FREE THE 18!

# THE MILITANT PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

**Arouses Fears Of Allied Rulers** 

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# **British Strike Armed Struggle Of French Masses** Leader Salutes Fight Of The 18

Links Churchill's Persecution of English **Trotskyists With Roosevelt's Jailing of 18** 

William Davy, former secretary of the Tyne Apprentices Guild and an oustanding leader of the great apprentice strike in England last spring against forced labor in the mines, has addressed a letter to the American Trotskyist movement expressing his solidarity with the 18 imprisoned Trotskyists in the Minneapolis Labor Case and .

with the 4 British Trotskyist been established between the fa-leaders recently railroaded to Minneapolis Trial and the prison for supporting the struggle of the young English workers.

in England and describes the increasing awareness among the advanced sections of British labor of the leading role of the Trotskyists in the struggle for working-class emancipation. D a v y

writes: "The recent historic trial of Jock Haston, Roy Tearse, Heaton Lee and Ann Keen has created widespread interest amongst the entire British working class.

"For the first time the British Trotskyists have had the opportunity of appearing before the masses and putting forward their program and ideals, and, in spite of the limitation imposed by a bourgeois court and the distortions of the bourgeois press, obtaining a sympathetic hearing.

#### TYNE APPRENTICES

"The most sympathetic section of the British workers is the apprentices who participated in the recent strike against the infamous 'Bevin Pit Ballot Scheme.' These apprentices, who have had bitter experiences with the role being played by the trade union bureaucracy and the treacherous Communist Party, the elements who betrayed them in their struggle, now look upon the Trotskyist movement with a trustful respect which was non-existent before the trial.

"This interest is not confined only to the British Trotskyist nt exte

Newcastle Trial. James Cannon is looked upon in the same light as Jock Haston, and the brand

of the bourgeoisie has been iden-His letter, which we reproduce tified as being the same in both in full below, expresses the rising cases; imprisonment for chamspirit of working-class militancy pioning the cause of the laboring masses

"Arising out of this newly cre-

(Continued on page 2)

#### **UAW** Publicizes **Pardon Demands**

The September 1 issue of the United Automobile Worker, official weekly organ of the UAW-CIO, carries a front-page account of the hundreds of

union resolutions supporting the pardon appeals of the 18 imprisoned Trotskyists presented on Aug. 2 to the Presidential Pardon Authority in

Washington. It describes the Smith "Gag" Act under which the 18 Socialist Workers Party and Minneapolis Truckdrivers Local 544 - CIO leaders were railroaded to prison as "the first Federal statute in over 100 years to make the mere expression of opinion a Federal

crime." "More than 50 locals of the UAW-CIO are among the organizations urging their relase," states the paper. "Other unions who joined in the petitions include the Textile Workers Union of America, CIO; United Retail, Wholesale and

Department Store Employes, CIO; United Transport Service Employes, CIO, and the In-

#### By Art Preis A majority of pro-Roosevelt Democrats together with the Republicans in the House,

**To Aid Jobless** 

**Legislators Slash** 

**Proposed Benefits** 

having first passed an Administration-sponsored measure ensuring "disposal" of \$75 billion worth of "surplus" government property to the monopolists, last week turned their attention to pushing through legislation guaranteeing insecurity and mass hunger for

the American working class in the coming period. As a first step in adopting a

Big Business program to impose starvation conditions on the unemployed, the House Ways and Means Committee proceeded to "swing the axe," as even the capitalist press described it, upon the reactionary George Bill, which had been passed by the Senate. It ruthlessly struck from that measure every one of its few provisions which had even a hint of liberality.

#### SLASH BILL

tee members slashed from the George "Post-War Starvation" Bill its clauses providing unemployment insurance for millions of government workers in arsenals and shipyards, government training to refit war workers for peacetime jobs, transportation expenses for discharged war work-

ers returning to their home towns for work. In addition, the Congressional agents of Wall Street even eliminated a provision for a Department of Labor study on the proposal for an annual wage system in industry and reduced the life of the bill from two to

one years. Intent on maintaining conditions of mass insecurity and mis"Democratic" Tailors to His Majesty

#### By Ralph Graham

Pressed by the masses of war-weary Rumanian workers and peasants who have been growing more and more rebellious as the victorious Red Army plunges deeper into Rumanian territory, and anxious to end up on the winning side of the war, the monarchist-capitalist-landlord gang in this Balkan country has thrown the dictatorial regime of Gen. Ion Antonescu into the discard and set up a new government. Its first steps have been to repudiate the alliance with the Axis, accept the Allied terms of "unconditional surrender," and pro-

# **Workers' Independent Action Is Threat To Capitalist Rule**

Anglo-American Conquerors Issue Ultimatum to DeGaulle Demanding "Order"

#### By William F. Warde

As the beaten forces of the Nazi Wehrmacht retreat to the Rhine, leaving more than half of France in the throes of confused and wild jubilation, the victorious Allied imperialists in their pursuit look back with the greatest anxiety at the social explosions in their rear. For the "Blitz in reverse" is not only putting to rout the armies of Hitler. The accompanying insurrectionary actions of the masses in Paris, Marseilles and elsewhere are upsetting the plans of Washington and London for the rapid subjugation of the French people.

This elemental movement of the masses, orig- class party. Under the present inating with workers' strikes, has so far been confined in its objectives and program to the struggle against the Nazis and their native Fascist collaborators. Either because of the absence or weak-

ness of a conscious revo-

lutionary leadership, it French capitalism and their Stalinist and Social democratic henchmen. The heroism and self-sacrifice displayed by the insurrecliberating aims only when armed with a program of socialist inter-

nationalism and under the lead-

the French people can only suffer betrayal and defeat. Already the aspirations of the masses for peace, bread, and freedom are coming into conflict with the needs of the Allied and French imperialists for restoration of "order" and the stabilization of capitalist rule. That is why they fear the people in arms.

ership of a revolutionary working

domination of the bourgeois na-

tionalists and their lackeys in the

ranks of labor, the aspirations of

Among its first acts after the fall of Paris, the Allied Supreme Command issued a virtual ultihas fallen into the hands of the matum to DeGaulle, placing upon DeGaullist representatives of him the responsibility for immediately disarming the Parisian masses, restoring capitalist "order," and instituting a dictatorial control over the population. Thus, tionary masses can achieve their | from the very first, the Allied imperialists have demonstratively

(Continued on page 5)



# In secret session, the commit-

# Rumanian King Deserts Nazis, Joins Allies To Save Regime

the movement in America and as ternational Ladies Garment a consequence a link has now Workers Union, AFL."

(Continued on page 2)

**UAW Convention Faces Fight Between Ranks And Leadership** 

#### By E. Henry

The CIO United Automobile, Aircraft and Agricultural Implement Workers of America is not only the largest but the most dynamic union in the country. All major issues which have confronted American labor during the past decade have invariably found their clearest and most intense expression within the UAW-CIO. Each of its conventions has marked a milestone in the development of the labor movement as a whole.

No preceding convention, however, has aroused so much attention and interest as the forthcoming Ninth Annual Convention which is to convene on September 11 in Grand Rapids, Michigan. For this convention will have the duty to deliberate and provide solutions for the momentous problems and issues which have been raised to an acute pitch by the developments of the war and the ominous prospects facing labor in the period ahead.

The war has been the decisive factor determining the recent course of the UAW-CIO and the nature of the conflicts within it. Along with the entire officialdom of the trade union movement, the leadership of the UAW-CIO was drawn ever closer to Roosevelt and the government apparatus with the approach of the war. Upon American entry into the "shooting war," the leadership capitulated to the Roosevelt war machine, abandoned labor's independent program and surrendered the weapons of labor struggle, above all, the right to strike.

#### THE 'EQUALITY OF SACRIFICE' PROGRAM

The disastrous consequences of the policies of the union leadership became almost immediately felt by the workers, and no more so than among UAW-CIO ranks in the key war industries. Roosevelt embarked upon a program of erasing such gains as double-time pay, enforcing compulsory arbitration through government agencies, introducing new methods for imposing the cost of the war on labor, including 10 per cent war bond deductions and pay-roll taxes. The corporations took advantage of the "no-strike pledge" to stall contract negotiations, ignore contract terms and undermine union conditions.

When the initial dissatisfaction was sharply expressed by the militant auto workers, it was countered by the "Equality of Sacrifice" program, projected by Roosevelt and adopted by the union leaders. Although this program met with some rank and file opposition, it was generally accepted as a necessary evil. Before very long, however, bitter experience began to teach the workers that they were doing all the sacrificing, while the employers were piling up stupendous war profits.

At the August 1942 UAW convention in Chicago, there were bitter protests against the "Equality of Sacrifice" program. But the militants who opposed it either were unable to draw the necessary

programmatic conclusions or were not strong enough to secure the scrapping of the "no-strike pledge." Further experience in life was necessary before the true implications of the phony "equality of sacrifice" program could be driven home to the auto workers.

imperialism.

