffered by packinghouse workers in South St. Paul,

five locals in that area empowered their joint executive boards to call a holiday in the packing plants if full employment at union rates is not provided.

The District 2 resolution, calling for wage increases, demanded that "the packinghouse worker be no longer expected to live on patriotism, peace treaties, political action, etc., and that some gains be made immediately in their favor."

Speaking for the resolution to rescind the no-strike pledge, Ardel Nimitz of Local 9, Austin, Minnesota, said that the pledge of unions not to strike "was the greatest mistake we ever made." Milton Siegel of Armour Local 4, South St. Paul, Minnesota, who also favored scrapping the no-strike pledge, stated: "The workers sacrificed everything, the employers nothing."

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Union Leaders Offer No Program For Real Fight To Maintain Jobs

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more than 50,000,000 of the 60-600,000 jobs promised. Full employment without a genuine government program — which does not now exist — would be only "accidental," he added.

Labor knows what leaving the question of jobs to "accident" means. That was Hoover's program of 1932, as it was also largely Roosevelt's. It was Roosevelt who larded over the plight of 11,000,000 to 15,000,000 unemployed with a couple of million WPA jobs at from \$19 to \$60 a month.

The question of jobs, of adequate compensation during unemployment, is posed squarely before the entire American labor movement. Nobody but the organized workers themselves are capable, ready and willing to fight for a bold and radical program of JOBS FOR ALL which will brush aside the profit and monopoly interests of a handful of ruling profiteers and compel the government to operate the plants at full capacity.

But it is precisely at this crucial juncture that the leadership of the American labor movement has shown itself least capable or willing to offer an adequate program and to mobilize the forces of labor for the type of all-out fight, on the economic and political field, which can achieve it.

The real and official program of the top leadership of the CIO and AFL is summed up in their capital-labor "peace charter" with the Chamber of Commerce. This provides nothing less than a written guarantee from Murray and Green that labor will strive for the maintenance of monopoly capitalist "free enterprise" and "freedom from government interference" — the classic formula of the capitalist free-booters who insist on their "right" to exploit labor without restriction.

An even more graphic commentary on the "program" and conduct of the union officialdom in this crisis is afforded by the antics of R. J. Thomas, president of the CIO United Automobile Workers, the nation's largest union. In the single state of Michigan over 200,000 auto and aircraft workers have been fired; 21,000 have been emptied out of the \$100,000,000 government-owned Willow Run bomber plant, operated by Ford during the war for his own profit.

Yet all Thomas can think of in this situation is to run off hat in hand from Detroit to the west coast to a fat war profiteer like Henry Kaiser, who can't even keep his shipyard workers in steady jobs. Thomas can only plead with a Kaiser won't he please get the government to hand him some free plants like Willow Run and "give" the workers some jobs producing autos or whatnot. So we are treated to the spectacle of Thomas running from the "industrial genius" Ford to the "industrial genius" Kaiser — a "genius" at wangling juicy government war contracts. But that angle's played out. If there were a nickel in it for Kaiser or Ford, they wouldn't be waiting for Thomas' pleas.

What's Thomas grovelling before the profiteering industrialists for? He has an official program adopted two years ago by the UAW-CIO — a program for full employment and security that he and the other UAW officials proclaimed lustily — when it wasn't a question of an immediate, showdown fight.

Consider that program, which occupied nearly two full pages of the United Automobile Worker, July 15, 1943. Consider some of its basic proposals and premises. "Our industries can no longer be operated to serve private interests where those interests

conflict with the public need," it boldly asserted. Point one on its program for full production and employment of "every able bodied person in America," read: "Government or municipal ownership and operation of monopolistic industries and of industries strategically essential to the national safety" and; "Government control and regulation of other industries to prevent the abuses of monopoly and to assure production in the public interest" and; "Reduction of working week to thirty hours without reduction of pay, as a result of a full production program."

There it is! That's the program adopted two years ago by the UAW-CIO Executive Board! That's the program that Thomas — and a lot of other leading union officials — said THEN they were going to fight for! That's the minimum they said THEN was needed to provide postwar full employment and decent wages! Well, what's wrong with it today?

Nothing—not a thing! What's wrong is with the union leadership. Two years ago they were trying to clamp the no-strike, do-nothing policy on the workers who were beginning to resist the wage-freeze. Sit tight, take it, the union officials like Thomas advised. Don't worry. AFTER THE WAR we're really going to town. No more knuckling under to the corporations. If they don't provide jobs and the wages of decent living, we're going to be the first to say "the hell with 'em, take over the plants and the workers will run them better without a bunch of profiteering parasites."

That's the kind of big talk, Thomas was spouting two years ago, before the issue really began to bang on his front door. Today he wants to forget all that — and hopes the auto and aircraft workers will, too.

BUFFALO WORKERS FACE INCREASING LAY-OFFS

BUFFALO, N. Y. — At the United States Employment Service office here, thousands of workers are crowding the spacious quarters to capacity day after day, waiting long hours to go through the lengthy procedures necessary to register for other jobs — that don't exist — and to become eligible for unemployment insurance.

Pictures carried in the local press show a sea of faces, mostly those of women and Negroes who have been hardest hit by the layoffs. Every day brings new reports of additional layoffs. About 1000 workers will be laid off shortly at the three Buffalo plants of the Chevrolet Motor Division of the General Motors Corporation because of cutbacks in Army Air Force airplane engine contracts.

Numerous small plants doing sub-contract work for the large concerns in this area are folding up silently, transferring their workers to the growing ranks of the unemployed. Victory shifts (specially designed for part-time workers working on four-hour shifts) have been eliminated entirely, thus cutting down the income of a considerable number of families.

It is becoming clearer every day to more and more workers that "reconversion" is just a fancy word that in plain English means an all-out attack of the bosses on the workers' organizations. It means unemployment and lower living standards. The Buffalo workers are not going to take this lying down.

Stalinists Lose In Elections At Ford Local 600

By Roy Weston

DETROIT, June 7 — Members of Ford Local 600, CIO United Automobile Workers, jolted the Stalinists for the second time within a month by electing Joe McCusker of the Tool and Die Unit to the presidency of Local 600. McCusker defeated W. G. Grant, the incumbent Stalinist stooge, by a vote of 10,411 to 9,395.

Grant, long considered by the Stalinists as an unbeatable candidate, emerged from the primary elections of a month ago several hundred votes behind McCusker. This so frightened the Stalinists that they threw all their resources into the run-off election which saw the entire Ford Rouge plant flooded with an amazing variety of campaign literature.

Apparently possessing unlimited funds, most observers of the election campaign believed that the Stalinists, in view of their numbers and organizational ability, would return their candidate to office by a narrow majority. However, in their desperate attempt to re-elect their stooges they conducted a campaign of slander against their opponents which sickened many workers who had formerly been ardent supporters of the Stalinist candidates.

Jobless Buffalo Workers



Hundreds of war workers, laid off as a result of army plane cutbacks in Buffalo, N. Y. plane plant, jammed the State Division of Placement and Unemployment offices on May 31 to file unemployment benefit applications. Associated Press.

NEGRO BOILERMAKERS GAIN LEGAL VICTORY IN SAN PEDRO

Special to The Militant

LOS ANGELES, June 7 — The International Brotherhood of Boilermakers, Iron Shipbuilders and Helpers of America was ordered this week by the Los Angeles Superior Court either to admit Negroes into its San Pedro local (92) on a basis of complete equality; or

grant full autonomy, including the right to conduct contract negotiations with employers, to the all-colored auxiliary, A-35. The decision, handed down in the case of Blakeney vs. California Shipbuilding Corporation, is considered in local Negro circles as an important legal victory for the workers. Superior Judge Raymond

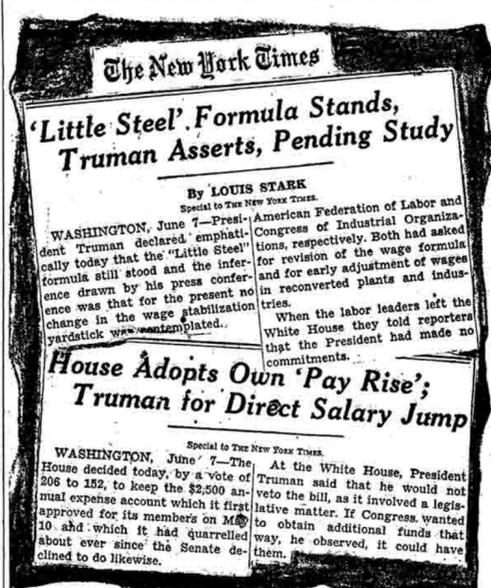
Thompson, who rendered the opinion, declared that the evidence sustained the charge of discrimination and that such discrimination is contrary to public policy.

He stated: "In my opinion, it is contrary to public policy that Negroes, whites, Jews, Gentiles or any other class of persons should be precluded from employment even in a single shop, factory or place of employment by reason of a closed shop and a union rule restricting union membership."

In their complaint and in the testimony before the court, the six Negroes who instituted the suit charged that though they had to pay the same fees, assessments and dues as paid by whites, they were allocated to an inferior status in a Jim Crow auxiliary and were discriminated against in job opportunities. They asserted that they had no control over management of the auxiliary, no effective voice in union affairs, and were barred from many of the more highly paid and more skilled jobs, even when they were qualified for such jobs.

The decision of Judge Thompson substantiates their claims, and appears to go further than a decision in a similar case, that of Marin Shipbuilding Corporation in northern California, where the union was told it could not compel Negroes to join a segregated auxiliary. This latter decision has since been upheld by the California Supreme Court. Although in the present case the judge found in favor of the Negroes, his decision does not necessitate the abolition of the Jim Crow auxiliary, which was

Truman's Double Standard



Smith-Connally Act Victim Issues Appeal From Prison

(Continued from page 1)

His father was in the mines before him, Bill explained. He was born in Virginia, of old American stock. "My ancestors came to this country long before the American Revolution. Why, they fought in the American Revolution. And no one can ever accuse me of any un-American activities."

For all his courageous attitude, I could see that being in a prison was a terrible ordeal for him, a humiliating experience for a man of his self-respect, who had worked hard all his life. NEVER ARRESTED I started to ask, "Have you ever before been—" He broke in, his lips smiling. "I know what you want to ask, have I ever been in jail before? No — never! I've never been arrested." I could feel his deep hurt at the unjust blot which the enemies of labor have tried to put on his record.

Some people might say, well it's only for six months. But that's six months stolen from a man's life, a man who values freedom and has fought for it all his life. I was in that prison only half an hour, and I confess I couldn't wait to get out. I promised not to ask any questions about the conditions there. But I could see it was no better nor worse than most county prisons. The prison attendant informed me that the Fayette County institution is over 50 years old. Outside, it is built like an imitation Gothic church. Inside, it is dim, bare, cold — a forbidding place of grey stone and iron. It's a place where you do "hard time."

But there was no complaint from Bill. The only time a note of bitterness entered his voice was when he spoke of the UMW district officials, who let him "take the rap" and have been maintaining a "hands off" policy. "It seems that the UMW officials are afraid to stick their necks out. The district officials (Dist. 5, UMW) have made damn fools out of themselves and possibly a martyr out of me." He spoke not out of concern for himself, but out of pride for the union which he felt the top officials were hurting by their attitude in his case, which grew out of an anti-labor law that was directed in the first instance against the UMW itself.

Just before the time was up, he asked me to give a message to his union brothers of Local 2399 who have voted to back him 100 per cent and have established a fund to keep his family as long as he is in prison with the same amount of money they would have received if he had been working.

"Tell all the men to keep up the good fight. And tell them how much I appreciate their support and the help they are giving my family, who are being made to suffer for something they had no part in. Let the boys keep on pitching, and I will sure as hell run a few bases when I serve this time."

That's the spirit that has built the American labor movement, so a working man can lift up his head. That's the spirit that the Smith-Connally law was intended to crush. For as Bill Patterson emphasized, it's not just a "personal case."

There will be many more Bill Pattersons, if the whole labor movement is not aroused to protest, if it fails to fight to free the honest union man, Bill Patterson, and to deal with the real criminals the profiteering crooks, labor exploiters and their political henchmen who conspired to make him an "example" and threw him behind prison bars.

TRADE UNION NOTES

By Joseph Keller

Now They're 'Slackers'

Even the most benevolent of capitalists pay off with a lay-off. That's what half the 8,600 employees of Jack and Heintz Company, Cleveland, found out last week. Some 4,300 of them were "requested" to "resign" because of war contract terminations. It was quite a shock to the workers, called "associates," to find out how quickly the bosses would make them "disassociates" when they were no longer needed to make profits. Jack and Heintz were highly publicized as the "ideal" employers. By working 12 hours a day, seven days a week, the "associates" pulled down relatively high "take home" pay. The plant was run like "one big happy family," — call the boss by his first name, music while you work.

On May 29, President William S. Jack broadcast over the plant loudspeakers asking women and professional workers particularly to "come to their foremen and say 'Here is my resignation.'" He added: "You have done well by your country in its greatest trial and we appreciate it. The time has come for us to help your return to your families and professions." When only 20 "associates" accepted this "help" to return to their families — jobless, Jack and Heintz "benevolence" evaporated. On May 31, the company announced that there were a bunch of "slackers" and "discord seekers" in the plant who were to be purged.

Although the AFL Machinists have a contract in the plant, the union is almost completely "housebroken." The "purge" will be conducted through the union grievance committee, a company official stated. The union stewards, he said, have an "eye" on the "disrupters." They don't seem to have an eye on the contract, however, because the layoffs are being conducted in ruthless violation of seniority provisions.

No Union Conventions

The Office of Defense Transportation recently announced that for the next 12 to 15 months the government would not permit conventions of more than 50 people. This decision was aimed primarily at the unions, several of which were preparing to hold their annual conventions this summer and fall.

Hundreds of thousands of civilians use the railroads and busses daily, with most business men and their families still managing to take their vacations and trips. It would seem that a few union conventions, numbering usually from a couple of hundred to one or two with as many as 2,000 delegates, would not interfere appreciably with the transportation problem.

But the government doesn't think union conventions are "essential." Millions of workers are facing layoffs. "Take home" pay is being drastically slashed through reduced hours and loss of overtime, while prices and shortages mount. Meanwhile, the administration has put new rivets in the wage freeze.

The rank and file of the unions are beginning to put up a fight. All over the country they are starting to scrap the no-strike pledge in action. The workers are demanding a real program against unemployment and wage cuts. And that's the real reason why the administration doesn't want any conventions — especially big rank and file union conventions.

And its a mighty fine decision from the stand-point of the top union leaders. They're having a hard time holding the ranks "in line." They're not anxious to hold conventions where "anything" might happen.

Avery Rides Again

Although the WLB rulings in the Montgomery Ward case go back several years, and several of the company's 800 stores and warehouses were "seized" by the Army a year ago, the mills of the capitalist courts finally ground out a decision upholding the "seizure" only last week, on June 8.

In a two-to-one decision, the Federal Circuit Court of Appeals reversed a previous ruling of a Federal District Court and declared the "seizure" constitutional. The Army officers in charge then announced that they would finally put into effect the WLB orders which the company so far has defied successfully. This includes payment of \$1,342,000 in retroactive pay to the Ward workers, members of the CIO Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Employees.

S. L. Avery, Ward's board chairman and No. 1 Open-Shopper, promptly announced the company would fight the latest court ruling to the Supreme Court. Company lawyers sought a stay of execution until the Supreme Court could act. Another long legal stall might mean the complete destruction of the union, which has already taken a terrific pounding. The plea of the company is that payment of the back pay due the workers would mean "irreparable injury" to it.

But only a few days before, Montgomery Ward reported that for the first quarter of 1945, it had upped its net profits, after all taxes and costs, 44 per cent over the same quarter in 1944 — \$4,767,955 as compared with \$3,430,324. That's just for three months. And yet it claims it will be "ruined" by paying \$1,342,000 in back wages stolen from the workers.

FABLES FOR TODAY



A WOLF AMONG THE FOXES

In the forest ruled by a wolf there were both gray foxes and brown foxes.

The wolf went to the gray foxes and said, "The brown foxes are an inferior race. In fact, they are not really foxes at all. They are low creatures, and if you don't watch them, they will try to take your gray fox females away from you. Therefore, don't have anything to do with them. Just keep them in their place."

And he put up signs at the water hole that said, "FOR GRAY FOXES ONLY." And at another water hole, a muddy place without very much water, he put up a sign, "FOR BROWN FOXES ONLY."

Then he went to the brown foxes and said, "The gray foxes mean no good to you. If any red foxes try to tell you to mix with the gray foxes, tell me about it, and I'll take care of them."

And all the time he was stealing from the gray foxes and the brown foxes too, and he was making both of them work for him. But, since they were fighting against each other, both kinds of foxes were unable to kick out the thieving, lying wolf who was getting fat at their expense.

Moral: A LABOR MOVEMENT DIVIDED BY PREJUDICE CANNOT WIN.

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OREGON CIO COUNCIL ASSAILS RACE TERROR

PORTLAND, Ore. — Moving to counter the campaign of terror whipped up by reactionary forces against Japanese-Americans returning to the West Coast from inland concentration camps, the Oregon State CIO Council has gone on record in condemnation of all attempts "to foster race hysteria."

This action, paralleling that of the Los Angeles District Auto Council (UAW-CIO) which has publicly denounced job discrimination against Negro, Mexican or any other workers, shows that the labor movement is awakening to the perils of race hatred fostered by the boss class.

HITS AMERICAN LEGION

The Oregon CIO Council directs its attack specifically against the Hood River post of the American Legion which erased the names of Japanese from the honor roll of World War II. It characterized this action as "regrettable and unjustifiable" and castigated all those who arouse racial prejudices.

Meanwhile, the campaign of the reactionary inciters of race hatred is continuing. At Seattle, Wash. unidentified persons painted signs on the home of a Japanese family just back from a concentration camp, reading "No Japs Wanted." A party of seven Quakers, who have joined the effort to kill racial prejudice and violence, called on the threatened Japanese and voluntarily painted out the offensive signs.

Encouraged By Farcical Trial

By J. Blake

LOS ANGELES, Calif. — Race terrorism of California's reactionaries has been encouraged by the farcical prosecution and sentencing of a white rancher who pleaded guilty in Parlier justice court to firing four shotgun blasts into the home of Charles Iwasaki, a Japanese-American recently returned from an inland concentration camp.

Levi Multanen admitted firing the shots into the house while Iwasaki, his wife, his grandfather and three small children were there. But District Attorney James M. Thueson only saw fit to file charges against the rancher for "firing a gun in a rude and threatening manner." According to the Los Angeles Times of May 29, the prosecutor said "the lesser charge was filed be-

Carlson Exposes San Francisco Parley As Fraud

NEWARK, N. J., June 3. — A warm welcome was extended to Grace Carlson tonight as she made her first speech here since being imprisoned in the Minneapolis Labor Case. Speaking at the Sunday Forum of the Newark Branch of the Socialist Workers Party, her subject was "Fraud At San Francisco."

SUSPENDED SENTENCE

A six-month probationary term was the ridiculous sentence imposed upon the murderous rancher by Justice of the Peace L. B. Crosby.

In Orange County a Japanese-American woman, Mary Masuda, lately returned from a concentration camp, reported that five white men had threatened her with bodily harm unless she "leave the county." Jesse Elliott, Orange County sheriff, said he had received no complaints of the threats against Miss Masuda. He admitted, however, that he had heard "rumors" that some "unidentified" persons had paid visits to several returning Japanese-Americans to tell them "in a friendly way their presence was unwanted in the county."

During the first five months of this year there have been 70 incidents of threats or terrorism against Japanese-Americans, 65 of them in California, including 19 shootings. None of the shootings have been fatal. There was an attempt to dynamite a Japanese-American home, several cases of setting fire to Japanese-American homes, and threatening visits to others. The only arrest was that of Levi Multanen and he got a suspended sentence.

THE TERRORISTS

While some of the acts of terrorism were perpetrated by outright hoodlums, the majority were carried out by rich white landowners who have profited from operating land or other property belonging to Japanese-Americans during the time the latter were interned. By means of terror they hope to drive the Japanese-Americans from California permanently and thus continue to profit from their lands. The local authorities sympathize, not with the victims of the reactionary terrorists, but with the terrorists themselves. That is why there has been only one arrest. That is why the terrorists continue to operate with impunity.

Vigorously assailing the San Francisco conference as "a phony attempt to convince the masses of the people that the big capitalist powers are capable of ensuring peace in the world," Comrade Carlson pointed to the shooting down of the peoples of Lebanon and Syria as a glaring example of the fraudulent character of the conference.

After demonstrating to the audience that such terrible slaughters as the present world war are an inevitable product of the dying capitalist system, she went on to declare, "We have a tremendous advantage in that the big majority of the people already recognize that such devices as the San Francisco conference cannot ensure peace."

"The job that remains for us to do," Comrade Carlson concluded, "is to demonstrate that only the united action of the working class to abolish capitalism and establish socialism can guarantee a world of genuine peace and brotherhood."

Pioneer Notes

Pioneer's new pamphlet, Resolutions of the Eleventh Convention of the American Trotskyist Movement, has just come off the press and is now on sale.

Published by Pioneer Publishers for the Socialist Workers Party, the pamphlet contains the two main documents adopted by the SWP at the convention held in New York in November, 1944. These two resolutions are entitled "The United States and the Second World War" and "The European Revolution and Tasks of the Revolutionary Party."

The first resolution deals with the current problems and tasks of the American workers. Analyzing the war program of the American capitalist class with its fabulous war profits and its fraudulent "equality of sacrifice" slogan, the resolution exposes the treacherous role of the boot-licking labor bureaucrats and the vicious strikebreaking program of the Stalinists in the labor movement. It then puts forward the militant policy of the Trotskyists:

"For the Independence of the Trade Unions!

"Rescind the No-Strike Pledge! 'Scrap the Little Steel Formula!"

"A Rising Scale of Wages to Meet the Rising Cost of Living!"

"For Democracy within the Unions!"

"For an Independent Labor Party based on the Trade Unions!"

Against the capitalist "post-war" program of mass unemployment, breadlines and soup-kitchens, the Trotskyists counterpose their own fighting program:

"For the full utilization of all productive capacity. . . . Continuing operation of all government-owned plants and equipment under the control of workers' committees. . . . No plant should remain idle while workers are unemployed.

"For full employment and job security. . . . A sliding scale of wages and hours. The 30-hour week with no reduction in pay. . . . For the political instrument to advance the program. . . . The workers must organize their own independent Labor Party. . . . Against a government of America's Sixty Families — the Workers and Farmers Government."

Resolutions of the Eleventh Convention of the American Trotskyist Movement, 48 pages, 5c. Order from Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.

NEWARK Lecture

"The Upsurge of the Arab Masses in Syria and Lebanon"

Speaker: MARK BRADEN
Friday, June 22, 8 P. M.

at the
PROGRESSIVE WORKERS SCHOOL
423 Springfield Avenue

Grace Carlson Begins Tour At New York Rally

(Continued from page 1)

railroaded to prison under the vicious Smith-Connally law. Last week Art Preis interviewed Patterson at the Fayette County (Pennsylvania) prison. He learned the true story about Patterson and his fellow miners in the 1943 coal strikes.

INSIDE STORY

Art Preis' articles in The Militant were the first to bring before the labor movement the shocking facts in this case. He will now present for the first time to a New York audience the inside story of how the coal barons plotted to establish a precedent for jailing strikers everywhere under this anti-labor law.

Grace Carlson, main speaker of the evening, is nationally known as a fighter against racial discrimination. She is a member of the executive board of the St.



GRACE CARLSON

Paul Branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Her weekly articles in The Militant are among the most popular features of this crusading paper.

Comrade Carlson's national tour, under the auspices of the Socialist Workers Party, will be her first opportunity since her release from prison to appear before working class audiences

STALINISM IN FRANCE

The recent reshuffle of the de Gaulle cabinet "does not reflect the wishes of the French people," declares a resolution of the Central Committee of the French Communist (Stalinist) Party quoted by the Paris radio. "But," the resolution goes on, "the Communists will continue their participation in the cabinet and will await further developments."

It was a prominent member of this French Stalinist committee, Jacques Duclos, who recently criticized the American Stalinists for their "opportunistic" policies, leading to the latest hypocritical about-face of the Stalinists in this country. As can be seen, the American Stalinists have no monopoly of the policy of class peace and betrayal of the workers.

across the country. She was released from the Federal Reformatory for Women, Alderson, West Virginia after serving almost 13 months of a 16-month term and was freed on May 1 from more than three months of parole restrictions. Her "crime," like that of the rest of the 18, was opposition to the imperialist war and support of revolutionary socialism.

NATIVE OF ST. PAUL

Grace Carlson was born in St. Paul, Minn. in 1906. Her father is an Irish-American railroad worker and her great-great grandfather was Samuel Holmes, who came from Ireland and fought in the American revolution. She was educated in St. Catherine's College and the University of Minnesota where she earned her BA, MA and PhD degrees.

She lectured for two years in the Department of Psychology of the University of Minnesota. Then for five years she held the post of vocational rehabilitation counselor of the Minnesota State Department of Education.

She resigned from this work in 1940 to run as Socialist Workers Party candidate for U. S. Senator. She received more than 8,700 votes, topping the combined votes of the Stalinist and Socialist Party candidates in 1942 she ran for mayor of St. Paul, receiving three per cent of the total vote cast.

FINE LABOR RECORD

Grace Carlson has long been a well-known figure in the labor movement. She was a charter member of the Minnesota State Employees Union Local 10, for four years a delegate to the St. Paul Trades and Labor Assembly, a member of its educational committee for three years and twice a delegate to the Minnesota State Federation of Labor conventions. Besides this, she was a member of the national committee of the Workers Defense League and was active in the St. Paul Branch of the NAACP, in 1943 serving as a delegate to the national convention in Detroit.

Readers of The Militant will undoubtedly be eager to hear



JAMES P. CANNON

Comrade Carlson's lecture on "Women in Prison" when she appears in their locality. Her speaking dates will be regularly listed in The Militant. New Yorkers can hear her June 22.

Carlson Tour Schedule

CITY	DATE
Philadelphia	Wednesday, June 20
New York	Friday, June 22
Newark	Sunday, June 24
Boston	Tues. - Wed. June 26, 27
Rochester	Fri. - Sat. - June 29, 30
Buffalo	Sunday, July 1
Pittsburgh	Tuesday, July 3
Akron	Thurs., July 5
Youngstown	Sat., July 7
Cleveland	Sunday, July 8
Toledo	Monday, July 9
Detroit	Tues. - Wed., July 10, 11
Chicago	Sat. to Mon. July 14 to 16
Milwaukee	Tuesday, July 17
St. Louis	Thursday, July 19
Los Angeles	Thurs. to Wed., Aug. 2 to 8
San Francisco	Fri. to Sun., Aug. 10-12
Seattle	Tues. to Thurs., Aug. 14 to 16
Missoula	Friday, Aug. 17
Flintwood	Sunday, Aug. 19
Twin Cities	August 22

HINES FIRED AS VETS' HEAD IN HOSPITAL INVESTIGATION

A new blow to the prestige of the reactionary head of the House Veterans Committee, Representative John Rankin, came on June 8 when his friend, Brigadier General Frank Hines was "fired" from his post as Administrator of Veterans' Affairs. The so-called investigation of veterans' hospitals which the Rankin-led committee started in March had been turned into a whitewash of Veterans' Administration officials.

But the public clamor aroused by recent exposure of the mistreatment of sick and wounded soldiers in veterans hospitals was too loud! Too many letters were pouring in on members of Congress demanding that charges made against the Veterans Administration by writers like Albert Deutsch of PM, Victor Maisel of Cosmopolitan magazine

and others be investigated. The House Veterans Committee was forced to call Deutsch and Maisel as witnesses early in June and to listen to their damning evidence against Veterans Administrator Hines and other VA officials.

RANKIN RESISTS

Accustomed to disregarding public opinion, poll-tax Representative Rankin of Mississippi resisted these moves. On May 18, he engineered a "contempt of Congress" charge against Deutsch through the Committee because Deutsch had refused to reveal the names of VA doctors from whom he had obtained information as to the terrible conditions in veterans hospitals. Public pressure forced the other members of the House Veterans Committee to vote to lift the contempt citation on May 29.

The appearance of Maisel and Deutsch as committee witnesses was the signal for Rankin to let loose a barrage of slanders and lies. Rankin tried to sidetrack interest from the charges which these investigators had made about the bad state of affairs in the VA hospitals by calling Deutsch a "red" and "fellow traveler" and Maisel a "draft dodger." He concluded his grilling of Maisel with the violent outburst: "You've done a great disservice to the greatest system of veterans' hospitals the world has ever seen."

But Rankin's frantic attempts to protect Veterans Administrator Hines were of no avail. Dissatisfaction with VA officials in charge of the Veterans Hospitals program forced President Truman to replace Hines with General Omar Bradley, commanding general of the Twelfth Army Group under General Eisenhower.

A simple replacement of the Veterans Administrator is not enough, according to Deutsch, Maisel and their medical advisers. A letter inserted in the Congressional Record on June 6 by Rep. Walter Judd of Minnesota, himself a doctor, tells why. This letter was written to Judd by a doctor who has been in the Veterans Administration for 10 years. He writes:

"Politics, both Legion (American Legion) and party dominates the situation. We have managers with their assistants and staff, all laymen, who draw the big salaries and make all the important—including medical—decisions. . . . If we are to be expected to do first-class medicine, drastic changes must be made."

Diary of a STEEL WORKER

By Theodore Kovalesky

I've been reading a lot in the papers lately about how the problem of the returning veteran should be handled.

Yesterday out on the furnace I heard a story about how one veteran was treated, a fellow called Slim.

I never saw Slim before. He's a new man; and, when Jimmy didn't show up for work, the foreman sent Slim up on the floor to fill in with our gang.

After the clean-up I heard him arguing with Tom, Slim, a tall, slender Negro who limped a little as he walked, was saying, "I don't give a damn what you say about Mississippi, the rottenest state in the country is Arkansas."

"What part?"

"Any part!"

"Why?" Tom wanted to know.

"I'll tell you what happened to me there," Slim began. "I got out of the army because of my leg and went home for a little while. Then I started travelling. Didn't know just where I'd settle."



RACE PERSECUTION IN ARKANSAS

"Well, I got into Arkansas one afternoon, and that evening the bus stopped at a little town, and first thing I know, a couple of FBI men pulled me off the bus and put me in jail. They thought I was somebody else, some guy they were after for draft dodging. "So they locked me up in a cell with some other boys to find out if I was telling the truth."

"Next morning the sheriff came down and said the judge wanted to see me. So I picked up my suitcase and started out. But he says, 'You won't need that, and made me leave it in the cell. "Well, I got down there in front of the judge, and he told me they found out I was telling the truth, but then he says, 'Where you working, boy?'"

"I told him I was just travelling through. I had money. "Then he says, 'Well, boy, I'm going to give you ninety days on the county farm.' "I just looked at him. Then I says, 'Judge, would you give a man ninety days for nothing at all?'"

"The judge looked back for a long time, and then he says to me, 'For your smartness in asking such a question, I'm going to fine you ninety dollars AND give you ninety days,' so I didn't say nothing more. I didn't want to get any more than that." "Did you serve it?" Tom asked.

FORCED TO PICK COTTON

"Sure I served it and paid the fine both. They carried me out to the county farm and put me to work picking cotton. I never picked any cotton before in my life."

"The first day, the man said to me, 'I want you to bring me two hundred pounds of cotton today.' Only I never picked any before, and man, it was a terrible job! You got a thing like a hatchet with a knife on it, and—"

"Yeah, I know," Tom said.

"Well," Slim went on, "that night the man came to me and says, 'You didn't get two hundred pounds.'"

"I says, 'No, I guess I didn't,' so he says, 'Goddammit, you'll get two hundred tomorrow,' and he made them give me ten ticks with a strap they got there. Heavy, leather strap on a stick! The man steps on it and stretches it out. Man, I couldn't sleep that night! I got the two hundred pounds next day, all right!"

I had to go out and do some more work, so I didn't hear the rest of the conversation. Slim and Tom were still arguing about which state was worse when I left.

But I was thinking—Arkansas or Mississippi, north or south, the returned veteran will get a terrible shock if he comes home believing all the rosy promises that the politicians have been making. No worker, whether he wears khaki or denims, ever got anything without fighting like hell to get it.

The Fearful Cost Of World War II

The fearful costs of the Second World War stagger the imagination. According to first computations of research experts of the American University, direct war expenditures so far amount to more than \$1,030,000,000,000 (trillion).

This figure is so colossal it seems incomprehensible. Yet it does not include the destruction and damage of public and private property nor the expenditures of China. The value of destroyed wealth may well double the computation.

The expenditures of the Allies were \$558,090,000,000 (billion). The Axis expenditures were almost as huge, \$442,900,000,000 (billion). By countries, the costs amount to the following: United States, \$280,600,000,000; Soviet Union, \$170,000,000,000; Great Britain, \$64,200,000,000; France, \$13,000,000,000; South American countries, \$9,278,000,000; Canada, \$6,814,000,000; Australia, New Zealand and South Africa, \$4,620,000,000; Belgium, \$3,600,000,000; Poland \$2,000,000,000; Czechoslovakia, \$1,500,000,000; the Netherlands, \$1,000,000,000; Yugoslavia, \$220,000,000; Greece, \$165,000,000 and Norway, \$93,000,000.

For the Axis by countries: Germany \$258,900,000,000; Italy, \$94,000,000,000 and Japan \$44,000,000,000. In addition to this, Germany and Japan spent in the first part of 1945 about \$46,000,000,000.