This has occurred with the further unfoldment of the capitalist war program. Roosevelt's wage-freeze, rising taxes on low incomes, the green light given to the profiteers and price gougers aroused increasing discontent. This discontent was manifested at the last

UAW convention at Buffalo in October 1943, but largely in a distorted fashion. The key issues of the convention were the question of "Incentive Pay", the introduction of speed-up piece work systems, and the struggle for domination of the union's top apparatus between the Reuther-Leonard-Thomas and the Addes-Frankensteen clique supported by the Stalinists. There ensued an unprincipled clique fight

for power. Reuther fulfilled his typical role of "left cover" for the leadership by channelizing the militants into his camp through a came a Nazi "protectorate" in verbal display of "militancy" in opposition to incentive pay, while he and discussed urgent problems" united with the whole top leadership against the militants on the and that "important decisions had decisive questions: support of the no-strike pledge, the War Labor been taken.' Board, and a fourth term for Roosevelt.

#### **GOVERNMENT AND CORPORATION ANTI-LABOR DRIVE**

The most militant tendency in the convention, led by Mazey of Briggs Local 212, while formally opposing the no-strike pledge and the Reuther caucus and failed to organize a serious struggle on these issues. Nevertheless, the pressure from the ranks compelled the top leadership to sugar-coat the bitter pills they fed the delegates. Virtually every major resolution and proposal was wrapped in "militant" phrase-mongering.

The forthcoming UAW-CIO convention will be marked by a qualitatively different alignment of forces on the major issues. On the one hand, the offensive of the corporations and the capitalist government against organized labor is proceeding with accelerated speed. On the other, the cleavage between the ranks and the top leadership has become extremely sharp, as the "labor statesmen" cuddle closer to the Roosevelt administration and its pro-corporation agencies and strike heavier bureaucratic blows against the mounting struggles of their membership.

Since the last UAW convention, the corporation and government attacks on the workers have taken on the character of a brazen masses. and sustained offensive. Roosevelt has used the full powers of government to curb the struggles of the workers and deny them wage increases. The use of troops and plant seizures for the purposes of government strikebreaking-even in advance of threatened strikes, as in the railway case—has become standard policy. The demands

(Continued on page 3)

claim Rumania's adherence to the camp of Anglo-American **Tobin, Stalinists** This about face, executed by **Combine Forces in** the youthful King Michael and the court camarilla, has caused wide breaches in Hitler's Balkan front. The Bulgarian fascist government of Ivan Bagrianov government of Ivan Bagrianov as announced termination of its war against the Allies and orderd the withdrawal of all German

"The Trotskvites were wrong troops from the country under a in Russia. They were wrong in new policy of "strict neutrality." the United States. Fortunately Simultaneously came reports Trotsky is now dead. Unof widespread revolts by the fortunately, too many of his masses of Greece against the followers are not."

Nazi oppressors. Hitler's south-This endorsement of one of the eastern front is crumbling into most monstrous crimes in hisruins. tory, the assassination of Leon

The breakaway of the Balkan Trotsky by Stalin, and this in atellites of Hitler's festung citement to homicidal assault Europa is having repercussions against Trotsky's co-thinkers apoutside the Balkan peninsula. The pears in the August issue of the Bratislava radio, according to International Teamster, under the Associated Press, reported that signature of Thomas E. Flynn, the puppet government of Slova- Executive Assistant to Daniel J. kia, which was part of the Cze- Tobin, General President of the choslovakian Republic until it be- AFL Teamsters Union.

March, 1939, had "held a meeting TOBIN AND STALINISTS

> If Stalin's secret police-terror apparatus, the GPU, didn't write this statement, it most certainly approves of it. As the climax of the current Tobin-Stalinist slander

**By Harry Martell** 

It is clear that the mounting campaign against the Trotskyists successes of the Red Army of the this lynch statement comes as no Soviet Union, together with the surprise to progressive elements

ed on the Pacific Coast after the rising tide of mass revolt, is in the labor movement. calling for independent labor political action in speeches, clung to tionary capitalist-landlord regi- to destroy the most dangerous opshattering the rule of the reaccoastwise maritime and San Francisco general strike of 1934. mes in eastern and southeastern position to his union dictatorship Longshoremen on the east coast Europe and forcing the ruling and sell-out policies by smashing receive \$1.25 per hour for an classes to desperate measures of the famous Minneapolis Teameight hour day. improvisation in an effort to sters Union, Local 544, organized

stave off the utter destruction of and led in historic struggles by ILWU CONFERENCE

their rotted system. the Trotskyists. To accomplish his The reopening of the contract Hitherto they have leaned on traitorous aim, Tobin personally was decided upon by a conference the Nazis to hold the masses in beseeched aid of Roosevelt, whose of the longshore section of the check. But with Germany's de-Attorney General Biddle initiated ILWU held in San Francisco July feat now fast approaching, they and carried through the frameup 2-29, attended by 66 delegates are driven to seek a new support prosecution which railroaded from locals up and down the west in the Anglo-American imperial- Tobin's militant opponents to coast. The conference decided to ist camp, just as the Italian rul-

prison. request certain "modifications and ing class did more than a year Tobin's attempts to throttle the amendments" to the contract in ago when they ditched Mussolini Trotskyists did not succeed so order to force consideration of under the pressure of the Italian well. His connivance in the the union's demands by the War frameup of the 18 imprisoned Labor Board. The expiring con-

In the initial reports three Trotskyists has been denounced tract contained a provision for facts indicate the tremendous throughout the labor movement, the periodic "reviewal" of wages mass pressure to which the ruling including important sections of without opening the entire conjunta in Bucharest was being the AFL, his own organization. tract. The WLB rigidly mainsubjected. In his proclamation Over two million union workers tained that, inasmuch as the ex-

(Continued on page 2)

Italian Masses Run Up Red Flag

The A.P. reports from Rome (Aug. 25) that "a demonstration in celebration of the liberation of Paris before the French Embassy on the Piazza Farnese today became a near riot when a demonstrator stripped an Italian monarchy flag from its staff at a nearby police station and ran up the Red Flag with the Hammer and Sickle.

"A policeman ripped down the Red Flag and threw it at the crowd below. There was a rush for the building, but two Allied policemen kept the people back and ordered an Italian flag without the Savoy Cross and the Red Flag to be flown side by side."

This episode with the two flags in Rome epitomizes the situation prevailing in Italy and throughout Europe. Today history itself has posed the choice: either the black flag of reaction or the red flag of socialist liberation.

## PACIFIC COAST LONGSHOREMEN SEEK NEW MASTER CONTRACT

By Oscar Nelson

SAN FRANCISCO, Aug. 24-Negotiations began August 7 between representatives of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, CIO, and the Waterfront Employers of the Pacific Coast for a master coastwise agreement governing wages and working conditions of 15,000 longshoremen and thousands of terminal men and car loaders. The union is demanding an hourly increase of the basic longshoremen's wage from \$1.10 to \$1.25 with overtime after six hours, one week annual

vacation with pay, a guaranteed work week of 36 hours, etc. for wage reviewal, it would not The six hour day was establish- accept jurisdiction unless the entire agreement was opened.

The Portland local of the union instructed its delegates to vote against reopening the agreement, fearing an attempt by the Employers Association aided by the employer-dominated WLB to undermine the union hiring hall provisions and the six hour day. In addition, the Portland delegates were instructed to vote against the Bridges-Stalinist proposal to incorporate a permanent no-strike pledge in the new agreement.

The criminality of relying on government boards for justice in securing wage increases to meet the increased cost of living was inadvertently exposed by Henry Schmidt, selfstyled "pie-card artist" serving as a union member on the Maritime Industry Board appointed by the War Shipping Administration to supervise the

isting contract contained an "adequate" arbitration machinery (Continued on page 2)

(Continued on page 5)

RULERS DESPERATE

#### MWC -

THE MILITANT

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 2, 1944

# TRADE UNION Pacific Coast Longshoremen's Union Is Given NOTES N Run-Around By WLB In Demand For Wage Raise

#### By Joseph Keller

Walter Reuther, a vice-Presi- | tions in various plants, Schultz dent of the CIO United Automo- ends up lamely: "We can't force bile Workers and Director of the management to be decent, but we SCHMIDT'S REPORT union's General Motors Division, can and will present our case belast week issued a statement pro- fore the public so that managetesting and refuting the "blanket ment will not be able to make us indictment of General Motors show to disadvantage." Workers" which the N. Y. Times issued in smear articles citing lesson of stirring struggles of corporation charges of "slow- the Toledo auto workers between down" practices by the union.

ment of C. E. Wilson, CM pres- tions then thru "favorable pubident, terming GM production "a licity" and "public opinion." The remarkable showing ... about twice corporations, which control the our best peacetime rate" of which the workers "can justly be proud" able publicity. But the workers "feel gratified." Reuther and further claims that the corpora- cent." The method they used was tion and union fix production the only effective one: militant standards by contract, and that strike action. the company has rarely had recourse to machinery established

by contract to appeal against violation of contractual standards. The motivation for the corporation's present smear campaign, from the organization's rank and War Labor Board and "create the atmosphere.... for a post-war attack on the unions in its plants." However, Reuther points out that the attack is rising to a crescendo right now, citing the Chevrolet Gear and Axle case in Detroit as the latest example.

strikes in the Gear and Axle Divi- pect to find when they return, is sion were "actually caused by no longer within the jurisdiction management arbitrarily increas- of the National War Labor Board. ing the production rates without | It is obvious from Executive preliminary consultation with the Order- 9328 (Roosevelt's "Hold workers or union." The second | the-Line" wage-freezing decree) seven union militants after the with the President." WLB ordered all strikers returned to their jobs without reprisal. seturned to work, the management discharged one worker and penalized sixteen others because they refused to work a fourteen-hour Green and his colleagues helped day.'

possible to terminate the strike Roosevelt to "do something" begets" to mention that "every step" | thing the AFL bureaucrats want included expelling the local union is to lead a genuine struggle officials from office, an act which against the Little Steel formula was followed by their discharge. or to withdraw from the WLB.