"If all the money spent in this war since 1934 (when Germany began arming) was distributed equally to all people of the world," Paul F. Douglass, president of the university declared, "every man, woman and child in the world would receive more than \$500." This sum does not include the figures for the destruction of property.

The toll in lives is even more frightful. According to the tentative and very conservative estimates of the War Department, the total European military casualties are 60,000,000 (million). This is the greatest recorded slaughter in all human history.

Yet appalling as these casualties are, they do not include the civilian toll in Europe, although civilians suffered perhaps as heavily as the armed forces.

Nor do the figures include the casualties in the Pacific for either the armed forces or the civilians, although the final toll there will in all likelihood exceed the European casualties.

An Invitation

We invite all readers of THE MILITANT to attend the "Send-Off Social" that will mark the beginning of Grace Carlson's National Speaking Tour.

To be held Saturday evening, June 23, at
116 UNIVERSITY PLACE, NEW YORK CITY

How War Perils End Race Hatred

Race prejudice, even the very poisonous variety that is instilled into southern whites from the cradle on, can be destroyed overnight if Negro and white workers go through struggles together. The latest proof that Jim Crow is an artificial thing comes from a story about the comradely relationship which grew up between southern-born white and colored soldiers in a Nazi prison camp.

Tom O'Connor, a reporter for the New York newspaper PM, tells the story in the June 6 issue of that paper. Sent down to cover the arrival of the Liberty ship, William Blount, which had on board a large number of prisoners liberated from Nazi camps, O'Connor's attention was attracted by two Negro soldiers engaged in friendly conversation with two white soldiers. All spoke with marked southern accents. When questioned, they said they were from Texas, which caused O'Connor to express surprise that they got along so well together.

To this, one of the white soldiers, Staff Sgt. Green replied: "If you mean white fellows being friends with colored fellows—hell, you get a lot of new ideas over there. Everybody gets along swell. The colored soldiers are wonderful guys."

The reporter then asked: "Did you think that way before?" Sergeant Green replied in the negative and added: "My family and my wife's family can't understand why I think so now."

The other white soldier, Private Stanphill, broke in to say, "You learn a lot when you're starving." Then he told a story about a colored soldier who had divided his last slice of bread with a starving white soldier.

One of the colored soldiers of the group, Private George Punched, summed up their experiences: "Well, over there everybody was O.K. As far as discrimination went, I never saw any. Then we were captured, and Negroes and southern whites and northern whites was all mixed up and all in the same boat, all starving and nobody thought about color. . . . Now here we are back, and I'm going back to Texas. You know what it'll be like there."

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ALLIED POWERS DIVIDE GERMANY IN 4 SPHERES

By Felix Morrow

The dismemberment of Germany was in effect formally established by a series of four-power documents issued June 5. The documents make a perfunctory reference to the four zone commanders acting "jointly in matters affecting Germany as a whole." The reality, however, is the "supreme authority" of the commanders "each in his own zone of occupation."

That authority covers just about everything conceivable. It is a military dictatorship which promises no rights of any kind to the German people. There is no date for the termination of the occupation nor even the promise that the day will come when Germany will be an entity again.

Considerable sections of the Kremlin's zone of occupation are slated never again to be part of Germany. All of Silesia—about 30 per cent of Germany's industrial plant and resources—and most of East Prussia are now part of the Kremlin-backed Poland. The rest of East Prussia is part of the Lithuanian Soviet republic. There are British and French plans, as yet unofficial, as well as that advocated by an American group for which former Undersecretary of State Sumner Welles speaks, for permanently carving up other parts of Germany: a Rhineland State, a Bavarian or southern German state, etc.

The four-power documents formalize their common aim of dismembering Germany and preventing it from rising again as an independent entity. But here the agreement ends, for then there arises the question of who is to get what.

The four powers are quarreling over the spoils. Big stakes are involved. They add up to one thing: each seeks to strengthen its base in Germany for World War III which all know very well is certain to come sooner or later. Each is trying to weaken the German base of the other side.

MOSCOW'S MAP

The June 5 documents did not designate the respective boundaries. The next day Moscow published a map of the zones, apparently OK'd by Roosevelt and Churchill at Yalta. But when Germany collapsed, the U. S. Army did not halt at the border designated by the map. Territory assigned by the map to the Red Army, but which U. S. troops now hold, includes the provinces of Saxony and Thuringia, in which are the important cities of Leipzig, Weimar, Jena, Eisenbach, Chemnitz, Halle and Dessau.

Until the Americans evacuate this territory, the Kremlin refuses to establish the four-power Control Council of the four zone commanders. The immediate importance of this refusal is that thereby the Greater Berlin area to be divided into four zones remains in the hands of the Red Army. There are reports that the Russians are utilizing the interim to strip the Greater Berlin area of machinery and manpower.

Following publication of the Soviet map, Moscow newspapers and radio began demanding when U. S. troops would evacuate the disputed area. Washington remained silent on the question.

Whatever settlement might come on this question, the dispute over allocation of German machinery, resources and manpower will continue.

FORCED LABOR

Under the Yalta formula of "reparations in kind," the Kremlin includes forced labor as a major category. Shortly after Yalta, Roosevelt verbally indicated he had no objection to Russian use of such labor. En route to Moscow for the reparations discussions, Edwin U. Pauley, chairman of the U. S. delegation, said in Paris June 9 that the Russians "might be able" to get some reparations in this form, but that this is "hardly feasible" for the U. S.

The question at issue, however, is whether the Kremlin will get in addition to the labor it found in its zone, other millions of soldiers, workers and peasants who are now in the British and American zones. An indication to the contrary was the statement June 9 in Paris by Col. Robert J. Gill, chief of the prisoner-of-war division.

Gill emphasized that "all plans for employment of prisoners are based on the Geneva Convention" to which the Soviet Union is not a signatory. The U. S. held 2,850,000 German prisoners in Europe and 500,000 in this country. Of these 3,350,000, the U. S. will retain 600,000 as laborers for the present—about 18 per cent. Another 18 per cent are being discharged and sent home, including miners, farmers, transport workers, women prisoners and men over 50. From 200,000 to 250,000 are being handed to France for labor there, and 160,000 to the British in U. S.-held territory which goes to Britain. This leaves a considerable num-

ber to be disposed of before the U. S. figure is cut to 600,000. Col. Gill stated that this would be done by "various means," some of which have not yet been decided upon. This may mean that the way is still left open to turn large numbers over to the Kremlin.

KREMLIN AND U. S.
But the Kremlin is unlikely to agree to abide by the Geneva Convention rules which the U. S. army insists on, and it may well be that the 18 per cent whom the U. S. is immediately sending to their homes may grow larger with the next months, leaving the Kremlin's demand unsatisfied.

No doubt the U. S. and British commanders welcome the opportunity of the forced-labor issue in order to parade as more liberal than the Red Army which in its own zone is driving millions eastward for such labor. In turn, Marshal Zhukov plays the liberal, announcing June 10 that not only trade unions (legalized some time ago in the U. S.-British region) but all anti-fascist political parties may now exist. This paves the way in the Red Army zone for another masquerade like that in Poland, where a "Workers party," and a "Socialist party" speak the language of Stalinism. It is impossible for the Kremlin totalitarian dictatorship to permit genuine political life anywhere in the areas it controls. Zhukov's announcement is an empty gesture for his own zone, but it means the beginning of a pressure campaign to permit the Communist party free rein in the Allied zones.

The knottiest of all questions in dispute is the disposition of the two-thirds of German industry and resources which are in the U. S.-British-French zones. The Kremlin demands dismantling of the factories and machinery and their transportation to the Soviet Union and its satellites—Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, etc. The British, quite openly, have no intention of dismantling anything in their zone, but of linking it with British industry for its drive to recapture export markets. The British are especially in a hurry to renew coal exports. Here they run into not only Russian but also French opposition, for the French are demanding that part of the coal mines be turned over to them.

Reports are that U. S. occupation officers are acting along the line indicated by Rosenman. This is probably what is meant by the June 9 charge over the Moscow radio that U. S. industrialists are "doing their utmost to restore German heavy industry." Moscow correctly observes that this will serve the eventual revival of German imperialism. True enough, but Moscow is scarcely naive enough to expect that British and American imperialism will abolish German capitalism or actually de-industrialize Germany. The German industrial base will in one way or another be preserved for eventual use by the Anglo-American bloc against the Soviet Union. That is why the Big Three disputes over Germany continue and must continue.

Farrell Dobbs Runs for Mayor Of New York City

(Continued from page 1)

tee, of which Dobbs was also secretary. He was chosen as spokesman for the negotiating committee which won a 12-state uniform union contract for 250,000 over-the-road drivers, an outstanding achievement.

DOBB'S LEADERSHIP
Under the militant leadership of Dobbs and other well-known Trotskyists, the Teamsters Union mushroomed in membership until it became one of the largest unions in the country.

In 1939, Dobbs resigned his post in the Teamsters Union to become National Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party. When Daniel J. Tobin attempted to impose his dictatorial regime on Local 544 of the Teamsters, Dobbs returned to Minneapolis to help Local 544 in the fight to maintain its traditions of democratic unionism.

Tobin appealed to Roosevelt for help. Roosevelt in turn brought in the FBI and Attorney General Biddle. Dobbs was one of the principal targets in this unholy anti-labor combination.

The main "crime" of the defendants was political opposition to the Second World War. Despite the pounding of the government prosecutors, Dobbs and the others held firm to their position against the imperialist war and as a result were sentenced to prison. Shortly before he began serving the sentence, Dobbs

An Inside Story -- Conditions Of Women In American Jails

By Grace Carlson

For the past couple of weeks, the publicity committee in charge of my national tour has been urging me to include some material about prison life in this column. This would serve as something of a "preview" of the tour speech on "Women in Prison." The committee argues that giving "previews" is a good advertising technique — and I'm sure they're right.

For this purpose, I thought that some stories about the jails in which I stayed before I was taken to the federal prison at Alderson, West Virginia might be of interest. Fifteen of the 18 prisoners in our case surrendered in Minneapolis on December 31, 1943 and were taken to the Hennepin county jail. The 14 men were transferred to the Sandstone federal prison the next day but I was kept in the Hennepin county jail until January 9, 1944.

LIFE IN JAIL

Here are some excerpts from a letter which I wrote to Evelyn Anderson, acting secretary of the Civil Rights Defense Committee on January 7. (The letter was dictated to a Minneapolis friend who came to see me on one of the visiting days):

"Mr. Litel, a U.S. deputy marshal was in to see me just an hour or so ago to say that we shall probably start for Alderson by car this coming Sunday. I will confess that I do not look forward to a three or four-day car trip with a flatfoot but he tells me that it was impossible to get train reservations until the 20th of this month.

"I refrained from asking what the U. S. Government had been doing from Nov. 22 — when they knew we were going to surrender — until today! Sometimes I think that the money which we taxpayers have been pouring into the U. S. Treasury is being squandered by a lot of lazy bureaucrats!

"I shall be glad to leave here, though, and get into some kind of a routine at Alderson, despite the fact that I have enjoyed visits

from Dorothy, Elaine, Bea, Winnie and other friends. They have kept me supplied with books, clean clothes and even some candy and cookies. They tried to have other foods sent in, but were told that it was against the rules. I tell you this so that you will know that the local defense organization was on the job and did the best they could.

POTATOES GALORE

"The things they brought helped a great deal. I do not have much praise for the food here. I don't believe that I have eaten as many potatoes in the past five years as I have eaten here — twice a day without fail! The forces of law and order in Hennepin county do not 'season' their 'justice' with very much 'mercy'."

But I lived to learn that the accommodations which the Hennepin county jail provided for its "guests" were quite superior to those of many other such county "lodging houses." Here are some excerpts from my first letter from Alderson, dealing with the county jails with which I became familiar on the trip down to West Virginia. It was written to my sister Dorothy on January 16 — the first letter-writing day after my arrival at the prison on January 12. (All of the information I had accumulated and the impressions I had received since leaving Minnesota had to be reported about on one single piece of ruled prison paper. To an awfully wordy person like me, this seemed like a terrible persecution!)

TRIP TO ALDERSON

"So many things to say; so many questions to ask and so little time and space in which to do it all! Well I'll just do the best I can.

"The trip down was not a happy one, although Mr. Litel and his wife really tried to be friendly. They are simple, folksy souls who call each other "Ma" and "Pa." But we drove for much of the way along the same route which Bea, Elaine, Ray and I took last year. We even ate at some of the same places, so the com-



parison was a pretty sad one. "We were on the road three nights. They stayed at hotels; I stayed in county jails — one night in Madison, Wisconsin; the next in Lebanon, Indiana; the third in Huntington, West Va. I do not have space to give you complete details, but I have come to appreciate the superior qualities of Hennepin County Jail — relatively speaking.

"Neither the Madison or Huntington jails had springs, just steel slabs. The Huntington jail didn't even have pillows or sheets, nor private cells (8 in a room), nor a sheltered toilet. BUT, it did have cockroaches and other species of small animals! I didn't even take off my clothes — just used my pajamas for a pillow and my robe for a blanket.

"The poor devils in the cell with me looked like characters out of Tobacco Road. When I left in the morning, I gave them some cosmetics, soap, a towel etc. — not much to do, but the best I could.

"Conditions at Alderson are quite different. The buildings are of red brick, trimmed in white and are excessively neat and

clean... One of the big occupations here is cleaning up and straightening up. Even so great an exponent of Cleanliness and Order as I am feels the strain of it a little bit. But I know that in organizing the lives of over 500 girls, many of whom have not been exposed to much training in these things, pretty strict rules have to be laid down. And I was never one to let my own selfish interests stand in the way of the 'common good'...

"Please send me a flock of bobby pins immediately, also my curlers. I really need them. I fixed my hair yesterday by means of two paper clips, two combs and paper—not so awfully bad, but not so awfully good, either! And tell me what has been in the papers about the dissolution of the Communist Party. I haven't seen a paper for days. So what with that and other jacks, I am not excessively happy, but neither am I terribly uncomfortable. People often put up with much more for much less reason."

I think that talking about prison is going to be much more fun than living in prison!

Churchill Attacks Socialism In Battle For Re-election

British Prime Minister Churchill opened his election campaign June 4 by declaring that his Laborite bedfellows of the past four years would, if freed from his restraining hand, establish socialism and with it "some sort of Gestapo."

As yet too polite to say directly that he was talking about his Big Three partner, Stalin, Churchill insisted that a socialist state can brook no criticism and must therefore lead to totalitarianism.

Equally polite to Stalin, the Laborite leaders did not draw the fundamental line between what the Kremlin has done to the Russian revolution and the real workers' democracy that would result from a successful socialist revolution in Europe.

How, indeed, could they make the distinction, when (1) they are campaigning as better partners of Stalin than Churchill can be, and (2) the last thing in their minds is the actual abolition of capitalism and the establishment of socialism.

A SHAM BATTLE

The limits of this sham battle between Churchill and the Laborite leaders thus left the latter with no more profound argument than the perfectly true but century-old fact that the one time England itself had a full-fledged Gestapo-like political police was during the Conservative rule of the Napoleonic period.

The British Trotskyists of the Revolutionary Communist Party, however, have no political commitments which would compel them to mince words in answering Churchill's attack on socialism. They can answer Churchill by pointing to the fact that right now the major portion of the population of the British Empire, nearly four hundred millions, are ruled by political police, gagged

by totalitarian methods, killed in the millions by man-made famines, and jailed by thousands in concentration camps.

That is the reality in India under the Conservative-Laborite coalition. When Churchill glowingly speaks "for the sovereign freedom of the individual within the laws which freely-elected Parliaments have freely passed," he leaves out the fact that at best, the most he could truthfully say is that 43 millions in England elect that Parliament while 400 millions are ruled by it without voice or vote.

NATIONAL SPEAKING TOUR

GRACE CARLSON

Sole Woman Among the 18 Socialist Workers Party Leaders

Imprisoned in the Minneapolis Labor Case will discuss

'WOMEN IN PRISON'

Other Speaker:

FARRELL DOBBS
Editor of THE MILITANT and Trotskyist Candidate for Mayor of New York

Chairman: JAMES P. CANNON
National Secretary, Socialist Workers Party

Attend the Meeting in New York

Friday, June 22 - 8 P. M.

WEBSTER HALL

119 E. 11th Street, Between 3d & 4th Avenues

The NEGRO STRUGGLE

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

by CHARLES JACKSON

Henry Ford and the Ecorse Project

The Ford Motor Company, temporarily stymied in its court battle to prevent construction of a 1,410 unit housing project in Ecorse Township, Michigan for occupancy by needy Negro and white families, has evidently given the signal to its henchmen for an all-out campaign to incite anti-Negro and anti-working-class violence if and when the project is constructed.

Although Federal Judge Arthur J. Moinet in Detroit admitted that he didn't think "that the Ford Motor Company can maintain this case," the company attorney, I. H. Capizzi, announced that the decision would be carried to higher courts. At the session where the permanent injunction to prevent construction of the project was denied, the courtroom was packed with residents from Ecorse, Melvindale, Dearborn and Lincoln Park, who had been rounded up and were led by Louis Borolo, vice-president of the Junior Chamber of Commerce.