In short Reuther and the UAW International leaders have been giving the green light to corporaion provocations because of their

industry Schultz prefers to forget the the disposal of the Waterfront Employers to hopelessly prolong negotiations for a wage increase. 1934 and 1939. The workers didn't The report explained that the Reuther quotes a recent state- win contracts and union condiof the longshore section of the

press and radio, got the favornevertheless made them act "depiring contract. Steel Formula, the longshoremen

AFL President William Green and his Executive Council which 16% increase since Jan. 1941; met in Chicago last week evidently are feeling the "heat" Reuther asserts, is to prejudice the union wage case before the anneal to Roosevelt to modify for sub standard wares which appeal to Roosevelt to modify for sub-standard wages which the Little Steel formula and per- the WLB has established. mit wage increases in accordance with price rises.

mula and thereby reestablish the efforts of the longshoremen to bitration. workers' standards and incident- | secure a wage raise. ally reestablish the standards

**NO-STRIKE POLICY** Reuther charges that the recent / the men in our armed forces ex-

Green particularly complained because "no action has been taken Now the company provocations | by the WLB" on the "voluminous have been extended. "The public | testimony in support of our petishould know that on Wednesday tions" for wage increases and of this week, after the men had charged that "the whole process looks like a complete stall." Everything Green says is true,

has refused to accept the "fair velt's responsibility for the wage duplication of each process." procedure" of the WLB and has freeze. Now under growing prestaken advantage of the fact that sure of the AFL ranks, the AFL ground of the two year struggle ditions. "the UAW-CIO took every step tops are whining and begging despite the provocation action of fore the AFL workers explode the corporation." Reuther "for- into real union action. The last

> The 200-man Executive Board of the Philadelphia Cramps Ship-

(Continued from page 1) of the union to round out the pic-6 ture of this bankrupt policy. On longshore side of the maritime the basis of the provision in the expiring contract calling for a

semi-annual review of wages, the union submitted its demand for In a report delivered to the an increase on Dec. 14th, 1942. membership of Local 1-10 in San So far it has received nothing. Francisco Wednesday, August 16, Here is how the government he laid bare the mechanism at board runaround has worked.

#### WLB RUNAROUND

1. The request for a wage increase from \$1.10 to \$1.25 in Dec. decision of the recent conference 1942 rejected by the employers. 2. It was submitted to the ILWU to reopen the existing Maritime Industry Board Jan. 1st contract was brought about by which decided Feb. 12th, 1943 the failure to achieve results that it lacked jurisdiction, and through the machinery of the ex- referred it to the WLB.

3. The WLB denied jurisdiction, Schmidt further emphasized on the basis of the wage reviewal that on the basis of the Little clause in the contract.

4. The union held a conference were not entitled to a wage in-Feb. 19 with employers who recrease. First, there has been a jected the demand.

5. The union called upon the secondly, the longshoremen are U. S. conciliation service for a relatively well paid as compared conciliator, the employers refuswith other workers and therefore ing to join in the request.

6. The WLB consistently refused to hear the case, declaring The report made crystal clear that adequate machinery existed the need for scrapping the Little in the contract for wage renew-Green declared that "the power Steel Formula and the no-strike als, and referred it back to the to modify the Little Steel for- pledge as the main barriers to the U.S. conciliation service for ar-

> 7. Although the contract provides for the appointment of an arbitrator by the Secretary of Schmidt stated the matter very Labor, there has been none since succinctly when he contrasted the the resignation of Wayne Morse no-strike policy with the tactics two years or so ago.

of militant unionism. "In peace-8. Now that the contract has time there are only four steps been reopened a new arbitrator necessary for a wage increase, at has been appointed, and the mastrike was due to the firing of that this power rests now solely most. The union's demands are chinery which Schmidt outlined rejected, there is a strike, the in his report comes into play union gets the increase or else And so the merry-go-round starts loses if it is not prepared. all over again.

"In war time, there are twelve In outlining the arguments to steps involved, all of them taking be pursued before the War Labor Sept. 30th (the expiration date tained to the Little Steel Forof the present contract) and the mula. After the heroic strike but it's double-talk anyway. decision will only be arrived at struggles of the United Mine after an extended process as fol- Workers last year, which resulted engineer the establishment of the lows: negotiation, conciliation, in the breaching of the Little Steel Why is the corporation so bold WLB. They have supported it arbitration, submission to the Formula, the CIO nationally call-In its provocations? Reuther does and used it to stall the workers WLB, then to a special WLB ed for its abandonment. The not dare to state the truth open- from militant action. They en- panel, back to the WLB, and ar- policy of the Bridges-Stalinist ly. He indicates it, however, by tered into conspiracy with the rangement throughout for appeals leadership places the ILWU in complaining that the corporation CIO leaders to conceal Roose- on each decision resulting in a the very rear of the struggle of the organized workers against One need only add the back- the lowering of their living con-



The 25-cent trial subscription, We circularized the whole list

Ford Strikers' Slogan



"Scrap the No-Strike Pledge-Local 400" is the slogan worn by this Ford Local 400 worker as he walks the picket line outside the gates of the Highland Park, Detroit plant. 3,800 men walked off the job, as the union charged the company with extreme provocation by refusing to bargain with the workers on their growing grievances.

# a great deal of time. . . there certainly will be no decision by rigid adherence was to be main-**Unemployed Relief Bill**

(Continued from page 1) | by the President to "dispose" of an estimated \$75 billions worth

ery as the spearhead for a union- of government property, including busting, wage-slashing offensive, gigantic modern plants, huge the House members are trying to areas of valuable land sites and outdo their reactionary collea- tremendous stores of supplies and gues in the Senate. The George raw materials. Roosevelt's own Bill, opposed by all sections of Surplus Property Administrator, organized labor, would limit un- | Will Clayton, world's largest cotemployment compensation to the ton broker, personally steered the starvation levels of the existing passage of the House bill. state systems. These do not cover over 30,000,000 workers and ex-"free enterprise" system

tend "relief" as low as \$2 a week and \$14 on the average, for periods of two to 16 weeks. **ROOSEVELT'S AGENTS** 

# TOBIN, STALINISTS UNITE IN SLANDER CAMPAIGN

(Continued from page 1)

an implacable enemy of communism. His own Teamster's conhave expressed by resolution their stitution bars communists, or anysympathy for the Trotskyist one he chooses to term a "com-

prisoners and their protest munist," from membership. against the dirty frameup which Tobin's approval of Stalin Fobin <sup>\*</sup>helped engineer. That is merely expresses his ill-concealed why Tobin is now compelled to envy of Stalin's murderous cover his crime against the Trot- methods of eliminating revoluskyists and the labor movement tionary working class opposition by a frenzied slander and lynch- to his reactionary policies and his incitation campaign against his appreciation for services renderimprisoned opponents and their ed by the American Stalinists.

The Stalinists, in fact, are rubbing their hands with joy over receiving a letter extending them Tobin's congratulation on their of chief strike-breakers and scab-herders within the labor movement. The Daily Worker, August 20, crows over the photostat of a letter from Flvnn, expressing Tobin's "appreciation for the prominence you gave our efforts to stamp out this subversive

influence in organized labor. He

believes your article hit the nail

on the head and hopes you will

keep up the fight because the

This is quite naturally com-

MUTUAL ADMIRATION

comrades.

plemented by his applause for own venomous attacks against the Stalin, murderer of Trotsky. This Trotskyists. They correctly condoes not mean Tobin supports the strue Tobin's praise as a power-Soviet Union; from the beginning ful recommendation to Wall he has been an arch-enemy of the Street and its government to acworkers' state, just as he has been cept their application for the job

### Leader of British **Youth Apprentices** Hails Fight of 18 (Continued from page 1)

ated interest is the demand for average worker does not realize publications of the Trotskyist how dangerous these Trotskyists movement. The Socialist Appeal are. . ." has a far greater circulation than

No. the average worker is ever before and the few precious coming to realize that the Trotcopies of The Militant that I have skyists are implacable enemies of

managed to obtain have been lit erally devoured by the apprentices I am in contact with, as have the more scarce and even more precious copies of the Fourth International.

NEED BOLSHEVIK LEADERS "The realization of the necessity for the clarification of ideas and the creation of a Bolshevik

leadership is being gradually forced upon industrial youth and definite radicalization of the outh is taking place. The literature of the Fourth International

is absolutely indispensable in de- capitalist reaction and the most veloping this leadership. Unforuncompromising defenders of the tunately various publications are interests of labor. The average unobtainable in this country and worker is coming to realize this am obliged to request of you in part because of the courageous American comrades that you give and principled stand of the Trot-None of the proposed measures some assistance in that direction. skyists in the Minneapolis Labor for "reconversion" under the "In concluding I wish to send Case and the wide-spread supmonopoly capitalism, even the greetings on behalf of the apport their defense has gained in most liberal, touches the fun- prentices of Tyneside to the the labor movement. And the eighteen imprisoned under the average worker is also realizing damental problem of providing permanent full-time employment Smith 'Gag' Act, hoping your more and more that Tobin and While Roosevelt seeks to cover for all workers. Genuine security campaign for their release meets his new-found cronies, the Stalinhimself behind a screen of silence, will be won only through the with success in the very near fu-ists, are their deadly enemies, ture. who are seeking to introduce J. William Davy gangster methods of slander, (Former secretary of the | terrorism and murder against the program of the 30-hour week Tyne Apprentices Guild) | militant and progressive forces in England." the labor movement. THE END OF THE COMINTERN By James P. Cannon **36 PAGES 10 CENTS PIONEER PUBLISHERS 116 University Place** New York 3, N.Y. FOURTH INTERNATIONAL **Table of Contents** For August 1944 THE MONTH IN REVIEW Crisis in the German Ruling Class Dangers and Tasks Facing the Polish Workers Leon Trotsky: 1879-1940......By the Editors Leon Trotsky, Revolutionary Teacher of the Colonial Peoples ...... By Li Fu-Jen Trotsky on America's Role in Europe .. By William Simmons Leon Trotsky, Organizer of Victory ..... By Karl Radek Tasks of Communist Education ..... By Leon Trotsky How the Fourth International Was Conceived . By Ann Vincent With Trotsky in Mexico ..... By Charles Cornell



servile adherence to the no-strike pledge and support of the procorporation WLB, supplemented by their bureaucratic blows at the local union militants.

Corporation provocations are on 40,000 UAW-CIO members in an independent labor party. northwestern Ohio, in its August fore Local 12 and are on the in- pledge," the Local 42 leaders flat- recommended him to see a friend crease in which industrial management seeks to provoke the of the no-strike pledge. The labor party resolution workers."

points out the fifty-year failure sold six trial subs at a Socialist After citing a number of particularly vicious company provocaof organized Labor "to advance Party picnic, and write: "We

Buy "The Militant" IN MILWAUKEE at the newsstand on the northwest corner of Wisconsin Ave.

on Third St.

candidates of the old parties" and more sub blanks." the need for "a party of labor free of ties with the old parties." New York writes: "We are be-It proposes the "convening of PAC units within 30 days follow- ginning to get the first responses ing the national elections" to from among our new readers here form an independent labor or in New York City even before we start our call-back campaign. farmer-labor party.

other sub."

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Union of Marine and Shipbuild- advantage in introducing the pa- Trotsky Memorial Meeting. Many passage of the George Bill or a ing Workers, has adopted resolu- per to new readers. The Minnea- new faces were present at the tions for presentation before the polis literature agent writes: "I meeting, and at least eight came International convention in At- am happy to enclose two more as a result of the mailing and the

lantic City, N. J., starting Sep- | twenty-five cent subs. These were | paper. tember 28, calling for rescinding obtained by a comrade who was "A Negro bus driver told one of of the no-strike pledge, withdraw- hitch-hiking thru Indiana. He the comrades that he was very the increase everywhere. The To- al of union support from the started discussing unions etc. with impressed by the story in the ledo Union Journal, representing WLB and for the formation of one of the drivers who picked him Militant on the Philadelphia tranup, and soon discovered that the sit strike, and came to see us, and They declare that the admin- driver was an old time Socialist. hear more of what we had to say. 25 issue reports the complaint of istration has fulfilled none of its He told our comrade that he had Another woman said that her hus-Melvin Schultz, President of To- promises about controlling prices named one of his children after band received the paper and had ledo's powerful UAW Local 12, and limiting executive salaries Norman Thomas, but now was gotten the letter. He could not "deliberate irritation of and profits while the "unions are sorry that he had not named him come to the meeting, but she workers in Toledo plants is on powerless" to halt the growing after Earl Browder. The com- hoped it would be all right for the increase." The Journal states anti-labor offensive. Since "their rade talked him out of that, and her to come. A friend who came "cases are constantly coming be- hands are tied by the no-strike sold him a sub. The driver also with one of the new readers bought a trial sub at the meetly demand immediate revocation of his - with the result of an- ing."

> Several Wisconsin comrades Our list of subscribers is being

expanded not only by new read- measure scarcely more liberal. ers, but by old sympathizers who Thus, if labor pressure becomes its interests by supporting the would like to order twenty-five are being heartened by the great too strong, Roosevelt has projectevents taking place in Europe. We enclose sub just brought in mise" proposal for a \$20 per by an old sympathizer who has not had contact with us for several years," writes a comrade in Chicago, "but who is now convinced that we are 'the only organiz-

ation that fights capitalism'." The militant working class pro-

gram of our paper brings a response from a far-off section of culated version of the George the world. From New Zealand we received the following letter: "I read your weekly by chance and I am so much pleased to read cover for the administration, have it that may I take an opportunity to ask you to send me one copy ing the George Bill for the more of your weekly. Please let me know how much in New Zealand considerably watered-down veror British Sterling pounds I have to remit for the yearly subscripvery soon.'

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yard Local 42, CIO Industrial offer continues to be used to good with a letter inviting them to our dent" Byrnes are engineering the expressed in independent econhis agents like "Assistant Presipower of the workers themselves, omic and political action, on a



liberal Celler-Kilgore measure, a

without loss of weekly earnings, government projects for all unemployed at trade union wage standards, and nationalization of the basic industries under the control of the workers.

**Trotsky Memorial Meetings Held By Branches of SWP** 

MINNEAPOLIS - The new Minneapolis headquarters of the Socialist Workers Party was the scene August 19 of a wellattended meeting of the Twin Cities' branches of the party called to honor the memory of Leon Trotsky in connection with the death anniversary of the

week maximum, payable up to 26 great revolutionist. weeks of unemployment. Average Comrade C. R. Hedlund, giving payments under this proposal, the main address of the evening, however, would not differ materisaid: "It is hard to find a parallel ally from those of the George Bill. in the labor movement of a man Meanwhile, the majority of Rooswho accomplished so much for the evelt's Democratic cohorts in the working class under the adverse House are pressing for the emascircumstances in which he lived.

Countless future generations will remember with love and gratitude A handful of House Democrats, the man who brought the ideas. who are acting as the "liberal" of socialism to the whole world." The meeting voted to send a been making a pretense of fighttelegram of greetings to Trotsky's widow, Natalia.

NEWARK-Socialist Workers sion of the original Kilgore-Murray Bill which was rejected Party members and sympathizers overwhelmingly by the Senate. gathered here August 18 to comtion. Hoping to hear from you This group, however, has already memorate the fourth anniversary indicated intentions of "comproof the death of Leon Trotsky, mising" once they have "made great founder and leader of the Fourth International. Comrade A. the record." The labor-hating ferocity of M. Braden spoke of Trotsky's Congress toward measures to immense contributions to the alleviate even the worst miseries building of the Marxist revoluof unemployment stands in stark tionary movement and his "forcontrast to their demonstrated titude and undying devotion to solicitude for plutocrats who have the workers' cause." The meeting been piling up billions in war voted to send telegrams of profits. Before taking up the greeting to Natalia Trotsky, the unemployment compensation mea- imprisoned English Trotskyists, with little debate a bill which and the 18 American Trotskyists sure, the House last week passed gives sweeping powers to the Big serving sentences in Federal Business administrator appointed prisons.

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SENATOR GEORGE. ed through Byrnes a "compro-

Bill.

# The Coming Struggle At The UAW Convention

#### (Continued from page 1)

for wage increases beyond the Little Steel formula, made by virtually every union, are being interminably stalled through the War Labor Board.

The demand for a general wage increase for the General Motors workers has been kicked around for months in WLB panel hearings, which finally concluded that the WLB has no power to grant wage increases beyond the Little Steel formula. The key Steel Wage case has been bogged down for over 8 months in farcical WLB hearings. Roosevelt and his WLB agents have openly supported the false claim that the cost-of-living rise has been negligible, while the CIO-AFL survey reveals at least a 45.3 percent increase in living costs since January 1941, 30 per cent above the 15 per cent rise covered by the Little Steel formula.