LOW THEM TO FORCE YOUR CHILDREN OUT OF THEIR HIGH SCHOOL SO THAT 'SHACKTOWN' CHILDREN MAY TAKE THEIR SEATS? "WILL YOU PERMIT THIS EYE-SORE TO BE BUILT WHERE IT WILL REDUCE THE VALUE OF YOUR HOMES AND REAL ESTATE INVESTMENTS?"

"WHAT ARE YOU GOING TO DO ABOUT IT? "ARE YOU GOING TO STAND IDLY BY...?" This press stooge of the Ford interests, publisher Mellus, is plainly laying the groundwork for violent attacks not only against the Negro minority but also against the white workers.

BOUGHT OFFICIALS
Not only the bought press but also various public officials cater to the interests of big business and act against the working people. Some of the officials who went to Washington to halt the much-needed housing project and thereby to serve their master, Henry Ford, included: Councilmen Allen Elrod, Ralph Moly, William Rivard and Clarence Sheets; Mayor George Stoddard; Treasurer Arthur Moore; Ralph Willard, president of the school board; Supervisor Henry Herrick, of Ecorse Township, and Harry Veilmure, township attorney.

Representative John Lesinski, Democratic "friend of labor," also betrayed his constituents by introducing a bill calculated to kill the project. He was denounced by William G. Nichols, UAW-CIO housing director, as being "more interested in the Ford Motor company's loss of 100 acres than in the welfare of the country as a whole."

These events should again remind us that labor, both white and black, needs its OWN independent political representatives in the local, state and federal governments. Furthermore, we need to prepare NOW for defense against the fascist attacks that loom on the horizon by organizing workers' defense guards to combat the program of violence which is being whipped up by the big business press.

Pioneer Paragraphs

THE WORKERS MUST PREPARE FOR A GREAT SOCIAL CRISIS

The United States, the very nerve center of the world capitalist order, is sensitive to every dislocation and shock to the social system. The contradictions and growing antagonisms breaking through the "unity" surface of the "United Nations" clash of imperialist interests and the fundamental antagonism between world imperialism and the Soviet Union; the intensification of class conflicts within each nation; the tremendous social convulsions shaking the European continent, all have profound repercussions within the United States. Trotsky wrote:

"We must not for a moment lose sight of the fact that the might of American capitalism rests more and more upon a foundation of world economy with contradictions and crises, military and revolutionary. This means that a social crisis in the United States may arrive a good deal sooner than many think, and have a feverish development from the beginning. Hence the conclusion: It is necessary to prepare."

The war, which in the beginning hindered the radicalization of the masses, is giving a tremendous impulse to this radicalization. The indignation of the working masses will rise in a tidal-wave of revolution against those parties and leaders who deceived them. The need for a solution to their problems will impel the workers along the road of revolutionary struggle. Our transitional program will meet with an increasing response from ever broader layers of the American working class.

We already see the first signs of this awakening in the growing sentiment for labor's independent political action and the increasing opposition of union militants to the no-strike pledge. In many instances union militants have adopted parts of our transitional program and advanced our slogans in the struggle against the labor bureaucrats.

DETROIT

SUNDAY NIGHT FORUMS

June 24

"Whither Germany?"

Speaker: JERRY KIRK

July 1

"The Trotskyist Answer to the Coming Layoffs"

Speaker: A. RICHARDS

3513 WOODWARD AVENUE

Room 21 - 8 p. m.

AKRON

Bi-Weekly

Militant Club Forum

Sunday, June 17, 7 p. m.

"Cutbacks and Reconversion"

39 E. Market St., Room 406

Admission Free

The New Stalinist Tactical Shift

(Continued from page 1)

of no concern to the degenerated Kremlin bureaucracy, to whom the masses have been and remain mere pawns in Stalin's game of power politics.

The Stalinists can no longer peddle their old lies with impunity because life itself has exposed them. The masses are becoming more and more disillusioned with the war. The promises about the "Four Freedoms" and all the other war aims are already too threadbare to hide the robber character of the war. Revolutionary struggles are rising in Europe and the colonies. That is why the Stalinist leaders urgently require a tactical adjustment—not, however, to provide genuine revolutionary leadership, but to deceive the masses and bring their struggles to naught. Stalin and his agents abroad seek to destroy the socialist revolution, because the socialist revolution means the death of Stalinism.

Coat of Red Veneer

The American workers are breaking out of the strait-jacket of "national unity." The American Stalinists are being isolated and defeated in factories and unions. In the union movement they bear the brand of jingoes and strikebreakers.

The Stalinist War Record

Throughout the war, the Stalinist party has been the most vociferous war party. As recruiting sergeants for U. S. imperialism, they out-jingoes the jingoes. The program of Wall Street and its government in Washington became their own. They were the loudest boosters of Roosevelt's deceptive "equality of sacrifice" program. They condoned the fabulous war profits of Big Business. They campaigned for the "incentive pay" plan which meant speed-up for the workers and vaster profits for the monopolists. They urged the workers meekly to accept the wage freeze, the job freeze, the "Little Steel" formula and to submit to every anti-union provocation of the employers. Not only did they advocate that the workers surrender the right to strike, but wherever they had the power they victimized militant workers who dared defend themselves against the anti-labor offensive of Big Business. Small wonder that Business Week, a mouthpiece of Wall Street, recognizes that the Stalinists "have outdone all other factions in American labor in making patriotic appeals for more production, labor management cooperation, ignoring of grievances and observation of the no-strike pledge."

The labor movement as a whole recoiled in opposition when Roosevelt introduced his slave-labor National Service Bill. This was too much for the pro-war liberals to stomach, but not for Bridges and Curran who, like the Daily Worker, gave all-out support to this reactionary measure. Bridges and Curran violated the policy of the CIO in their support of the slave-labor bill—and had to be called to order by Philip Murray himself.

Each time the workers found themselves com-

The Truth About Teheran

In the winter of 1943, after the Teheran conference of Stalin, Roosevelt and Churchill, the American Stalinists under Browder's leadership came to the conclusion that their criminal policy in the war should be continued in the postwar era. The class struggle was to be discarded not only for the "duration" but forever. Socialism was declared a utopian dream. In place of socialism Browder embraced the "free enterprise system" of monopoly capital, under which, he promised, the workers would have prosperity, peace and plenty.

Was this anti-Marxist opium concocted just by Browder, as Duclos and Foster now try to make it appear? Nothing could be further from the truth! Browder's line flowed logically from the Stalinist war policy, after Hitler attacked the Soviet Union. In accordance with this policy, the capitalists were waging a "People's War," a war "for democracy against fascism," a war for the "Four Freedoms" and so on. But why, then, is it not possible for the capitalists to conclude a "People's Peace"—with freedom and prosperity for all? Clearly, the logic is on Browder's side not that of Duclos or Foster.

Stalin Is the Author

Browder, however, did not rely primarily on "logic." He was simply echoing Stalin, who declared that "the program of action of the Anglo-Soviet-American coalition was:

"Abolition of racial exclusiveness; equality of nations and integrity of their territories; liberation of enslaved nations and restoration of their sovereign rights; the right of every nation to arrange its affairs as it wishes; economic aid to nations that have suffered and assistance to them in attaining their material welfare; restoration of democratic liberties; destruction of the Hitlerite regime."

What is this if not Browder's "postwar perspective?" It was enunciated by Stalin one year before Teheran, not in a "diplomatic document" but in an address to the Moscow Soviet on the Twenty-Fifth Anniversary of the October Revolution, November 6, 1942. It was reaffirmed by Stalin at Teheran. When Duclos indicts Browder for "revising Marxism-Leninism," he is in reality indicting Stalin and the entire National Committee of the Stalinist Party in this country, and the Stalinist parties in the rest of the world.

Foster's differences with Browder are merely over interpretation and application of a common fundamental policy. To be sure, Foster notes the similarity between Browder's line and the "traditional revisionism of the Social Democracy," a "reflection in the workers ranks of the class interests of the big bourgeoisie" and a tendency "to subordinate the workers to the influence of reactionary capitalists." But in the same breath he declares that "Browder's opportunism has done much harm to our otherwise sound wartime policy..." (Our emphasis.)

Like Browder, Foster supported and still supports the imperialist war. Like Browder, Foster

The best militants in the unions shun them like lepers. Worker members have been leaving the C.P.A. in droves.

The Stalinist leaders need a coat of red veneer—radical-sounding phrases to cover up their war-time crimes and betrayals and restore their damaged prestige among the workers. They also need this tactical "turn" in order to reinforce their hold over the rank and file membership of the C.P.A. Worker-members of the C.P.A. could not fail to see that their organization is discredited, that its policies and activities are a stench in the nostrils of the labor movement. They found themselves compelled throughout the war to defend policies which were to the right even of the Greens and Murrays. The worker-member of the C.P.A. has been voting against the Stalinist policy with his feet. He could only quietly drop out of the C.P.A. If he dared to speak up he found himself denounced as a "Trotskyist" and expelled.

The Stalinist bankrupts hope to remain in business by this new maneuver. They are banking on short memories and on the power of their unscrupulous bureaucratic machine. But they will not succeed in hiding their war record. The masses will remember and we Trotskyists will help them to remember.

elled to resist the offensive of Big Business, and whenever they used the strike weapon to defend their living standards or their unions, Browder, Foster and Co. were on the side of the corporations against the workers. They denounced the strikes of the miners as "disloyal," "unpatriotic," "pro-Hitler" and openly acted as fire-brigades, urging the miners to return to work without a contract under the same rotten wages and conditions.

In the Montgomery-Ward strike caused by so flagrant a campaign to smash the union that even Roosevelt had to make a mock gesture against the management, the Stalinists again openly acted as strikebreakers. The St. Paul Montgomery-Ward workers, under the jurisdiction of the ILWU led by Harry Bridges, were forced to scab on their Chicago brothers. Harry Bridges went the length of advocating a permanent no-strike pledge.

The Negro people were counseled to give up their militant struggles for equal rights and to carry the shackles of Jim Crow discrimination without protest. The Stalinists served American imperialism with equal zeal at home and abroad. The Indian masses fighting for independence from the tyranny of the British colonial despots were condemned by them as "Japanese agents." Washington's attempt to impose the Fascist Darn on the French people, and the actual imposition of the fascist Badoglio and the fascist Royal Family on the Italian masses, were explained and excused as "mistakes" of certain "reactionaries" in the State Department. The imperialist hate campaign against the German people was joined in enthusiastically by the Stalinist press and leaders.

formerly supported Roosevelt and now supports Truman. Like Browder, Foster supports the no-strike pledge, the policy of national unity and the surrender of labor's interests to the capitalist masters.

The whole difference between Foster and Browder is that Foster wants to make this poison more palatable to the workers. He was for the Roosevelt Administration, but merely proposed to "criticize many errors and shortcomings" and to put a labor representative in the cabinet to facilitate the deception of the workers. He is against a labor party but doesn't want to "rule out a third party movement permanently." He favors demands to "curb the monopolies" but not their expropriation by a workers' government. He supports the international conferences of the imperialist robbers, but wants labor to "demand representation" so as to sweeten them for consumption by the workers and soldiers. He agrees with Browder that "Socialism in our country is not an immediate issue," but does not want to forego the demagogic use of "criticism of capitalism as a system of exploitation of the workers."

One need not look into the history books of World War I to discover that Foster's variant of Browder's policy conforms to the "traditional revisionism of the Social Democracy." Practically all the proposals of Foster, rejected by Browder, can be found in the pages of the New Leader, organ of the American Social Democrats. One exception can be noted: the Social Democrats, who are anti-Stalin and anti-Soviet, were sometimes inclined to be more "radical" and more "leftist" than Foster in their criticism of the capitalist government and the imperialist war policies they supported. Were Lenin alive today he would flay Foster as a more dangerous social-patriot, a more insidious renegade than Browder, just as he denounced Kautsky as more dangerous than Scheidemann, the prototypes of Foster and Browder in Germany before and after World War I. Foster's misleadership would have been far more persuasive than Browder's, Lenin would have said, and should be fought as the deadlier menace.

A Willing Accomplice

If Foster's differences with Browder were as fundamental as he now tries to make them out to be, why did he keep silent all this time? Why did he issue a public denial of differences on the C.P.A. National Committee more than a year ago? Why did he act as an accomplice in every one of the crimes he now tries to unload on Browder?

Shameless prostitutes like Foster, Browder, Minor and the like are able to accommodate the capitalist masters without any qualms. But the rank and file Stalinist worker must have hung his head in shame. For it was the rank and file worker who had to do the dirty work of speeding up production, sabotaging grievance committees, breaking strikes and whooping it up for the imperialist slaughter. It was the rank and file

Stalinist who had to stifle his most elementary feelings of class consciousness and class solidarity and black out everything he had learned from Marx and Lenin. It was the rank and file Stalinist who had to face the bitter enemy of the militant workers in the plants and unions who justly regarded him as a scab.

It is not surprising that tens of thousands quit the Stalinist party in loathing and disgust. Duclos stated that 35,000 members of the Communist Party did not re-register in the C.P.A. And the Stalinist National Committee now confirms this fact, saying that "the growth of the Communist movement among the industrial work-

The Struggle Against Fascism

The resolution of the National Board of the C.P.A. now admits that the "economic and social roots of fascism in Europe have not been fully destroyed." And Duclos discovers that "it is scarcely necessary to recall that the material bases for fascism reside in the trusts..." i.e., the roots of fascism lie in capitalism, as Lenin long ago pointed out. "It is scarcely necessary to recall..." Indeed! For ten years, with the exception of the brief period of the Hitler-Stalin pact, the Stalinist leaders shouted from the rooftops that fascism was synonymous with "aggressive imperialist nations" like Germany and Italy, that if the workers united with the capitalists of "liberty-loving nations" like the United States and Great Britain, fascism would be wiped out. Now we hear out of their own mouths that it was all a lie. They knew they were lying all the time. They consciously and deliberately deceived the workers that fascism could be destroyed by imperialist war. Now that humanity groans under the cross of 60 million European casualties—not 60 million jobs!—they cynically announce that the roots of fascism reside in the "trusts" (capitalism.)

Annihilating Admissions

Far from fascism being destroyed, the Stalinist resolution admits that "...the trusts and cartels are striving to reconstruct Europe on a reactionary basis;" that "the most aggressive circles of American imperialism are endeavoring to secure for themselves political and economic domination of the world;" that "reactionary forces... are planning a new open shop drive to weaken or smash the trade unions;" that "if these forces are not checked and defeated America and the world will be confronted with new aggressions and wars and the growth of reaction and fascism in the United States."

Thus we discover that victory in "the war against fascism" — a policy devised not by Browder in 1943 but by Stalin and Dimitrov in

Defense Of The Soviet Union

How has the Stalinist policy served to defend the Soviet Union against imperialist attack? Long before the war erupted in Europe Stalin proclaimed—contrary to the most fundamental teachings of Lenin—that it was possible for the USSR to live in peace with the capitalist world. The Kremlin's policy of "People's Fronts," "collective security," and "non-aggression pacts" led to Munich. Thereupon Stalin staked everything on his pact with Hitler. When this hope exploded in war, the Stalinists next staked everything on the coalition with Anglo-American imperialism. Death and destruction in the Soviet Union—and throughout the world—have still not put an end to this monstrous deception. Throughout the war the Stalinists spread the fiction that the military alliance with London and Washington was a guarantee for peaceful cohabitation of the "allies" after the war. The exact opposite has again occurred. The morning after the "common" victory over Germany finds the Soviet Union in sharper antagonism with its capitalist allies than ever before.

USSR in Grave Danger

Talk of a Third World War, a war against the Soviet Union, is growing louder every day. The resolution of the National Board of the CPA admits that "they (Big Business) are trying to organize a cordon sanitaire against the Soviet Union..."

After almost six years of global catastrophe, the Stalinist leaders are forced to recognize that the capitalist class cannot be considered as trustworthy allies of the Soviet Union. But it was precisely to retain these capitalist allies that the Stalinist gang in the Soviet Union, and its corrupt agents in the Communist parties in the rest of the world, counseled the workers to make peace with their capitalist enemies, to give up the class struggle, to abandon the fight for Socialism.

The Stalin gang which imposed the policy of class peace, national unity and surrender to capitalism on all the Communist parties, has converted the Soviet Union into a heaven of special privileges, huge salaries and unrestricted luxuries for marshals and bureaucrats, and a hell of inequality, poverty and repression for the soldiers and workers. The defense of the Soviet Union demands first and foremost the independent action of the working class for the extension of the October Revolution throughout the world. This is what Lenin taught. This is what the Stalinists have betrayed. The defense of the Soviet Union—the restoration of workers' democracy and the elevation of the living standards of the Soviet masses—demands a political struggle for the overthrow by the workers of the Stalin gang in the USSR.

The latest tactical maneuver of the Stalinists is inaugurated amid a great fanfare about the establishment of "genuine inner democracy" in the C.P.A. This "democracy" is just as fraudulent as the maneuver itself. The discussion that has opened will not culminate in a genuine democratic convention to decide the policy and the leadership. This discussion serves no other purpose than to keep the criticism of the Stalinist leadership within limits set in advance, to prevent the membership from linking Browder's treachery with the treachery of Stalin. It is designed to avoid any examination of the policy

was undoubtedly retarded." But there were others who went along, sincerely believing that this was the only way to fight fascism, that this was the only way to defend the Soviet Union. Let us draw a balance sheet. For almost six years the world has been consumed by the flames of war. Europe is a wasteland of ruins, hunger and disease. Some 60,000,000 human beings in Europe alone are casualties in this most terrible of all slaughters. Has fascism been exterminated? Is the Soviet Union secured from imperialist attack so that it may begin the peaceful work of reconstruction?

1935—has sharpened the danger of fascism not only in Europe but brought it to the very doorstep of the United States itself. Never was there such a confession of political bankruptcy! As Marxists, we Trotskyists repeated a thousand times before the war, during the war—and we repeat again today—only the proletarian revolution can destroy fascism. Failing this, imperialist war strengthens the very forces which give rise to fascism. The ruined cities, the mass hunger, the mass destitution, the mass unemployment, the growth of militarism, will give rise to a new brand of fascism—as was the case in Germany and Italy after the last war—unless the working class takes its fate into its own hands, uproots capitalism and establishes its own socialist society.

The revolutionary struggle for power by the working class is on the order of the day in Europe. The masses once again are seeking guidance in the great beacon light of the Bolshevik Revolution. They are ready to begin the struggle for Socialism. But the Stalinist parties in Europe and everywhere else, are once again paving the way for fascism by bolstering up the discredited, tottering capitalist governments, the diseased products of a dying system. Stalinist ministers have taken posts in the capitalist governments in Italy, France, Belgium and in all the Balkan countries. Except for some division of the land in the Balkans and Poland, capitalist property relations are untouched. The partisans have been disarmed and the purge of the fascists halted; new capitalist armies and police forces for the repression of the masses are being rebuilt, the monarchies still keep their thrones. All of this is done with the direct support and connivance of the leaders of the Communist Party. Is it any wonder then, that at a time when the masses should be marching irresistibly to their socialist victory, eliminating every vestige of the fascist scum in the process, that fascism looms again as a terrible menace? Years ago Trotsky said: "Without Stalin there would be no Hitler."

that would disclose its fountains, and its real social-patriotic roots... Democracy is excluded in the ranks of the Stalinist parties. Only bureaucratic regimentation can serve parties advocating and carrying out the program of the class enemy.

Stalinist "Democracy"

As events unfold, the members of the C.P.A. who permit their voices to be stifled will look back upon the period of World War II with the deepest shame for the crimes of Stalinism and for the counter-revolutionary role they were duped into playing. Many workers in the C.P.A. can remember the revulsion which occurred among the Social-Democratic workers for the role played by their official parties and leaders in support of the imperialist masters. Just as the Social-Democrats were hated and cursed by the revolutionists a generation ago, the revolutionary workers will learn to despise the Browners and the Posters and the Duclos with that hatred that is reserved for scabs and renegades. They will learn that the first condition for class-struggle policies is a complete break with Stalinism and all its policies and methods.

Trotsky's Communists will become the rallying force for all the revolutionists, for all the militant workers after this war, just as Lenin's Communists were the rallying force after the last war. That is why the Stalinist leaders carried on their hate and slander campaign against the Trotskyists. That is why the Trotskyists who—like Lenin, Rosa Luxemburg, Karl Liebknecht, Eugene Debs and other internationalists in the war of 1914-1918—opposed the imperialist conflict to redive the world, have been reviled by the Stalinist leaders in language lifted from the red-baiting Hearst press, the American Legion and the Ku Klux Klan. That is why they will intensify their poison-pen propaganda in the days to come.

The Socialist Workers Party and the world Trotskyist parties are the only workers organizations which can hold their heads high with pride in their unsullied banner. We are the only organization which pursued a Marxist-Leninist policy throughout the war in the great tradition of Liebknecht and Lenin. Ours was the only true struggle against fascism; ours was the only true defense of the USSR. Not for a moment did we suspend the revolutionary socialist struggle. We did not tell any lies about the character of the war. We told only the truth. We tirelessly exposed the deception of the Stalinists, the Social-Democrats and all the other flunkies of imperialism. For this 18 of our leaders were thrown into prison. But our party was not destroyed, not even weakened. It grew stronger under persecution and is now rallying more and more revolutionary militants under its banner of uncompromising struggle against the rotten system of capitalism with its wars, its poverty, its oppression.

READ

'THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL'



By V. Grey

How are the workers of the world ever going to get together? Sometimes you ask yourself that question when you see the workers split up because of race, religion, nationality and many other things. You see it even within the same country. And how much tougher, you think, it will be to unite the workers of all countries. In every nation the people are taught from childhood that the country they live in is the best in the world, and that they are superior beings. How are all the peoples going to unite under conditions like that?

Well, it isn't going to be easy to organize the whole world behind the Fourth International. We've a big job ahead of us. But the main job of uniting the working people is being done by our enemy, the capitalist class. Yes, even though they encourage race provocations and attack the unions, they are uniting us.

They are uniting us by subjecting us to the same conditions. They are uniting us by making us work together on the same material and with the same machinery. They are uniting us by giving us all the same lousy wages and squeezing us into a common mold.

Unity Forged in Strike Action

Into the shop have come farmers from nearby, Negroes from way down south, former mine workers from Pennsylvania (one from West Virginia). A dozen or so of the welders were shipyard workers just last year. Some of the girls used to be waitresses; others, housewives. And now a scattering of laid-off aircraft workers have been hired, too.

Some of the people had militant traditions and some didn't. Nearly all of them would talk about their former occupations and think of themselves as they used to be. They knew in the backs of their minds that they all got the same lousy Bethlehem Steel wages and took the same Bethlehem Steel crap. It was like all being in the same prison.

Then we had the strike. And they all, every single one, realized they were all STEELWORKERS. And their common enemy was the STEEL BOSSES. The company's own capitalist organization and methods united the workers against it.

And that's not just here in our own shop. It's all over. Take Hitler—the worst anti-labor dictator and Jew-baiter in history. In spite of himself, he united Jew and Gentile, Pole and German. And do you know how? BY THROWING THEM INTO THE SAME PRISONS AND CONCENTRATION CAMPS!

In Buchenwald, one of the worst of the prison camps, workers of all nations and races lived, suffered and died. (Among them many German revolutionary heroes). Before they left that prison they all sang the world song of the socialist working class, "The Internationale." And language was no bar to their harmony.

The Prison of Capitalist Slavery

And not only in the stone prisons where the chains were made of metal. For the German steel plants are like the American steel plants. And the German capitalist system is like the American capitalist system: a huge prison that Hitler made even more of a prison. But in making a prison of Germany and all of Europe, Hitler subjected the working people to the same misery, the same hunger and the same death. Thus he began to UNITE them against himself.

Now the Allied capitalist leaders are doing the exact same thing, step by step. The people all over the world are suffering the same united misery under their capitalist masters, regardless of what capitalist flag these masters fly.

Capitalist war is uniting the working peoples in its prison, too. And not just those of the "Allied" nations. Capitalist war has brought the worker youth of all nations into compact masses. It has transported them to all parts of the earth. And though it spews out its poison, it opens the eyes of the youth even while it turns their stomachs.

Japanese maidens, American girls, German frauleins are united in a common anxiety for their sweethearts. Many—too many—will be united by a common grief. The soldiers of all nations are becoming united by a common hatred of the war. And millions of their youthful corpses have been united in the same graves.

The whole capitalist world is a prison for the working class. And we working people are beginning to see it. The jailer keeps making it tougher for us all, and we can't help but see it. As we see it more and more, unity in the struggle will be forged. For we are shackled with a common chain. And the same key fits all the locks.

10 Years Ago In The Militant

JUNE 15, 1935

In two coal mining areas, Pennsylvania and West Virginia, simultaneous conventions were held by unemployed leagues to take action on the burning questions of mass unemployment, hunger and distress, aftermath of the first imperialist World War. In Allentown, Pa. 350 delegates representing more than 25,000 organized unemployed attended the convention of the Pennsylvania Unemployed League on June 10.

The convention laid plans for organized action against the scandalous \$19 to \$94 a month work relief program of the Roosevelt government, for prevailing wage rates on relief jobs, for a 50 percent increase in direct relief allowances, as well as other urgent needs of the jobless. The convention decided to establish district offices in Harrisburg and Pittsburgh to extend and centralize its work. The convention went on record reaffirming the stand of the PUL for independent political working-class action.

In Huntington, West Virginia, 131 delegates attended the state convention of the West Virginia Unemployed League on June 8 and 9. The principal speaker, Arnold Johnson, secretary of the National Unemployed League, pointed out that the workers must cease relying on Roosevelt and begin applying their own power as the only effective means to rescue them from the slave conditions imposed by capitalism. Such a struggle alone, he declared, could bring freedom and victory.

Condemning capitalism as responsible for unemployment, the high point of his address dealt with the approaching World War II, in which "workers in one country are called on to kill their fellow-workers of another country for the profit of the bankers and profiteers. Now is the time to take a firm stand against imperialist war, and to use the weapons of war only for the freedom of the workers."

What so rare as a day in June...? —and rarer still is a

JUNE DANCE

given by THE BROOKLYN SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCE

We're having one! Saturday, June 16 at 571 Pacific Street, Brooklyn, near 4th Avenue

Arrested Puerto Rican Nationalist Leader Opposes Wall St. Imperialism

By Evelyn Atwood

"They think they can kill great ideas by throwing the men who represent these ideas into prison," Julio Pinto Gandia, former acting president and secretary-general of the Puerto Rican Nationalist Party said to me when I interviewed him on June 7 at his home, 326 West 17th St., N. Y. C.

Gandia was referring to his arrest on June 4 by the FBI for his refusal to comply with the draft laws. He is now being held in \$1,000 bail for a federal hearing on June 19 on charges of draft evasion. If convicted, he faces five years in prison and a \$10,000 fine.

The Puerto Rican nationalist leader acted in accordance with the policy of his Party, which in 1941 unanimously voted, in open convention, not to cooperate with the U. S. Selective Service because "the United States holds Puerto Rico under a military, illegal government." Thus his is a case of the political persecution of a leader of a subject people fighting for its independence.

FIGHTS FOR PRINCIPLE

"You must understand the political background of my case," Gandia explained. "This arrest is a minor thing. It is not what happens to me, but the fate of our nationalist movement to free Puerto Rico from U. S. imperialism that is important. I was railroaded to six years in prison in this country once before because of my political beliefs. And the reason, of course, is that I am fighting for a principle."

Gandia paused as he saw me taking notes and could not conceal his doubts. "Most newspapers are silent about the principle behind my fight and why I am persecuted. They lie, they distort the facts. . . . But when I hastened to assure him that The Militant supported the struggles of colonial peoples for independence and published the truth about them for its readers, he brightened up. Slight and frail, he rose from his chair, his hollow cheeks becoming bright red with emotion.

"Then your paper could help me cause a great deal! If you would really tell the American people all the things they do not know! Most Americans do not believe that the United States is an imperialist country. They say: 'It cannot be—we are a Democracy.' But some, a few, who have found out what your country has done to mine, feel terribly ashamed. They know then that it is just as bad as what England has done to India."

The conquest and exploitation of Puerto Rico is indeed a black page in imperialist aggrandizement.



JULIO PINTO GANDIA

In 1898 during the Spanish-American War—the first military venture of U. S. imperialism—the United States seized Puerto Rico, along with Cuba, Guam and the Philippines, all of them former possessions of Spain.

A BLACK PAGE

After two years of military dictatorship, Congress in 1900 provided a "civil government" through the Foraker Act. When the Puerto Ricans rebelled against the despotic powers this gave the U. S. government, the Organic Law was passed and subsequently amended several times to give the appearance of native participation in the government. But never has Puerto Rico been able to shake the "Colossus of the North" off its back and take its government into its own hands.

Through U. S. appointment of all leading officials, Wall St. rules and ruins the island. The native farmers have been dispossessed. Half the island is owned by the absentee American sugar interests. The industries are almost entirely owned by absentee profiteers. The average weekly wage is \$5.31. More than 90 per cent of the average Puerto Rican family's income must go for food which averages 25% higher than what is paid in New York City

for the same products. Chronic unemployment engulfs 70 percent of the workers and keeps the people in starvation. There are no schools for more than half the children.

LIBERTY DENIED

In this war as in the last, the young men of Puerto Rico have been taken into the U. S. Army to fight and die for the "democracy" and "freedom" they have been denied at home. To this extent only has the privilege of citizenship been "conferred" upon them.

"I have been in the struggle for the independence of my country for 17 years," said Gandia, who is now 37 years old. The Nationalist Party, of which he is a leader, was formed after the last war, in the 1920's. "We ask nothing of the United States except that it get out of our country!"

The popular movement for independence came to a climax in 1937, when the U. S. sent Blanton Winship of Georgia to Puerto Rico as governor, to suppress the Nationalist movement. A series of killings by the police for the massacre on Palm Sunday, 1937. The American police machine-gunned a completely unarmed procession of Nationalists marching to a cathedral, killing 21 and wounding more than 200.

60 IN PRISON

"Since that time," Gandia told me, "most of our leader have been imprisoned. There are more than 60 of us in U. S. prisons even today. Some, who have served their terms, are kept in exile in this country. Don Pedro Albizu Campos, president of our party, was sent to Atlanta for seven years. His health got very bad and he is now here in a New York hospital. I was sent to Leavenworth for five years."

I asked Gandia about his own health. "Oh, I survived," he said with a half smile and gesture. "We survive, I guess, because we have to. We still have work to do." Then he told me he was released on parole after three and a half years in federal prison and sent back to Puerto Rico. "But I would not—as the officials say—'comply with the conditions of parole.' So after two weeks they brought me back and put me in Petersburg, Va. penitentiary to finish my sentence. I was released

Big Business Militarists Push For Peace-time Conscription

By Joseph Hansen

The widespread hope of the people for an end to war after the present slaughter is doomed to disappointment if the Wall Street profiteers have their way. They are now busily pushing legislation in Congress that would enable them to prolong the lucrative bloodshed indefinitely. They have falsely labeled their proposals "Peacetime Military Training." They are masking the true purpose of this legislation with the argument that it will preserve and stabilize — peace!

In the hearings before the House Committee on Post-War Military Policy, representatives of these war-mongers all wore the feathers of peace. Major Fielding Eliot, who shakes down a profitable income commenting on battle moves on the military maps, argued that "if we want our influence to be felt we have got to have the force to back it up."

Joseph C. Grew, Acting Secretary of State, for 40 years a professional representative of the dollar diplomacy of American imperialism, declared in carefully chosen phrases, "our international policy, to be effective, must have strength behind it."

The New York Times, reactionary mouthpiece of Big Business, which has been campaigning for this legislation, summed up the line of propaganda they hope will win over public sympathy: "Two threads of belief ran through almost all the testimony in support of peacetime training, namely, that preparedness for war is the best assurance of peace, and that next time we might not

have the opportunity to get ready that we have had in the past."

The real purpose glossed over by these deceptive words is almost self-evident. What kind of "peace" requires preparation for war? "To get ready" for the "next time," means getting ready for the Third World War!

This is glaringly apparent in the opinion expressed by Paul Hammond, a director of the reactionary outfit which recently took out corporation papers as the "Citizens Committee for Military Training of Young Men, Inc." "We shall never have enough time to proceed in the 'horse and buggy' manner employed in 1942," Hammond declared. "A rocket war would be over before draft boards had time to begin the process of selection."

"CITIZENS COMMITTEE"

Among the other directors of the "Citizens Committee" are Major Duncan G. Harris, Colonel John W. Castles, Lieutenant Colonel Jay Cooke, John K. Olyphant, Jr., vice-president of the Central Hanover Bank and Trust Company, and Brigadier General Julius Ochs Adler, vice-president and general manager of the New York Times, a newspaper which has proven remarkably responsive to the influence of Thomas W. Lamont, "brains" of the Morgan dynasty. Long before the United States was plunged into the Second World War the directors of this committee, together with the New York Times, fostered the universal conscription finally embodied in the Selective Service Act.

The professional officers who make a career of the scientific slaughter of mankind likewise display paternal interest in the

OUT OF THEIR OWN MOUTHS

Inside information as to the purpose of the unprecedented demand for peacetime military conscription came from a member of the Senate Military Affairs Committee. Writing in the June 11 issue of The Progressive, Edwin C. Johnson, a Democratic Senator from Colorado said:

"Certainly Congress should examine the backers of the proposal and explore some of their motives. America has a well-organized group of capitalists — the dollar diplomacy crowd — who are looking the world over right now for profitable investments for themselves and their clients. . . . They must have the protection of our flag. Therefore, they would have a conscript American army to awe and put the fear of God in puny foreign rulers."