This tightening of the wage freeze has been accompanied by a general union-busting campaign within the plants. Intensified speedup has followed from the curtailment of cost-plus contracts. Collective bargaining has broken down, as the corporations toss the simplest grievances into the WLB swamp. Corporation provocations, the firing of union leaders and militants on flimsy pretexts have become almost daily occurrences.

#### POLICIES OF INTERNATIONAL **EXECUTIVE BOARD**

And now, the auto workers are getting a preview of the coming period, with the increase in war contract terminations and production cutbacks. Tens of thousands of auto and aircraft workers have been laid-off, reduced to lower paying jobs, or suffered cuts in their weekly earnings through drastic reduction in working hours. Holding the club of insecurity over the workers' heads, the corporations have become bolder each passing day in their attempts to undermine the unions.

The no-strike pledge has thus become an intolerable noose around the throats of the workers. Their efforts to break out of this noose, which the top leadership seeks to tighten, have found increasing expression in a growing series of "wildcat" strikes. The ranks of the UAW have ever more clearly indicated their desire for a return to the methods of direct union action in order to defend their rights, keep their still-existing gains and preserve the very existence of their organizations.

But the International Executive Board has opposed the policy of militant resistance to the attacks of the corporations and government. Instead, it has been directing heavier and heavier fire against the militant locals and local leaders. Its course of grovelling before the corporations and centering its full attack upon the ranks was clearly defined at its meeting in Los Angeles last March.

At this meeting, as a demonstrative expression of its servile policy, the Board adopted a virtual declaration of "unconditional surrender" to the corporations and established the procedure for penalizing workers forced to strike. Although acknowledging the responsibility of company provocations and contract violations for the current strike wave, the Board's resolution wound up by attacking



Scene from 1937 Sitdown Strikes



Workers wave their hands from the windows of one of the huge auto plants during the sit-down strikes that built the UAW and made labor history in 1937.

the strikers and threatening reprisal against them by withholding union benefits and International support from victimized strikers. This resolution emboldened the corporations and hammered down the wedge between the cowardly leadership and the militant ranks.

#### **COMPANIES AND THOMAS AGAINST MILITANTS**

On the heels of this meeting Ford intensified its attacks upon the members of the Aircraft Division of Ford Local 600 by the "disciplinary suspension" of three workers, two of them ex-marines with medical discharges, for smoking in a lavatory. This provoked a heated demonstration of several hundred workers last March at the company's labor relations office. Management immediately fired ten workers. The International Board publicly denounced the workers involved and UAW President R. J. Thomas addressed an open letter to the Ford Local leaders demanding that they take "drastic and effective action" againt the militant workers. This further encouraged management to fire or suspend 20 more workers.

The incensed Ford workers then walked out and established picket lines and barricades before the plant entrances. The International leaders immediately intervened against the workers and drove them back to their jobs. By this time, the list of company-victimized workers had grown to 121.

This policy of the top union leadership did not pass unchallenged. Ford Aircraft Division of Local 600 responded with a meeting at which the workers put forth two motions: a demand for a special UAW convention to rescind the no-strike pledge; a call for a strike vote under the Smith-Connally act and government operation of the plants. The leaders arbitrarily declared the motions out of order and adjourned the meeting. However, the workers continued the meetng with their unit Vice-President and adopted both motions overlelmingly.

Other strikes broke forth against management union-busting

the current stoppage of Ford Local 400 members at the Ford High land Park plant. In the GM-Chevrolet strikes, corporation provocation was clear and admitted by the International leaders. Nevertheless, they acted as strikebreakers, removed the local officers by bureaucratic decision, and gave the cue to the company to fire seven local officers in violation of a WLB order. This time, the Board was compelled to soften its action by reappointing the local officers under an administrator, loudly and unsuccessfully appealing to the WLB against the firings, and promising to see that the local demands against speedup would be satisfactorily settled.

The latest conflict between the ranks and the leaders occurred last week in the Ford Local 400 strike. There Richard T. Leonard, Ford Division Director, was roundly booed at a meeting of the strikers for attempting to organize a back-to-work movement and was subsequently chased from the scene when he appeared at a plant gate early in the morning and tried to order the workers into the plant. Significantly, strikers were wearing jackets bearing the slogan, Scrap the No-Strike Pledge-Local 400."

This slogan reflects the awareness of the workers of the need for a broader and more basic solution to their problems than the episodic and isolated strikes which have been the primary means of esistance to the anti-labor offensive, While supporting every struggle of the auto workers, The Militant has nevertheless repeatedly pointed out the limitations of local and isolated struggles which by their very nature seldom prove effective and often result in the vicimization of the most militant local members and leaders.

Confronting the UAW workers at the forthcoming convention is the imperative need for adopting a whole new fighting program and electing a completely new leadership from the ranks, a leadership which will guide and inspire the union in action to fulfill that program. The adoption of such a program and the election of such a leadership, however, can be achieved only in a deliberate and organ-

its chief support from the militant auto workers, has already served to awaken many thousands of Michigan workers and inspire them to take the road of independent political action. Many of the leading elements in the new group have taken an active part in the MCF movement.

-THREE

An initial test of the new militant grouping within the UAW was provided by the Michigan State CIO Convention in July. Here this group, still in its early and formative stages, led a fight against the no-strike pledge. Due to lack of serious organization and preparation for the floor struggle this fight lost much of its potential effectiveness. Nevertheless, againt the combined opposition of the entire CIO and UAW top leadership, the bureaucratic conduct of the chair and the large concentration of delegates from Stalinist-influenced white collar unions, one third of the delegates supported a minority report to rescind the no-strike pledge. In the election of state officers, the militant group displayed a further weakness when it created confusion on the key issue of leadership by supporting certain candidates who also ran on the slates of the Addes and Reuther cliques.

#### THE FIGHT AGAINST THE NO-STRIKE PLEDGE

The fight on the no-strike pledge at the State CIO convention provided a preview of the temper of the auto workers and the ferment in their ranks. This points to a possible show-down fight against the no-strike pledge at the UAW convention. That the workers in the locals are determined to press this fight has been further confirmed by the action taken in a number of locals whose delegates at the State CIO convention violated the mandates of their memberships to vote against the no-strike pledge. These delegates have been virtually assured defeat in running for delegate posts to the **UAW** convention.

The entire International leadership is making preparations to repel the anticipated offensive against the no-strike pledge. All the heavy artillery of the CIO officials and the Roosevelt administration will be trained once more upon the UAW convention, in an effort to frustrate the clear desires of the rank and file. The union leadership again counts primarily upon acrobatic flag-waving to divert the delegates from adopting a fighting program of action against the anti-labor consequences of the capitalist war. UAW President Thomas is sight-seeing the battle-fronts of Normandy prior to the convention precisely in order to pick-up more jingo ammunition to hurl at the convention delegates.

#### UAW RANKS MUST CHOOSE A NEW LEADERSHIP

At the same time, as the convention nears, reports are circulatng to the effect that, despite their unity against the ranks on all fundamental issues, the two top power-cliques are preparing to turn the convention into another disgraceful factional squabble for control of the union apparatus. Deals are being made, double-crosses are being prepared. These will come out in the course of the convention. As before such unprincipled faction fights will only serve to confuse the real issues and prevent adequate discussion of the decisive questions.

Reuther, it is rumored, is planning once more to play the false role of "militant" in order to gain the leadership of the progressive forces and disorient their fight against the no-strike pledge. The Reutherites are said to be adopting the strategy of proposing a referendum on the no-strike pledge as against its outright revocation by the convention. The purpose of such a proposal would be to stall off any clear-cut decision. Just as the Michigan CIO leaders violated the convention decision to hold a referendum on the labor party, so the UAW leaders, if they cannot secure a vote reaffirming the nostrike pledge, would unquestionably prefer a vote for a referendum which would permit them to shelve the fight on the no-strike pledge after the convention.

This auto workers convention can open a new and glorious chapter in the struggle of the American workers in defense of their rights and conditions. That struggle will have to be based on a fighting program, the first plank of which must be, "Scrap the No-Strike Pledge." That program must also include the demand for withdrawal of labor support from the War Labor Board and putting an end to ompany-unionism in politics by building an independent Labor Party.

A successful fight for this program must begin with an organzed struggle of the militants against the treacherous top leadership of Thomas-Addes-Reuther-Frankensteen. This leadership will have to be repudiated and eliminated before the UAW-CIO decks can be eleared for action. The auto workers need to elect a militant leader ship pledged to carry out this program of independent economic and political struggle against the corporations and their governmental agents of the Democratic and Republican parties.

Joining their husbands and brothers on the picket line and bring ing food to the men "sitting in," the members of the Women's Auxiliary played an important role in winning the 1937 strikes. The group pictured above carries its own placard demanding Equal Pay for Men and Women for the same work.

### Pioneer Paragraphs FOR RISING SCALE OF WAGES TO MEET THE RISING PRICES

The Fourth International dec- to employment is the only series lares uncompromising war on the ous right left to the worker in politics of the capitalists which, a society based upon exploitation. to a considerable degree, like the | This right today is being shorn politics of their agents, the refrom him at every step. Against burden of militarism, the crisis, well as "conjunctural," the time the disorganization of the monestemming from capitalism's death of a sliding scale of working agony, upon the backs of the toil- | hours.

ers. The Fourth International Trade unions and other mass demands employment and decent organizations should bind the living conditions for all. workers and the unemployed to-

Neither monetary inflation non gether in the solidarity of mutual stabilization can serve as slog- responsibility. On this basis, all ans for the proletariat because the work on hand would then be these are but two ends of the divided among all existing worksame stick. Against a bounding ers in accordance with how the rise in prices, which with the ap- extent of the working week is proach of war will assume an defined. The average wage of ev-

ever more unbridled character, ery worker remains the same as it one can fight only under the slo- was under the old working week. gan of a sliding scale of wages. Wages, under a strictly guarant- meeting. But the workers clearly expressed their sentiments, de-This means that collective agree- eed minimum would follow the ments should assure an automatic movement of prices. It is imposrise in wages in relation to the sible to accept any other program increase in prices of consumer for the present catastrophic pegoods. riod.

Under the menace of its own (From "The Founding Confer-LATEST CONFLICTS BETWEEN disintegration, the proletariat ence of the Fourth International," cannot permit the transformation pp. 19-20. Published by the Soof an increasing section of the cialist Workers Party, 1939; 128 workers into chronically unemp- pp. 25c. Order from Pioneer Publoyed paupers, living off the slops lishers, 116 University Place, ership have been posed ever more sharply by the most recent strike of a crumbling society. The right N. Y. 3, N. Y.) struggles, the two walkouts at Detroit Chevrolet Gear and Axle and

provocations. In rapid order there was a two-weeks strike of Republic Aircraft workers against a wage-cut, a militant strike of Ford workers in Windsor Canada, against the abrogation of the union contract, strikes at Motor Products, Briggs and other Detroit plants. The top leadership in every case drove the workers back into the plants without any settlements and with outstanding militants left out on the streets

In addition to the relatively wide-spread strike actions at that time. one local after another adopted resolutions urging a special convention to throw out the no-strike pledge, including Briggs Local 212. Motor Products Local 203, Budd Local 306, Dodge Truck Local 140, Chrysler Local 7, Fruehauf Trailer Local 99, Flint Chevrolet Local 659.

The International Board then met in Minneapolis. It ignored these local resolutions for a special convention. Instead, it reaffirmed its "unconditional surrender" policy, once more castigated the defensive actions of the workers and dispatched emissaries to break those strikes still in progress. At this same meeting, the leadership made initial preparations for a truce in their old clique struggle in order to weld a united front against the militant ranks.

#### THE STRUGGLES OF CHRYSLER LOCAL 490

Shortly after its Minneapolis meeting, the International Board had a new opportunity to prove its "responsibility" to the corporations and government. This was the lockout of the Highland Park Chrvsler workers. Following a whole series of provocations, the company locked out a number of workers, for allegedly preventing an AFL man during the Coca-Cola strike from entering the plant | the labor movement, dictates the need for a program of independent premises. The locked-out workers included union stewards and committeemen.

The Chrysler workers answered this provocation with picket formists, aims to place the whole unemployment, "structural" as lines. Immediately they were subjected to an all-out attack in the press and over the radio, not only on the part of management and is ripe to advance along with the the government agencies, but by the top UAW officials as well. tary system and all their scourges | slogan of public works, the slogan | Thomas and Addes issued an ultimatum to end the strike in 24 hours or "drastic action would be taken." Addes and Reuther personally addressed a strikers meeting with "back-to-work" pleas and threats. Thomas and Addes then used the radio and Big Business press to urge the Chrysler workers to break their own picket line.

Finally threats of establishing a dictator-administrator over Chrysler Local 490 and an order for the local leaders to stand trial before the International Board forced the local board to call off the picket line in order to prevent further victimization. At a Board hearing, which lacked even a constitutional quorum, all local officers were summarily removed and Leo LaMotte, Chrysler Director, was appointed administrator over Local 490.

Protesting this action of the Board, the Chrysler workers again went on strike. This was called off two days later at a heated local manding a fighting policy for the international union and reinstatement of the fired workers, fixing full responsibility for the strikes on the corporation and calling for the rescinding of the no-strike pledge.

**RANKS AND LEADERS** All the issues dividing the militant ranks from the servile lead-

zed struggle against the present top leaders. That requires a firm grouping of the militants based on a clear program of their own and divorced from all previous ties with the old leadership or any section of it.

#### FORMATION OF A NEW MILITANT GROUPING

Evidence that an important section of UAW rank and file miliants and local leaders are beginning to grasp the need for such an independent progressive grouping around a militant program is revealed in the recent formation of an independent militant caucus. with a program centered primarily around the demand for rescinding the no-strike pledge. This group at the very start attracted significant support from officers and leading committeemen of a dozen or more important locals in the Detroit area.

This group, in the process of development and crystallization, is an extremely hopeful sign, although it still contains tendencies opposed to a fully-rounded, effective program and some who are still reluctant to sever completely their ties with all the present international leaders and power cliques.

There is a tendency which thinks that all the auto workers problems will be solved simply by elimination of the no-strike pledge. They fail to take into account the fundamental problem: that the basic issues confronting the workers today can and will be solved, in the final analysis, only by political means. Every issue of the workers versus the employers, even the most minor, has long since become an issue between labor and the Big Business government. The period of mass unemployment and starvation which looms ahead, the unfolding of an all-out corporation-government offensive against political action through an independent party of labor based on the trade unions which will fight for a fundamental program against the financial parasites and monopolists and for jobs, permanent security and a decent standard of living for all workers.

The need for such an independent labor party has been partially recognized through the formation of the Michigan Commonwealth Federation as an independent party in the main stronghold of the auto workers. Despite its deficiencies this party, which has secured

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#### THE MILITANT

# Working Class Of Paris And Its Glorious Traditions In The Revolutionary Struggle

#### By Ruth Johnson

The tumultuous developments of the past week have brought forth in the press many references to the revolutionary traditions of Paris. By deliberately twisted references to the "traditions of the French Revolution of 1789," the capitalist commentators seek to conceal the vital working-class traditions of the French capital.

For the workers of France, of Europe, and of the entire world, however, the glorious traditions of Paris mean precisely those events which the capitalist press so fearfully conceals: the workers' insurrection of @-

1848 insurrection, the Commune

thousand of the most highly

skilled workers of Paris were

class of France wiped out at one

Terrible as was the massacre

of the Communards for the work-

revealed to the workers of the

join in the crushing of the pro-

class aims. From the Commune

the workers learned the form

take: the dictatorship of the pro-

letariat, exercised through work-

weapon to the workers of the

world, the sit-down strike devised

in 1936 and quickly copied by

workers in other nations, includ-

A great spontaneous wave of

ing its highest point in Paris,

ers demanded shorter hours, high-

er pay; in Paris, the workers ad-

ind our own.

June, 1848 against the capital- beyond its courageous but formist regime; the immortal Paris less revolt of 1848. But, like the strikes of 1936, in which the was historically premature. The greatest factories of France were conquer the Commune and to occupied by the working class! drown it in blood. One hundred

FOUR-

#### **JULY 1848**

The first wave of proletarian murdered, exiled, or jailed - the revolution in Paris, the brief insurrection of 1848, followed the conquest of power by the Repub- | blow! lican elements of the rising capitalist class. Aided by the workers who had good reason to seek ers, it was a costly victory for the the overthrow of King Louis French capitalists, for it set back Philippe, the representatives of | by a generation the industrial dethe capitalists won control of par- | velopment of the nation and exliament. But once in power, the posed forever the naked brutality capitalists turned against the of capitalist rule. The massacre workers who raised the demand for a "social republic." The capi- world, how readily national capitalist government broke its talist rivals abandon their quarpledges to the workers, banished | rels for territory and markets to the unemployed of Paris to distant provinces, denied the work- letariat! ers' demands, deliberately provoked the workers to premature the workers of Paris learned the insurrection. In July 1848 for need of a program of clear-cut roically, before succumbing to the superior strength and organiza- which their government must tion of the capitalist armies.

Twenty-three years later, the workers of Paris, toward the end of the Franco-Prussian war, rose up and established the immortal Paris Commune — the first workers' state in history. For seventyone days they maintained their Commune inside the besieged city, while they fought off the armies of the French capitalists, whose 1936 SIT-DOWN STRIKES ranks had been swelled by Bismarck's "gift" of thousands of marck's "gift" of thousands of prisoners of war. In its short ex-May 26 to June 7 of 1936, reachistence, the Commune set a record of achievements which still inspire the workers of the entire world.