Senator Johnson then asks: "Against whom do we need a gigantic army of foot soldiers anyway? Certainly not against Germany and Japan! Certainly 'unconditional surrender' will not permit war machines in these countries to rebuild. Then, against whom are we rearming? Against Mexico? South America? China? Britain? Russia? Let the proponents answer."

And he concludes with this challenge: "Let the people of the United States decide that issue then. I dare the proponents of compulsory military training to leave the decision to the people."

proposed "peacetime military training." General Bradley at the West Point graduation exercises June 5 advocated "retaining the core of a professional force about which we can mobilize a great citizen army — perhaps systematically trained through some form of military service."

Bradley utilized arguments singularly in tune with those of the corporation which calls itself the "Citizens Committee," including the "use of military power to enforce. . . diplomacy."

Wall Street obviously believes that the era of "peace" will be scarcely more than a lull between world wars. The monopolists have no real perspective but continuous war. To safeguard their profits and holdings they intend to militarize the United States, modeling the lives of American youth on the Prussian pattern.

Hanson W. Baldwin let the cat out of the bag. Baldwin is the authoritative spokesman of the mushrooming military caste. His declarations invariably reflect the views of the Wall Street owners of The New York Times, who

keep him on their pay roll. In his column of June 8, he comes out for "peacetime conscription — for service not for training." (His emphasis.)

Baldwin feels that up to now the hearings before the House Committee have over-emphasized the benefits of training. But, says he, a law purely for training purposes "would be useless." Baldwin apparently is of the opinion that his fellow propagandists appearing before Congress must now begin emphasizing a quite different aspect of the proposed law.

"The military needs of the dangerous post-war era have been too much glossed over in the hearings so far held," he declares. What "military needs?" might ask the surprised worker who was promised that shedding his blood on foreign battlefields would establish democracy, freedom from fear, etc.

Baldwin does not specify another war against Japan or Germany. He does imply however — in diplomatic language — future conflict with the Soviet

Union. "We hear irresponsible talk of the need for universal peacetime military training to prepare for war against Russia." This, nevertheless, is not the major problem of the moment, he assures us. "There is no imminent danger of war against Russia, for the peoples of the world are war-weary, and the American people, the British people and the Russian people would not fight it." Baldwin does not estimate how long the war-weariness would prevent Wall Street from plunging into such a war.

But if "peacetime military training" is not for "training," what is it for? Baldwin here makes a damning admission that exposes one of the main purposes of this proposed legislation: "Men in the services for the 'duration' will be clamoring to come home and armies must be found to take their places in occupying and policing roles over-seas." Nothing less than armies — armies to suppress and hold down the European workers!

This military propagandist in the pay of Wall Street further enlarges on the necessity for creating new expeditionary forces: "The most important and testing phase in world political stability will come immediately after the end of hostilities and may last from two to five years." What does Baldwin mean by this ambiguous double talk? Is the Second World War only half over?

"Political vacuums in Europe and the Orient," he explains, "and the major economic, psychological and other problems that always ride in the wake of war will create unrest and disturbances, and unless we are careful and very wise, a pattern may be set in those days that will shape — for good or evil — our future world." Could Wall Street express more plainly its fears of the mighty revolutions certain to follow the end of the war? It is to put down such revolutions that armies are needed!

"We shall need these large forces for occupation and policing duties, if necessary for relief and rehabilitation, and to help, by the stabilizing presence of strength, to restore political stability." Baldwin, of course, means the political stability of the rotten capitalist system.

He emphasizes his point: "It is precisely in this 'interim' era of evolution and instability that the need for peacetime conscription — for service, not for training, will be greatest."

The History Of American Trotskyism

In the first chapter of his book, Comrade Cannon told how the American Communist Party emerged out of the left wing of the Socialist Party in 1919. He described the "ultra-left" period when the party, forced underground by the anti-red terror of the post-war period, scorned all legal work. At the 1922 World Congress of the Communist International, Lenin intervened to aid a faction in the American party which wanted to come "above ground." The underground organization finally gave way to a legal party which could begin to work in the American labor movement. This is the fourth installment of Cannon's book.

LECTURE II FACTIONAL STRUGGLES IN THE OLD COMMUNIST PARTY

Last week I sketched the early pioneer days of American Communism. Even though I omitted much, touched only a few high spots, we weren't able to pass the year 1922, the Fourth Congress of the Communist International, the legalization of the underground Communist movement and the beginning of open work. I spoke about the negative aspects of the early movement and the infantile sickness that plagued it, as is almost always the case with young movements, particularly the virulent infantile sickness of ultra-leftism.

But these negative aspects, the unreality of much of the work, were far overshadowed by the positive side—the creation for the first time in America of a revolutionary political party founded on Bolshevik doctrines. That was the great contribution of pioneer Communism. A body of people organized a new political party. They assimilated some of the basic teachings of Communism. They habituated themselves to disciplined procedure, which is one of the prerequisites for the building of a serious workers' political party. This had never happened before in the United States. They created the instrument of a professional leadership, likewise one of the most elementary requirements of a serious revolutionary party.

The Supremacy of Theory

The early movement of Communism demonstrated very powerfully the predominant influence of ideas over everything else. This was strikingly shown in the struggle for supremacy between the IWW (Industrial Workers of the World) and the young Communist Party. In the pre-war days the IWW was a rather large militant labor movement. It entered the war as unquestionably the organization embracing within its ranks the largest group of proletarian militants. Yet the nucleus of the Communist Party came out of the Socialist Party. A considerable number of them were petty-bourgeois in origin, a large percentage young people without any experience in the class struggle. Thousands of them were foreign-born workers who had never been really assimilated in the class struggle in America.

Insofar as the human material was concerned, the advantages were all on the side of the IWW. Their militants had been tested in many fights. They had hundreds and hundreds of members in jail, and they used to look with something like contempt on this upstart movement talking so confidently in revolutionary terms. The IWW's imagined that their actions and their sacrifices so far outweighed the mere doctrinal pretensions of this new revolutionary movement that they had nothing to fear from it in the way of rivalry. They were badly mistaken.

Within a few years—by 1922—it became pretty clear that the Communist Party had displaced the IWW as the leading organiza-

tion of the vanguard. The EWW, with its wonderful composition of proletarian militants, with all their heroic struggles behind them, could not keep pace. They had not adjusted their ideology to the lessons of the war and the Russian revolution. They had not acquired a sufficient respect for doctrine, for theory. That is why their organization degenerated, while this new organization with its poorer material, its inexperienced youth who had seized hold of the living ideas of Bolshevism, completely surpassed the IWW and left it far behind in the space of a few years. The great lesson of this experience is the folly of taking lightly the power of ideas or imagining that some substitute can be found for correct ideas in the building of a revolutionary movement.

The Party Attracts Trade Unionists

After we settled the basic fight with the ultra-leftists about legalization, the party came out into the open. It had already acquired complete hegemony, as I said, over the vanguard of the proletariat in this country. It was regarded on all sides, and properly, as the most advanced and revolutionary grouping in this country. The party began to attract some native trade unionists into its ranks. William Z. Foster, wearing then the glory of his work in the steel strike, and other trade unionists, a fairly large group, came into this foreign-born, somewhat exotic but dynamic Communist Party. The whole orientation of the party began to change. From underground squabbling, unrealistic disputes and over-refinements of doctrine, the party turned to mass work. The Communists began to occupy themselves with practical problems of the class struggle. The party gradually became "trade unionized" and took its first faltering steps in the American Federation of Labor, the dominant, practically the sole, labor organization at that time.

While we were fighting out the battle for the legalization of the party, we also fought to correct the party's trade union policy. This struggle, too, was successful; the original sectarian position was rejected. The pioneer Communists revised their earlier sectarian pronouncements which had favored independent unionism. They now directed the whole dynamic force of the Communist Party into the reactionary trade unions. The chief credit for this transformation also belongs to Moscow, to Lenin, to the Comintern. Lenin's great pamphlet, The Infantile Sickness of Left Communism, cleared up this question quite decisively. By 1922-23 the party was well on the road towards penetrating the trade union movement and began rapidly to acquire a serious influence in some unions in some parts of the country. This was particularly the case in the coal miners' union and in the needle trades unions, and elsewhere, too, the party made its influence felt.

But simultaneously with this practical and wholly progressive work, the party plunged into some opportunist adventures. Apparently no party can ever correct a deviation, it must overcorrect. The stick is bent backward. Thus the young party which a short time before had been concerned with the refinement of doctrine in underground isolation, having nothing to do with the trade union movement—let alone the political movement, the petty-bourgeois

THE GREAT POSITIVE CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE PIONEER COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

By James P. Cannon

and the labor fakers—this same party now plunged into a number of wild adventures in the field of labor and farmer politics. The attempt of the party leadership through a series of maneuvers and combinations to form a large farmer-labor party overnight without sufficient backing in the mass movement of the workers, without sufficient strength of the Communists themselves, threw the party into turmoil. A new internal struggle was precipitated.

Faction Fights Raged Until 1929

The series of new faction fights which began in the year 1923, six months or so following the liquidation of the old fight over legalization, continued thereafter almost uninterruptedly up to the time that we Trotskyists were thrown out of the party in 1928. The fight raged until the spring of 1929 when the Lovestovite leadership, who had expelled us, were themselves expelled. Thereafter the Stalinized Comintern stopped the faction fights by expelling everybody of any independence of character; and by selecting a new leadership that jumped whenever the bell rang. They achieved a peaceful monolithism in the party by bureaucratic measures. They achieved the peace of ideological stagnation and decay.

The faction fights which convulsed the party through all this time did not prevent the organization from doing a great deal of work in the class struggle, developing activities in many fields. It established for the first time in this country a revolutionary daily paper. That was quite an achievement for a party of no more than ten or fifteen thousand members. Propagandistic work was developed on a wide scale. Labor defense work was organized on a scope and basis never known before. Many innovations of a progressive nature were introduced into the labor movement by the Communist Party in that period. Virtually every serious strike that broke out came under the leadership of the party. Notably, the great Passaic strike of 1926, which attracted the attention of the entire country, was completely under the leadership of the Communists, who became more and more the unrivaled leaders of every progressive and militant tendency in the American working class movement.

A great many commentators and side-line experts, supplemented every now and then by a few disillusioned renegades, try to picture this early historical period, the early days of American Communism, as nothing but a mess of stupidity and error and fraud and corruption. This is a thoroughly false and utterly absurd appraisal of that period. The explanation of factional struggles in the early Communist Party lies in causes more serious than the bad will of individuals. I think that if one studies the development carefully, with some knowledge of the facts, he can deduce certain laws of factional struggle which will help him understand the outbreaks of factionalism in other workers' political organizations especially new ones. And of course it is worthwhile mentioning—although the wiseacres never do—that faction fights were not the monopoly of the Communist Party. Since the beginning of politics every political organization has been wracked with faction fights. The factional troubles of the early Communists have attracted attention; and some of the negative features of them, the skulldug-

gery practised in them, are written and talked about as though such things never happened anywhere else. Perversions of history are the specialty of side-line kibitzers like Eugene Lyons and Max Eastman and other triflers who never had one toe in the real struggle of the working class. Recently they have been joined by repentant renegades like Benjamin Gitlow, who got so thoroughly defeated and disillusioned that he rushed into the arms of the very American democracy which he started out as a young rebel to fight. What a pitiful picture a man makes embracing the doctrines of the masters who have broken his spirit.

They represent these faction fights as something utterly monstrous. They wax especially enthusiastic when they find something not exactly commendable from a moralistic point of view. They do not even stop to consider, let alone mention, the ethics and morals of Tammany Hall, or the Republican Party, or the utterly dishonest, corrupt, hypocritical and disgusting factional clique struggles that we saw in the Socialist Party. Only when they find something off-color in the early record of the Communist Party do they raise their hands in holy horror.

They do not realize that thereby they pay unconscious tribute to the Communist movement, as though to say: One has a right to expect something better from the Communist Party, even in its young days of juvenility and rickets, than from the stable political organizations of the bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie. And in that there is more than a kernel of truth. Means must serve ends. Anything that violates truth or honorable dealing in the revolutionary proletarian movement contradicts the great aims of Communism; it is out of place; it sticks out like a sore thumb. These qualities in bourgeois and petty-bourgeois political organizations—all their systematic lying, cheating, stealing and double-dealing — are native to these organizations, to the environment as a whole.

Causes of Factional Struggles

The factional struggles which marked the whole course of the Communist movement for its first ten years had numerous causes. It was not as though a gang of bandits combined together and then began to fight over spoils. That was not the case at all. There were no spoils. The overwhelming majority of people came to pioneer Communism with serious purposes and sincere motives to organize a movement for the emancipation of the workers of the whole world. They were prepared to make sacrifices and take risks for their ideal, and they did so. This is true of those who rallied to the banner of the Russian revolution in 1917 and built up the great movement which, by the time of the convention in Chicago in 1919, had between fifty and sixty thousand members. It is especially true of those who, after tremendous persecutions began, stayed with the party in spite of the arrests and deportations, the underground privations and hardships, the financial difficulties.

All those snivlers, who remained on the side lines because they were unable to make such sacrifices or take such risks, try to picture the pioneer Communists as morally corrupt elements. They simply turn the whole picture upside down. The very best elements were attracted to the party in the early days. They were further sifted out by the persecutions and hardships of the underground time. No, the faction fights had something more behind them than the bad will of some individuals. There were, in my opinion, a few rascals, but that doesn't prove anything. You are apt to find a rotten apple or two in any barrel. The causes of the prolonged factional struggles were more fundamental.

(Continued next week)

WORKERS' FORUM

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

White Prejudice

Editor: I have been reading Charles Jackson's column on the Negro Struggle, and while I find it extremely interesting, I am of the opinion that the mass of Negro workers don't care a fig about a Marxist analysis of the Negro problem, but are looking for a workable program which they can put into effect now.

The Negro worker does not have time to sit back and wait for the white worker to become educated in racial relations. He already knows that the signing of an application for CIO does not change the racial thinking of the white worker, for too often the white worker never hears about CIO's policy of non-discrimination until some racial crisis arises, and the union dips into its closet, pulls out its non-discrimination policy, dusts it off, and parades it before the eyes of the white worker in a half-hearted effort to induce him to tolerate a fellow worker whose skin is of a different color from his own.

What the average Negro worker does not know, but must learn, is that racial prejudice is a witch's brew concocted by the ruling class, and that the poison is injected into the veins of both white and black workers for the benefit of the ruling class; and that the best immediate antidote is a shoulder to shoulder fight along with the white worker against the vicious labor policies of the bosses.

Daily, we read of instances where southern white youth have gone into the armed forces with the traditional racial hatreds typical of the section from which they come, and after fighting against a common enemy, that hatred is burned away, leaving a feeling of comradeship that no propaganda or ruling class pressure can erase.

Chalmers Alexander
Youngstown, Ohio

Einstein's Views

Editor: Recently while driving through Princeton, N. J. we stopped briefly to talk with Professor Einstein. During the short conversation we came quickly to the point, i. e., his opinions of certain Marxist teachings, and asked whether or not the Professor recognized the class struggle. After that, part of the conversation went about as follows:

Einstein: Yes, of course. The German and English and American capitalists have also caused this war. And fascism everywhere is very possible . . . very possible.

We: In America also?

Einstein: Yes, in America.

We: And when do you think the working people will realize this?

Einstein: The workers in America will not understand soon. They still have the best conditions in the world among the working peoples. The French workers understand. The British, but the American worker will be the last to wake up.

We: What do you think of Marx's principles?

Einstein: His main thesis is right. I agree with Marx but not with his teacher, Hegel.

We: Then what is your opinion of dialectics?

Einstein: Well, I haven't found the dialectic approach too useful, but still the only answer is socialism.

Jeanne and Pete Morgan
New York City

Food Shortage

Editor: Even with three ration books in our family and with the baby too young to eat meat, we have been unable to make our rations reach. For weeks my husband John and I have not had any butter. We get a pound every three or four weeks and keep it for the baby. The remaining points go for vegetable shortening or lard, lunch meat and cheese for John's sandwiches, and a small quantity of meat once or twice a week.

We have eaten eggs until we can hardly stand the sight of them. John sometimes has them three times a day for lack of any substitute. Chickens have disappeared from the markets, although we never could afford to have them very often. The inexpensive meat cuts are almost

War's Aftermath

Editor: Describing the terrible aftermath of the last World War, its unemployment, poverty and hunger, and declaring that even worse consequences must "inevitably follow this war," Representative Cannon of Missouri read into the Congressional Record of May 16, 1945 the following poem to emphasize his point:

Begging for bread — in a plentiful land!
Begging for bread — with a trade in his hand!
Sound as a dollar, in heart and in head,
Ready for work, and yet — begging for bread?

Begging for bread — but not begging alone;
Now are they swollen to numbers unknown,
Who weary the highways with heart-breaking tread,
And swarm through our city streets — begging for bread.