#### PARIS COMMUNE

The Commune replaced the ded to the demand for reforms, standing army by the universal a political demand for a fundaarming of the people. It proclaim- mental change in the governed the separation of church and ment itself. The Parisian workstate, the nationalization of all ers raised the red flag over the church property. It issued a de-cree turning over to the control of the workers all factories aband and or closed by their own-ers. It established a new kind of Parisian workers were ready to confiscate the plants and move on COMING REVOLUT governing body, combining execu- to the conquest of power; Paris tive and legislative functions, stood on the threshold of revolu-

**Paris** Commune in Action



Drawing of scene in the Paris Commune, forerunner of the Soviets. The picture shows a district committee of the Communards, men and women, workers, soldiers, and intellectuals, who were creers' councils. The workers of ating, in the words of Lenin, "a new type of state-the Workers' Paris have given still another State."

> one requirement was lacking, a tion could break out there withrevolutionary party capable of out assuming a proletarian character." How true and important gram, national secretary of the leading the workers to power.

proved decisive. The mass of ering events to come!

Although reports in the capi-Party. Stalin was willing to sell are sparse and censored, they inout the working class of France dicate that the workers of Paris by force though his movement end, the unions must counter the where the workers took posses- to maintain his military alliance took the initiative through strik- has a record of non-violent sion of the huge Citroen and Re- with French imperialism. The es and armed resistance in the action surpassing that of the Innault auto factories. The work- timorous Socialist Party feared uprising against the Nazis and dia Congress Party," said Mr. revolution above all else. Both against the French capitalist col- Milgram. "In his first trial the parties urged the workers to go laborators. These workers of Pa- jury disagreed, six Americans votback, to trust the pro-capitalist ris fought, not in order to defend ing guilty and six Puerto Ricans Popular Front government, to the historically outlived ideas and voting not guilty. He was convictwait for reforms. French capi- aims of the bourgeois revolution ed in the second trial by a jury talism bought, by a few paltry of 1789, as the capitalist press wage concessions, a breathing wishes the world to believe, but spell which prepared for the rep- to pave the way for the realizaressions of Daladier and the war tion of the program of socialism. There is every reason to expect that in the revolutionary strug-

> gles ahead the French workers **COMING REVOLUTION** will remember and apply the les-Today, as the workers of Paris sons they have learned in their American corporations which were

# **REAL MOTIVES FOR BUSINESS SECRETS**

"The motivation offered for the

sent epoch are part of a persi

that law and order should be

established in the northern

part of China. . . The condition

of China, plunged in a strange

combination of anarchy and

Communism was the cause of

boundless and inexpressible

misery to her industrious peo-

ple. China was in the same

state that India would fall into

if the guiding hand of England

was withdrawn." - Winston

Churchill, February 24, 1933.

"On this day when China

embarks on her eighth year of

her fight for freedom, I send

to you, Mr. President, and to

the Chinese people whose spirit

you personify, my best wishes

and those of all my country-

men. . . When victory in the

West is won-and victory now

seems sure-we shall fulfill

our pledge to bring our whole

weight to bear on Japan, an

enemy whose odious and bar-

RE TO P

(5)

v C. Charles

stent plot of monopoly capital-

Last week WPB Chairman | hidden profits of the owning class Donald Nelson urged Congress from the people. The war has to enact a law providing severe given Big Business unbounded penalties for any government opportunities to reap profits on a scale never realized before. employe who divulges "in any Under the guise of "patriotism' manner any information which and "wartime necessity" the canwas committed in confidence to | italist plunderbund has looted the the War Production Board." public treasury, grabbed up natural resources, strengthened its REAL AIMS

stranglehold on production. As Nelson explained it, the These are "business secrets ostensible purpose of this meawhich the corporations now more sure would be to prevent "trade than ever seek to conceal from secrets" of one firm from getting the workers, who are being cominto the possession of its compe-

pelled to pay the costs of the war titors through government sourthrough frozen wages, extortionces. Actually, such a measure ate payroll taxes, and soaring could be employed for suppresprices. Leon Trotsky, in his programsing disclosurers of fraudulent

practices, wasteful production methods, cost-padding and pro-International, "The Death Agony fiteering-all of which are covered by the term "business secrets.'

posed the true character of "bu Under the system of monopoly siness secrets": capitalism the primary objective of "business secrets" is to conprinciple of business 'secrets' is ceal the criminal practices and ostensibly, as in the epoch of liberal capitalism, that of free 'com-



will continue to be pathetic NEW YORK, Sept. 1 - A pubfarces as long as private owners lic campaign to secure a full Preof the social means of production sidential pardon for Dr. Pedro can hide from producers and con-Albizu Campos, leader of the Puerto Rican Nationalist (Indeploitation, robbery and fraud. The pendence) party, and to prevent abolition of 'business secrets' is his being returned to prison was the first step towards actual conannounced today by Morris Miltrol of industry."

It is the duty of organized labor Workers Defense League. to lay bare, as Trotsky put it. "Dr. Albizu Campos was con-"that unconscionable squandering victed in 1936 on the charge of of human labor which is the retalist press on recent occurrences conspiring to overthrow t h e sult of capitalist anarchy and United States g o v e r n m e n t | naked pursuit of profit." To that capitalist claim of "inviolability" for "business secrets" with the demand: "Open the books and records of the corporations!" Quick-Change ' consisting of ten Americans and Artist two Puerto Ricans, employees of the big American sugar interests. "Mr.Elmer Ellsworth, a member

"British interests required us to keep out of the quarrel of the convicting jury, who repuwhich has broken out in the diated his vote for conviction Far East and not wantonly throw away our old and valued charges that the jury was packed by important officials of the big friendship with Japan. It was



#### By V. Grey

"Huh!" snorts Scissorbill Sam, the bosses' man, "So everyone will have \$10,000 under socialism? That don't mean a thing. Why, Morgan and the smart guys will get it back from you jerks in a month and you'll all be back where you started from."

Scissorbill is mistaken. First, socialism isn't going to just give everyone \$10,000 with a bang. There isn't that much money. Second, the money that the fellows do have, no one is going to steal away from them, because the workers' government we are going to establish will prevent that sort of thing.

Socialism may very likely give us all an income in the neighborhood of \$10,000 a year after a short time of planned production. By cutting out all waste and foolishness, increasing production, by organizing it on a national and international scale, cutting out the bosses' blood-and-sweat money, \$10,000 a year is a realizable income for every worker.

But that's only \$200 a week. If a workingman chose to gamble that away every week instead of buying a house and car and things for the family, why he'd still have his income the next week because he'd own a share in production. Just like in our day millionaire Tommy Manville can buy one wife after another, pay them all alimony, and still have money the next week because he had an income of several thousand a week from his share in production. matic document for the Fourth The only difference is that the worker would have the share he's entitled to by working for it, whereas Manville, a capitalist, has of Capitalism and the Tasks of the much bigger share that the capitalist system gives him without the Fourth International," ex- working for it.

#### HOW THE RICH MAKE THEIR MONEY

Of course, it isn't so likely that a man in his senses is going to throw away 200 dollars a week. Everybody we know in the shop today who's getting a lot of overtime in, or working that lousy petition.' In reality, the trusts piecework at the other end, is either trying to buy a house, or saving keep no secrets from one another, a few bucks for after the war. There are a couple of tough cases The business secrets of the pre- that twenty five and thirty years work for this wonderful company have made punch drunk. They throw away the little they have because they've been through too much and they've lost all hope. But ism aganst the interests of so- in the main a few drinks on pay day seem to be the extent of any extravagance you might notice around here.

But suppose everyone did have 10,000 in cash. Scissorbill's idea is that they'd all lose it playing crap or push it over the bar. Or else someone would fleece them with worthless oil stock or sell them the Brooklyn Bridge. The idea being that's the way people get sumers the machinations of ex- rich today, so why wouldn't they do it under socialism?

If you stop to think of it, though, you'll see that the really rich people didn't get that way by playing a few hands of poker. In fact, they often drop thousands of dollars in the games at Monte Carlo, Reno, Tia Juana, New York, etc. To them it's just like pitching pennies. The rich get their money directly out of production-out of the things we produce for them-out of their ownership of the factories and productive system of the country. That's where money is really made. No wealth is made at all without production.

Once this handful of bloodsuckers no longer owned the factories they would be helpless. Do you think they're going to be able to get the factories back from our powerful workers' government?

Some capitalist who might happen to know anything about the factory at all we might possibly make an administrator of some kind, but he will just be an employee, a worker, like anyone else. And he'll get a workingman's income. No dividend checks or bond coupons for ten thousand dollar night club parties, six-day alimonies and 30 day toots. The dividends, if you want to call them that, will be ours. What we produce will belong to us.

The workers' government we will establish will see to it that things stay that way. The biggest crime will be for some individual to try to restore the old dirty and crazy way of doing things by attempting to take over a plant for himself.