Begging for bread — with such stores on our hands
We could feed the unfed of all inhabited lands;
Food rotted to order — starvation widespread —
Organized waste — millions — begging for bread!

F. M.
New York City

non-existent. I feel very lucky when I can get a half pound of hamburger or liver.

What irks me with a mighty irk is being told at the butcher's across the street, where I do most of my buying, that I can have any amount of T-bone steak I want — providing I have the points, not to mention the money. I know from what the doctor told me before the baby was born that everyone needs butter daily. Here in Minnesota, the heart of the dairy country, there is no more butter to be had than elsewhere. This does not give the slightest pause to the dairy trusts, whose only concern is the profit they are going to make from private consumers when the government stops buying their milk.

Every day the big dairies here sponsor a radio program which advertises the products of Minnesota dairy farming. At the start and close of the program the commentator urges his listeners to buy more of the "golden-rich, dairy-fresh sweet cream butter" and tells how delicious this wonderful Minnesota butter is on toast, wheat cakes and in cooking! It takes a lot of self-control to keep from tossing the radio out the window.

Mrs. Beatrice Janosco
Minneapolis

The Veterans

Editor: The Militant gets better all the time! I especially appreciate the articles on the veterans' hospitals scandal. This is the type of expose of the capitalist government that The Militant should pick up and build up. I wish that you would suggest some ideas to Grace Carlson for her column. Here are a few suggestions that I hope she can find a way to deal with in the next immediate period. One that bothers me is the propaganda to lay off women workers to make room for veterans. This propaganda must be counteracted and explained for what it is—part of a move to shift the blame for unemployment from the shoulders of capitalism to any victim it can find!

Then there are often — far too tragically often — small items in the paper about children deserted by their mothers, who cannot support them on the government allotment. (It cannot be done!) One of these would make a good article, I think.

J. P.
St. Paul

Entering the Army

Editor: I am quite busy being "processed in," but I think I can piece together enough time to write you a description of what I'm involved in. We had quite a jolly time on the train and bus, since most of the fellows hadn't yet stopped to think. But by the time we were getting to bed that night, the reaction had hit a lot of the fellows and they were feeling quite mournful.

You know, the day I left the decision was announced to halt the draft of 30-year olds and up. There were a great many of these unfortunates in my group and, as you can well imagine, there was a continual sound, as of a waiting and gnashing of teeth. The corporal who had us lined up in the morning street at one in the morning made a point of announcing the decision to us, with what I am coming to know as a display of typical army tact.

You may have been surprised to note that we were standing in the company street at 1 A.M. When we arrived at the initial reception point, they had a lot

of difficulty in counting us, and marched us in and out of the assembly hall for a few hours until they decided that they had counted us often enough.

It was in the assembly hall that they segregated off the colored men. They called off the names of colored men and asked them to step out, assigned them to colored guards who took them off to their Jim Crow barracks. It was the first official discrimination act I have ever personally witnessed, and you can believe me when I tell you that you have to see it to feel it. I burned to my very fingernails, and sat there half expecting them to start calling off the "Wops" and Jews next.

H. F.
New York

Attack On Negroes

Editor: The following appeared June 3 in the N. Y. Daily News: "At least five Negro convicts were shot and wounded tonight when state troopers opened fire on rioting prisoners who had barricaded themselves in the Maryland House of Correction cell after disorders broke out during the evening meal."

Dr. J. Leroy Wright, superintendent, said the outbreak occurred soon after the men had entered the dining room. Expressing dissatisfaction with their food, they began yelling and then filled pails with hot water and threw them at guards, Wright said. One guard was mauled and others drenched. State troopers were summoned to the prison, about 15 miles south of Baltimore, from half a dozen barracks in western Maryland.

This is but another example of discrimination against the Negro people. It shows what happens to the many southern Negroes who are railroaded to jail on the slightest pretext. The prisoner's food must have been intolerable to force them to face guns with nothing but buckets of hot water until at least five of their defenseless number were shot down. This is the sort of treatment the American Negroes must expect from the present capitalist government.

Pete Morgan
New York City

The Best Paper

Editor: Your paper is the best Communist paper in the United States and a little controversy should be started in the paper to explain the differences among the various socialist parties — the SWP, the SLP, Proletarian Party, WP, so that a greater understanding and a closer comradeship can be established among the different advocates of Marxism.

M. E.
Jamaica, L. I., N. Y.

The Japanese People

Editor: Answering my question on Japan (my reference to the Japanese people as "inhuman rats" was a slip of the memory or thoughtlessness on my part) served to bring back recollections on books I have read by authors who mingled with workers and farmers of Japan.

Articles on standards or piece work systems and their relation to workers, I think, would be of interest to people in this part of the country. Organized labor has been opposed to piece work since it came into effect here some 25 or 30 years ago. Now it is being introduced here as "Standards," slightly varied in method.

R. F. Magnuson
Stillwater, Minn.

Stalinist Shift Analyzed in June Issue of the F. I.

In the June issue of the Fourth International just off the press, the new Stalinist turn is analyzed in an editorial which states: "The charge that the American Stalinists have been guilty of revising Marxism, that is, of betraying the American and world working-class, is of course irrefutable. The novelty consists solely in the fact that it comes from one of the prominent figures in the international Stalinist apparatus. But on the lips of Wuolac it is a deliberate deception, designed to cover up the full scope of Stalinist perfidy — both in Europe and America — and to serve as a smokescreen for a shift in policy which prepares other and no less monstrous betrayals."

Also featured in the current issue is a rare interview with a Soviet citizen who was freed last year among a group of Russian prisoners with the aid of comrades of the Fourth International, and who tells about conditions in the Soviet Union.

An article by Felix Morrow analyzes the "Big Three" differences on Germany with particular emphasis on the role of the Kremlin in the curbing of the German working class.

Li Fu-zen, Trotskyist authority on events in the Far East, presents an analysis of the "Imperialist Program for the Orient," in which he shows that with the shifting of the war to the Pacific the real purpose and aims of the imperialists in the Second World War are becoming more sharply delineated.

Other features in the current issue are the Political Resolution adopted by the European Executive Committee of the Fourth International in January, 1945, the publication of Leon Trotsky's speech made in July 1924 and published in Izvestia that year under the title, "The Premises for the Proletarian Revolution," and a review by Joseph Hansen of Friedrich A. Hayek's "The Road to Serfdom."

Vacation School To Open July 1 In Michigan Camp

Because of the tremendous success of the Mid-West Vacation School for Workers at Grass Lake, Michigan last summer which was conducted for only two weeks, the school will reopen this year for a period of nine weeks, from July 1 to August 31, in order to give more workers and their wives an opportunity to attend.

The school is operated on a co-operative basis to provide friends and readers of The Militant a healthful and enjoyable vacation at reasonable rates and at the same time give them an opportunity to study the problems of the labor movement. Last year 132 workers attended the school. The Mid-West Vacation School is situated on a wooded slope beside a small lake in central Michigan, 60 miles from Detroit and easily accessible by bus or railroad to workers in all cities in the east and middle-west.

The camp is ideal for sports such as football, boating, archery, fishing, hiking and swimming. Indoor games include chess, checkers, cards and ping-pong. A magnificent grove of oak trees provides fitting surroundings for picnics and "wienie" roasts.

REASONABLE RATES

The accommodations of the school include main dormitory and dining hall as well as individual cabins overlooking the lake. The rooms are clean, light and airy. The camp is equipped with all modern improvements, including showers with hot and cold water. Food will be plentiful and well prepared. Rates are \$25 a week for adults; \$15 a week for children up to the age of 15. Rates include board, lodging, enrollment in the classes, use of boats, etc.

Attendance at classes is voluntary. The courses are so arranged that even those limited to one week's vacation can attend. Active trade unionists will find these courses particularly useful.

Two of the classes, "An Introduction to Marxist Economics" and "Historical Materialism" will be conducted by William Warde, associate editor of The Militant and prominent educator and lecturer, who is in charge of the educational program.

Of particular interest to trade unionists will be the classes on "The Role and Function of Trade Unions" conducted by George Collins, member of the staff of The Militant. Other classes on "What is Marxism," "The History of the Socialist Workers Party," "The History of Trotskyism" and "What It Stands For" will be given by an experienced Marxist teaching staff.

Reservations should be made

Ex-Premiers Voice "Protest" Against Greek Reign Of Terror

So terrible has become the British-fostered reign of terror in Greece that four former premiers have felt forced to sign a protest, which was sent to Voulgaris, the present British puppet premier. The protesting ex-premiers are Sophoulis, Cafandaris, Tsouderos and Plastiras. They complain that army and police officers have "kidnapped, beaten and maltreated private citizens," and ask Voulgaris to "purge the terrorists and restore order."

Tsouderos and Plastiras, especially, should be able to gauge the ferocious character of this reign of terror, since the former was in office when Churchill supported the Cairo mutiny of the Greek armed forces and the latter was in charge of the initial stages of the present blood-letting.

STALINIST HYPOCRISY

A protest as hypocritical as the plaint of the four ex-premiers was registered by the June 6 Daily Worker, official organ of the American representatives of the Kremlin. The Daily Worker quotes Karayorghis, editor of Rizopastis, Greek Stalinist organ. Commenting on the protest of the four premiers, K a r a y o r g h i s declared: "This news is very significant because now all non-Marxist, non-fascist Greeks from Plastiras on the extreme right to the Communist Party are effectively united against the present officialdom imposed by British Tories."

But on the very day the British provoked the civil war in Greece, Rizopastis published an article demanding the establishment of a republic. It is this very regency which is now conducting the reign of terror!

It was the Stalinists who welcomed British intervention, forerunner of the terror. On December 31 last, the Stalinist leader Partalides declared that he "wished to express the Greek people's feelings on behalf of the EAM (Stalinist-dominated National Liberation Front) for the efforts of Mr. Churchill, the Prime Minister of our great ally, England, in coming to Athens."

Churchill's purpose in coming to Greece is graphically indicated by the latest dispatch from Greece, dated June 6, reporting six supporters of the Stalinist-headed Greek Army of National Liberation had been sentenced to death and two others to life imprisonment.

STALIN'S PERFDIDY

Throughout the civil war, Stalin did not withdraw recognition of the Glucksburg dynasty as the official government of Greece. Churchill, Eden and Bevin all declared that British troops entered Greece with the approval of Moscow. Churchill on December 26 declared in Athens, "We British . . . came here with approval of President Roosevelt and Marshal Stalin . . ."

On top of welcoming the British

Chile Workers Denounce Film

"Mission to Moscow," Hollywood's whitewash film of the bloody Moscow frame-up trials, has met with vigorous protest in Chile. When theater-goers protested the falsifications of history in the film, the management had to temporarily suspend the showing, reports the Santiago daily La Opinion in a front page story May 22.

When the film reached that part which pictures Stalin's victims as in the pay of "fascism," members of the audience sympathetic to the Partido Obrero Revolucionario (Workers Revolutionary Party), according to La Opinion, protested with shouts and whistles.

Stalinist sympathizers in the audience responded with cries of "Long Live National Unity!" and "Long Live Stalin!" In the ensuing hubbub, the management turned on the lights and stopped the film.

Those protesting "Mission to Moscow" began shouting "Long Live the Soviet Union!" "Long Live Trotsky!" and "Down with National Unity!"

A delegation from the Partido

Obrero Revolucionario called on the editors of La Opinion to protest the Stalinist attack on those indignant over the falsifications in "Mission to Moscow." The delegation explained that the Moscow Trials were frame-ups which had been completely exposed by an International Commission of Inquiry organized "by eminent democratic personalities and headed by the philosopher John Dewey." This commission, after a rigorous inquiry, determined that no proofs whatsoever had been adduced in the trials against the accused.

Leon Trotsky, who was later assassinated by an agent of Stalin's GPU, had no ties whatsoever with fascism, the Commission found, but on the contrary devoted his entire life to defending the Soviet Union and combating fascism.

The delegation further declared that the POR defends the Soviet Union against international imperialism and totalitarianism, that it opposes the reactionary politics of Stalin both inside and outside the Soviet Union. In Chile, added the delegation, it opposes the politics of "national unity."

SAN FRANCISCO

School of Social Science

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July 1, 8:00 p. m.

LAYOFFS -- HOW TO FIGHT THEM

Speaker: ROBERT CHESTER

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

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

Operate all government-built plants under workers' control!

2. Independence of the trade unions from the government!

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

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

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

5. Working class political action!
Build the independent labor party!
Establish the workers' and farmers' government!

6. Tax the rich, not the poor!
No taxes on incomes under \$5,000 a year!

7. A working class answer to capitalist militarism!

Military training of workers, financed by the government, but under control of the trade unions!
Trade union wages for all workers in the armed forces!

8. Hands off the European and colonial peoples!

Withdraw the Allied Occupation Troops from Europe!
Solidarity with the revolutionary struggles of the European and colonial peoples!

Join the Socialist Workers Party!

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- I would like:
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We quote at length from a report sent us by Herb Newell of Alentown which indicates the response of the workers in that area to The Militant:

"I've had very good success, as usual, in selling the paper among the steel workers." Also there seems to be an increased interest on the part of the housewives. At least many more are now buying the paper for themselves as well as for their husbands.

"We just received this week's issue of The Militant with the story of the Lackawanna, N. Y. Bethlehem Steel strike. I had not known about it nor had most of the workers in Bethlehem, Penna. Those that knew anything had a very sketchy knowledge of the strike, mostly what they heard from a radio news flash.

"I had an interesting experience in one house: The husband referred me to his wife and she bought. She was very interested and I elaborated a bit, explaining the labor party, etc. It developed that the husband was an S. I. U. seaman home for awhile. I sold him the labor party pamphlet and left several back copies of The Militant to keep him occupied while he was home. Of course, I showed him Art Sharon's articles and the book on the merchant marine, called Maritime.

"Most of the workers take for granted that Kovalesky and V. Grey work in the steel plant here and try to place them."

According to a letter from

early, as the camp has a limited capacity. For advance reservations, write to Mid-West Vacation School, Oscar Coover, manager, 9513 Woodward Ave., Room 21, Detroit 1, Michigan. You will receive an attractive folder giving further information on the school.

Jerry Kirk of Detroit The Militant is becoming a real influence among the trade union militants:

"It would please you immensely to see the immediate results coming from our sub campaign. At a stewards body meeting, five militants asked our comrade if the party was going to endorse Frankenstein for mayor.

"They know The Militant is a potent force in the labor movement. Another time, after the local press hacked up a release to the papers on the beating of two militants, one wanted to know if The Militant would carry the story. And still another time, a reader came to our office and wanted to know why The Militant hadn't carried a story on a strike in which his local was involved."

We have just heard that the auto workers in Racine, Wisconsin also like The Militant. A reader en route to New York stopped over in Racine where she met a member of the Socialist Party, who is an auto worker. He told her that the workers in his plant "like The Militant." He also stated that "The Militant is a much better paper than the Call."

Leo Frumkin of Los Angeles expresses the sentiments of the L. A. youth group:

"There is no other paper like The Militant. It is really getting to be THE paper for us youth. The Socialist Youth Club here in L. A. has done a good job in getting new subscriptions for it."

Bound volumes of The Militant for 1944 are now ready for delivery to our readers. The price is \$4.50 a volume. Send your order to: The Militant, 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.

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



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

Free Patterson!

William Patterson, a loyal union miner who for 22 years has fought for the interests of his fellow workers, is locked behind prison bars today—the first victim of the vicious Smith-Connelly anti-strike law. He is in prison because the corporate interests and their agents need an "example" with which to terrorize all other militant workers who dare to fight and strike for their rights.

The Patterson imprisonment is no ordinary case of individual anti-labor persecution. It is the precedent which Big Business hopes to use for a deadly thrust at all labor. No worker who dares to fight for his rights on the picket line is safe.

The law under which Patterson has been imprisoned was passed in a Congressional anti-labor orgy during the national coal strikes of 1933. It was denounced then as the most savagely repressive federal law of modern times against labor. All the top union officials, Murray, Green, Lewis, denounced the Smith-Connelly bill as a mortal menace to the most fundamental right of labor—the right to strike.

Today, in the case of William Patterson, the Smith-Connelly Act has become more than a threat. It is a weapon that has already drawn blood. It is poised for further thrusts at the very vitals of the labor movement.

The kept press and the government agents who engineered the jailing of Patterson consider it a test case. They have tried to keep it buried, so as not to arouse labor protest. *The Militant* has lifted this vital case from obscurity and shattered a conspiracy of misrepresentation and silence.

It is now up to the entire labor movement to rise in resolute, overwhelming protest. From every union in the land must come the demand: "Free William Patterson!"

Resolutions for the pardon of William Patterson must pour into the White House. And to the loyal members of United Mine Workers Local 2399, Richesville, Pa., who are backing their union brother to the hilt, must go messages of support and solidarity, the encouraging word that their fight has become the fight of all labor.

Syrian Independence

Those who support the aspirations of the Arab masses got very little satisfaction from the June 6 statement of Syria's President Shukri al-Huwatly. He seemed to start out all right when he said: "I believe we are rid of France at last now." But then he added: "We intend to call in American, British and other experts to help advise us."

Why should Syria's president propose to do this?

During most of the past thirty years, the Arab capitalist-landlord class has been found cheek by jowl with the French imperialists, serving as tax-gatherers, commercial agents, government officials. The French imperialist yoke rested very lightly on them in comparison to its weight on the impoverished Arab masses. Whatever their quarrel over the division of the spoils they wrested from the poor, the Arab rich and the French imperialists were united against the Arab workers and peasants.

When France was weakened during the war, the Arab wealthy saw an opportunity to get more than their previous jackal's share of the rulers' part of the national income. They joined with the masses to get rid of French imperialism. But they did so in their own characteristic way. An all-out mass struggle against imperialism means to arouse the masses and let them enter the political arena independently. But that would mean that the masses would also speak out for their own needs: for land, for higher wages, etc. The Arab capitalist-landlord class therefore preferred to come to an understanding with British imperialism which (for the time being) may give its Arab junior partners a

better share of the swag than did the French imperialists.

There are fifty million Arabs in the seven Arab states of the Middle East. If the Arab masses united, they could win real independence from all the imperialists. They could begin modernizing their agriculture and developing large-scale industry for their own benefit. Their real independence, in turn, would go far to undermine the British and French capitalist class and thus render easier the coming of the socialist revolution in Europe, which would then be able to put modern technology at the disposal of the Arab peoples.

Real independence, real progress, for the Arabs and all other colonial peoples can be won only under the leadership of the workers, supported by the peasantry. Only those who have nothing to lose but their chains can fight all-out against imperialism.

Truth Will Out

"The truth will out!" — so goes an old saying. Now, after several weeks of hysterical campaigning designed to whip up hatred against the entire German nation, and thus provide a cover for their reactionary plans for Germany, the full truth about Nazi atrocities is beginning to seep through the lines of the capitalist press — THE TRUTH THAT THE OVERWHELMING NUMBER OF THE ATROCITY VICTIMS OF NAZISM WERE GERMANS!

Realization of this fact at once dispels the false notion that the German people were behind Hitler, and that all are responsible for the Nazi atrocities. The press, the radio, the newsreels pictured the victims of Buchenwald, Dachau and other Nazi hell-holes as non-Germans. They lied by flagrant omission.

Capitalist editors are now beginning to back-track on their lies. They knew the real truth all along. But American soldiers are coming home from Europe. Some of them were in Nazi prison camps where the vast majority of the inmates were German anti-fascists, working class fighters against Nazism. They will tell what they have seen. And so the prostitute capitalist press is beating a retreat — a cautious retreat thus far, but nevertheless a retreat.

Gideon Seymour, executive editor of the *Minneapolis Tribune*, is the first to sound the new note. He toured the Nazi camps with other American editors and is now back in this country. To a Minneapolis audience he said:

"American boys who were prisoners of the Germans will come home and say, yes, they were underfed; yes, they were often kicked and slapped and some were treated worse; but they will say they weren't victims of wholesale atrocities."

"Don't assume from this, then, that the so-called atrocity stories were false. For the wholesale atrocities were those against political prisoners."

Who were these political prisoners? They were German men and women, gentiles and Jews, who with bare hands stood up against the Nazi tyrants. They fought Nazism. They fought against war. But because these same Germans also fought against German capitalism, the lying capitalist press of this country remained silent about their awful fate, twisting the whole story of Nazi bestiality to serve their own nefarious aims.

Now, at last, the truth is beginning to come out.

Another Demagogue

Senator Robert M. La Follette protests too much. He protests Stalin's violations of "the Atlantic Charter and the Yalta agreement." He protests Churchill's "refusal to discuss any definite plans for freedom for the subjected peoples of the British Empire." He even protests British activities in Italy and Greece "together with Mr. Churchill's affirmations of friendship for the Fascist government of Spain."

By his protests Senator La Follette hopes to gain cheap prestige as the tribune of the people, for who does not oppose brutal power politics and imperialist domination, and who is not in favor of democracy and freedom?

But Senator La Follette's hands are not clean. The blood of millions of victims of the imperialist war he supports drips from his fingers. Moreover, the Senator's glib tongue is strangely silent about evils that have their fountain head very close to the seat he occupies in Congress.

The Senator said nothing about the American imperialist stranglehold on Puerto Rico. He said not a word in defense of the inhabitants of that unhappy land who have suffered these many decades under the tyrannical rule of Yankee imperialism.

The Senator said nothing about the military bases Yankee imperialism has constructed throughout the Caribbean. Nor the military bases Yankee imperialism intends to keep in the Philippines after "freeing" them. Nor the military bases Yankee imperialism wants in the islands of the South Pacific and the Far East.

In fact the Senator's protests about the pretensions of the Stalinist bureaucracy in Europe and the continued domination of British capitalism in India dovetail remarkably closely with the pretensions of Yankee imperialism to a dominant role in these same areas.

Could it be that Senator La Follette is not at all a tribune of the people, but simply a political spokesman of Yankee imperialism?



"Servants are so independent these days — why don't we get some of those German prisoners to work for us?"

INTERNATIONAL NOTES

India

The British imperialists and their Indian agents coined one and one-half billion rupees from speculation in rice during the 1943 famine in Bengal province. The Bengal government permitted the price of rice to soar to over 5 or 6 times the level of the early months of 1942. It is estimated on the basis of 1,500,000 deaths during the famine, that each death brought an excess profit of 1,000 rupees.

The official Woodhead Commission of Inquiry into the Bengal Famine now admits that the British imperialists bear a direct responsibility for the famine and the epidemics which followed in

Lidice

Governor Dewey and nine other governors have issued proclamations or statements calling for solemn observance of the Nazi destruction of the village of Lidice. The annihilation of Lidice, however, was the job of a novice butcher compared with the annihilation of cities carried out by the Anglo-American imperialists.

For the hundreds slaughtered at Lidice, the Allied armies can match hundreds of thousands of civilian victims in the teeming cities of Europe. Still worse — while commemorating Lidice, they celebrate the incineration of millions of innocent non-combatant victims in Japan!

If "solemn observance" is called for, it is solemn observance of this new depth of capitalist hypocrisy!

its wake. The Commission reports the results of its findings as follows:

"After considering all the circumstances we cannot avoid the conclusion that it lay in the power of the Bengal government (the puppet creation of the British imperialists—Ed.) by bold, resolute and well-conceived measures at the right time to have largely prevented the famine as it actually took place."

In discussing the causes of the famine, the Commission states: "The previous economic level of the population was low in Bengal, as in the greater part of India. Agricultural production was not keeping pace with the growth of population. There was increasing pressure on land which was not relieved by compensatory growth in industry. A considerable section of the population was living on the margin of subsistence and was incapable of standing any severe economic stress. Parallel conditions prevailed in the health sphere; standards of nutrition were low and the epidemic diseases which caused high mortality during the famine were prevalent in normal times. There was no 'margin of safety' as regards either health or wealth. These underlying conditions, common indeed to many other parts of India, were favorable to the occurrence of famine accompanied by high mortality."

British imperialism maintains its domination over the Indian people by atrocity and violence that put Buchenwald and Dachau in the shade.

In his book "Must England Lose India," Lt.-Col. Arthur Osborne, D.S.O. quotes the words of a British official in India: "I give you my word that after some of my punitive police have been stationed in a village for a few days the spirit of the toughest of political agitators is broken. How? Well, they will help themselves to anything. Within 24 hours there will not be a virgin or a 4 anna piece left in that village."

During the 1942 independence struggles in India, the British

New Statesman (Oct. 10, 1942)

reported that "charges with lathis (long sticks with lead tips) and indiscriminate shooting are the routine necessities to disperse Nationalist crowds." In the same month "Mr. Sloane, M. P. (in the British House of Commons) asked the speaker to restrain members from cheering when mention was made of machine-gunning in India."

Spain

The Spanish masses are living under starvation conditions deliberately imposed by the brutal, corrupt Franco dictatorship, a former concentration camp prisoner in Spain reports in P. M. (June 5th).

The cost of living has skyrocketed 400 to 500 per cent while wages have remained stationary since before the civil war. The black market, the reporter states, is "operated by government officials and party (the fascist Falange party) leaders themselves."

The normal price of the regular ration of one-quarter pound of bread is three cents; the black market price is 20 cents. The regular weekly ration of four ounces of oil is 12 cents; on the black market 40 cents. Milk, which is non-rationed, is supposed to sell at 18 cents a quart but it contains only about one-third actual milk.

Wages for the average worker run to 10 pesetas a day, or about a dollar; a skilled worker earns 18 to 20 pesetas. As a result, the workers are not only unable to obtain food but they are unable to purchase clothes; the cheapest shirt costs \$3 and the cheapest shoes \$10. The reporter says that the "Spanish people are in tatters, many of them still are wearing what they had on their backs when Franco took over." Rents are prohibitive and in many cases families cannot meet the rents even by doubling up in small apartments. "That explaining," the reporter says,

Anti-Fascists to Go On Trial in Rome

Six anti-fascists are to be put on trial for the killing of Donato Caretta, fascist ex-governor of the Regina Coeli prison in Rome, according to a June 4 dispatch from London by Reuters (British) news agency.

Caretta was killed by an angry crowd in Rome last September, during the trial of Pietro Caruso, former fascist police chief in the Italian capital. The people, who had long waited to avenge the torture and killing of anti-fascists in the Regina Coeli prison, dragged Caretta from the courtroom where he had been called to testify against Caruso, and beat him to death.

A commission of inquiry established by the Bonomi government to investigate the death of Caretta has whitewashed Caretta's record as a fascist jailer and describes him as having been a "humane man." The same commission finds that "two youths mainly responsible for his death were convicted with criminal records," states the Reuter report.

"Why many families were living like animals... and some people even in graveyards."

The unions have been wiped out. In order to get a job a certificate is necessary which is obtainable only on proof of loyalty to the Fascist dictatorship. Only Falangists, or those cleared of anti-fascist activity in the past, are permitted to become members of the fascist Syndicatos. Membership in the Syndicatos, a police-dominated union, is necessary to obtain a job. Thousands are therefore jobless.

The government deals directly with the black market by selling it government food stocks. In some cases government officials sell the stocks themselves — at black market prices.

Czechoslovakia

An order disbanding all Czechoslovak guerrilla forces and calling for the surrender of their arms and ammunition has been issued by the Stalinist-dominated Czech government in Prague.

The United Press dispatch from London reporting this order said that workers' factory militias will be permitted to continue but that their strength will be reduced to a minimum.

Italy

The Daily Worker (June 5th) reports: "The six-party Italian Committee of National Liberation has agreed that local committees shall act as consultative bodies until elections and the factory committees shall be gradually transformed into 'technical committees or labor unions adequate to the needs of production and social justice.'"

These measures taken by the People's Front coalition of the Stalinist, Socialist and capitalist parties are a continuation of the drive to rob the masses of their independent organs of struggle and to beat back the rising Italian workers' revolution.

The local committees of national liberation were mass organizations which directed the struggle against fascism before the downfall of Mussolini. They are now replaced by a capitalist police force and a capitalist army.

The workers' committees in the factories had assumed control over production after the general strikes had placed the fascist industrialists in jail or driven them into hiding. The disbanding of these committees is the first step towards returning the factories to their former owners. These measures follow directly behind the disarming of the partisans.

QUESTION BOX

Q: How many refugees have been created in Europe since the Second World War began?

A: Not less than 30,000,000 inhabitants in Europe have been transplanted or torn from their homes since the beginning of the war, according to a 1943 report of the Research Department of the International Labor Office. This figure does not include those serving in the armed forces outside their own countries, nor prisoners of war.

Q: How many states are included in the Arab League and when was it formed?

A: In March, 1945 the Arab states of Syria, Transjordan, Iraq, Egypt, Saudi Arabi, Lebanon and Yemen signed a charter that constitutes the Arab League.

Q: How much have U. S. corporations profited by the war?

A: The latest Securities and Exchange Commission report shows that the total net working capital of all U. S. corporations jumped from \$24,600,000,000 in 1939 to \$45,500,000,000 in 1944. Current assets jumped from \$54,600,000,000 to \$98,000,000,000. This is almost double.

Q: How many French people were direct victims of the Nazis after the occupation?

A: There were 1,300,000 French inhabitants deported to Germany. Of the hundreds of thousands thrown into concentration camps, 250,000 were executed or killed.

What Big Corporations Have Made Out of the War

After paying out the biggest dividends and executive salaries in their history during this war, America's corporations increased their net working capital—their pile in the cash box—85 per cent from the end of 1939 to the end of 1944.

According to the most recent report of the Securities and Exchange Commission, the golden war years have flooded the vaults of the monopolies with \$45.5 billions as compared to \$24.6 billions in 1939.

In other words, the corporations in five years made a total gain in net working capital of \$20.9 billions. This stupendous increase came out of net profits which totalled \$42.7 billions during five war years. Despite tax increases, corporate net profits in 1944 were \$9.9 billions, double those of 1939.

Some idea of how the capitalists were able to rake in such gigantic war profits is revealed in recent OPA profits reports, which the big business daily press has not seen fit to give much publicity.

These reports disclose that the government assumed most of the "risks" normally assumed by private capital, providing plants and heavy capital equipment. "Largely because of the increased production made possible by these additional facilities, \$2.03 sales were made in 1942 for each \$1 of corporate net worth, as against \$1.16 in pre-war 1936-1939. . . . Capital investment in war time experienced a much greater turnover, more than twice as much as in the pre-war period."

The reports further show that "a comparative handful of giants, flanked by a somewhat greater number of large corporations, dominated the corporate scene in 1942 as completely as a slightly smaller group had controlled the pre-war economy." In 1939, this group, representing less than a fourth of all corporations, secured \$17 out of every \$20 in sales. In 1942, they secured \$18 out of every \$20 in sales.

One device for concealing profits, the reports disclose, are "contingency reserves. . . a portion of the net income set aside in anticipation of a POSSIBLE future expenditure." Before the war, "less than one-thirtieth of the companies had set up such reserves. In 1942, more than one-fourth of the corporations set aside some portion of the 1942 profits after taxes for future contingencies."

OPA Opposes Black Market With Leaflet Campaign

The Office of Price Administration, which a year ago was stripped of most of its enforcement power by Congress, has announced a new scheme to effect "price control" and combat the meat black market. Price Administrator Bowles on June 11 said the OPA was going to print up a bulletin containing the list of ceiling prices and distribute 3,000,000 copies to housewives.

This, he said, places "in the hands of the consumers a simple and powerful weapon to help us smash the black market in meat." This black market, he contends, would not exist "unless shoppers were willing to take part in illegal sales or were unfamiliar with . . . regulations." In short, he places the blame on the consumers who are being milked by the profiteers and says they need to be "educated."

That's just a way to pass the buck and cover up government failure to control prices. Every housewife knows the price ceilings; they are posted in almost every store. But she has to pay illegal prices—or go without food for her family. The government itself could quickly halt meat shortages and black market prices by commandeering all meat packing and processing plants and meat stocks.

How Standard Oil Trust Protected Nazi Partners

The Standard Oil trust, which has made hundreds of millions in profits out of this war, is suing for recovery of 2,500 patents of Nazi corporations which the Alien Property Custodian took over in this country in 1942 and 1944. Standard Oil claims that these patents were acquired from its Nazi cartel partners when the war broke out in 1939, and that these patents were sold outright by I. G. Farbenindustrie to Standard for \$35,000,000 in non-voting Standard stock.

Officials of the Department of Justice anti-trust division, who are contesting the return of the patents to Standard Oil, last week submitted evidence in federal court to show that the claimed "outright sale" was a subterfuge. They contended that the deal between the Nazis and Standard Oil was merely a device to protect the Nazi patents from confiscation during the war.

Part of the evidence included captured Nazi documents which showed that the deal was arranged after the invasion of Poland in the last week of August, 1939. One letter dated October 11, 1939, addressed to I. G. Farben and signed "on behalf of the Chief of the Supreme Command of the Wehrmacht," stated:

"I consider your proposal to transfer to the Standard Oil Co. in New Jersey the Buna patents existing in the British Empire, France and the United States as sound and agree to it."

Federal Judge Charles W. Wyzanski, who heard the case without a jury, ruled in effect that evidence showing that I. G. Farben did not view the deal as a genuine termination of its cartel agreements with Standard Oil was "irrelevant."

But there is one letter from Standard's own files, dated October 22, 1939, which shows what its real game was. It was written by the Standard Oil executive, Frank Howard, who went to Holland to make the war-time arrangements with I. G. Farben. His letter stated:

"Pursuant to these arrangements, I was able to keep my appointments in Holland, where I had three days of discussion with representatives of I. G. They delivered to me assignments of some 2,000 foreign patents and we did our best to work out complete plans FOR A MODUS VIVENDI (METHOD OF WORKING TOGETHER) WHICH WOULD OPERATE THROUGH THE TERM OF THE WAR, WHETHER THE U. S. CAME IN OR NOT."