#### **HOW CAN THE BOSS COME BACK?**

the interest of the whole world

This final condition, however, are those words today, in consid-

the workers were tied to the Communist Party and the Socialist in which millions of French work-

elected by universal suffrage, and tion! serving at working men's wages. lution of 1917.

once more raise their heads, it In 1936 the historical conditions is well to recall the words of tive capitalist rule and foreign This was the pattern upon which lacking in 1848 and 1871, were Engels, written in 1891. "Thanks domination. the Soviets were built in Russia fulfilled. The French capitalist to the economic and political devduring the 1905 Revolution, and class had outlived its usefulness; elopment of France since 1789," perfected by the Bolshevik Revo- production under its rule could no Engels said in his introduction to

longer expand, but only diminish. Marx's Civil War in France, "Pa-In twenty-three years, the Pa- The working class was well-knit, ris has for fifty years been placed stronghold of the proletarian rev ris working class had gone far powerful, eager to struggle. Only in the position that no revolu- olution.

How Mexican Stalinists Betrayed The Masses To Their Exploiters

#### By A. Roland

The presidential elections of 1940 in Mexico were interpreted by the Stalinists as a decisive struggle between democracy and fascism. The "official" candidate Camacho was touted as the than ever before in Mexican his- the one unfailing weapon in the champion of democracy. The reactionary General Almazan was, tory, to permit the bourgeoisie arsenal of the Kremlin — slander being released on parele in 1948 it seemed, asking for the votes of the Mexicans in order to introduce a totalitarian regime. The support given Avila Camacho | without a struggle, since that to create the usual amalgam beby the government in power-naturally including the backing of the armed forces-made it a 9-

foregone conclusion that Al- | Cardenas. These comrades were mazan would be defeated. The very ignorant, yes, ignorant, formality of voting did not at all mean, under the regime of "Mexican democracy," that the votes of opponents would be counted.

account of the situation in Mexico The workers were far from enthused during the campaign or today, comrades!"

An amazing speech! Evidently after the "choice" of Camacho. Even those who had been misled the workers were thinking with anos hope to smother the bourgeby the empty phrases of Toledtheir feet and moving away from oisie into friendliness by their ano, were soon angered by the leaders whose whole policy was carelessness. Theirs is the Stalinattacks on working class rights being discredited by the quick- ist line of preventing the proletarof the new regime. They were march of the bourgeoisie to the ian revolution at all costs, includespecially incensed by the atright. It was not only that the ing the yielding up of all gains proletariat felt incensed at the without a fight in order to placate tempt to erase Article 123 - the so-called Bill of Rights of Mexi- collaboration of some of their the capitalist ruling class. can Labor - from the Constituleaders with the reactionary regime: they were all the more tion. Toledano found it increasoutraged at the preaching of such ingly necessary to explain why the Stalinists had been so insistdefeatism even before any battle ent in their support of General | had been joined. The working Camacho. It seems they had been class had made tremendous strides misunderstood. It was not that during the period of struggle Camacho was himself a great de-

True, this was because the Mexmocrat, but rather that he was the lesser evil. of mass support at a critical time.

#### TOLEDANO'S BETRAYAL

Vicente Toledano made this revpress for their own demands. ealing speech in July 1942: "It is they had organized consciously as tions existing in Mexico today. There are comrades who thought industry. They had powerful un- can then be labelled as being opsame policies as those of General working class militia.

Yet here was a leadership asking these conscious workers, at a The Mexican Stalinists have been moment when they felt stronger well-trained also in the use of to wipe out all these gains. And could only bring on fascism! One tween the vanguard of the workcan conceive of no greater being class and the most reactiontrayal. It is not the workers who ary element among the bourgeare ignorant: it is Toledano who oisie-in Mexico the Sinarquists.

comrades. If the government of wishes to foist ignorance on the Avila Camacho falls, comrades, it working class. The entire hiswill be succeeded by a rightist, tory of our epoch, the lessons of not a leftist, regime. You must every fascist victory, show that open your eyes and understand once the struggle reaches a critthis, think with your heads, take ical stage the working class will every imperialist war; the capi-

undergo defeat and the hellish yoke of fascism if it retreats in-

struggle at home that is tending stead of advancing. The Toledto result in civil war. They invert the formula of Lenin. They want to turn the civil war into imperialist war. But war has never yet solved the problem. Not only does it clamp the lid on a

pot ready to boil, but it serves also to build up pressure all the more. In Mexico the war is cre-It is not only the present ruling ating sharper cleavages because clique in Mexico that desired the of economic inflation which robs war in order to drown out all opboth workers and middle class. position under the guise of pros-The struggle against the condi-

RESULTS OF WAR

The war may serve to postpone

the show-down in Mexico. That

is indeed partly the function of

talists aim to shut off the class

ecuting the war. The Stalinists tions created by the war can also welcomed the declaration of hardly be long postponed. The war - indeed, they clamored for workers will learn in this fight to fail utterly of its purpose of against the foreign imperialists, it - since this would serve to also that the Stalinists have severing all bonds between the cover their policy of betrayal as nothing to propose but a program ican capitalists had felt the need well. They feel that they can bet- of defeatism and betrayal. ter carry out their vicious attack The Mexican proletariat will Mexico as everywhere else, that But the workers had learned to against honest revolutionary learn the real meaning of Stalin- the victory of the oppressed peoworking class leaders under the ism not only in their immediate ple of Mexico can be achieved

aegis of war than during time of experiences at home, but from only with the eradication of the necessary to recognize the condi- a class, they had begun to parti- peace. All who advocate militant the more and more openly reac- poison of Stalinism from the body cipate in the administration of action on the part of the toilers, tionary conduct of Stalinism on of the working class. It can be the world arena. It is this more accomplished only through the that when the new government ions. They even possessed the posed to the war. The Trotsky than anything else that will wise guidance of a truly devoted came in, it would continue the advantage of an armed, trained lists who are opposed to the war cause the campaign of the perfi- leadership, that of the Trotskycan be subjected — and are — to dious Stalinists of Mexico against ist Fourth International.

annoved by Dr. Albizu Campos hundred-year struggle against nalabor activities and his agitation for independence, which might have seriously affected their fin-The Commune, in the form of ancial interests. Among the corporations represented on the jury workers' soviets, will be reborn were: The Nat. City Bank, The and make Paris once again a Chase Nat. Bank, The Armour Fertilizer Co., The Radio Corporation of America, International Telephone and Telegraph, The Puerto Rican Coal Company, The Puerto Rican Steel Company, The United States Rubber Company and The Caterpillar Tractor Com-

"Though he was sentenced to six years in prison and four

bizu Campos actually served over in jail in Puerto Rico during his being released on parole in 1943, Dr. Albizu Campos has been in Columbus hospital in New York recovering from illnesses contracted in prison.

barous conduct has filled the "The original trial judge, a hearts of my countrymen with former governor of South Caroan implacable and remorseless lina named Cooper, is now atdetestation." - Winston Churtempting to return Albizu Camchill, message to Chiang Kaipos to prison on the grounds that he has not complied with parole regulations. Albizu Campos has

refused to report to the parole agents because of his almost religious conviction that Puerto Rico is rightfully independent and that he cannot recognize any legal right of the United States government over him. "It is extremely important that all right thinking Americans write at once to President Roosevelt and Attorney General Francis Biddle, Department of Justice, Washington, D. C., requesting a full pardon for Dr. Pedro Albizu

> by C. Charles \* Order from PIONEER PUBLISHERS 116 UNIVERSITY PLACE NEW YORK 3, N. Y.

True, the former capitalist might not want to work for us. He might not want to use his "great brain" and his "wonderful talents" in the service of the people who gave him their blood and muscles for generations. He may figure on getting all us people back to work for him again instead of for ourselves. But how's he going to do it? He can't save up enough dough to buy a factory. Not at 200 per.

Well, he sees the boys playing crap in the wash room. Suppose he throws in a pair of loaded dice and wins the whole plant from them during lunch hour. In that case he will be the one who's bought the Brooklyn Bridge-because the shop will belong to the workers' government, and it cannot be sold.

He'll have to work for his 200 the same as everyone else. Everybody will be on the lookout for him. It won't be just a case of his obeying the socialist law. But all the fellows and girls will help to enforce the law by seeing that this particular customer doesn't get anything without working for it.

But let's assume that we're dumb enough to be sorry for this guy. We see how pushing a pen in the office for a lousy 200 dollars a week is just wearing him out. Let's assume we're dumb enough to let him stop work and start robbing people again. For the sake of argument with Scissorbill let's assume all this.

All right. So he sets up a book in the back of a barber shop. There's enough guys that follow the ponies. They will kick in a part of their wages every week, he thinks. But he'd be wrong.

When the fellows have 200 coming in every week, why should they try to run it up to 1000 one week when the chances are twenty to one against them? It's when a fellow's hard up that he usually wants to put his last cent on a long shot. When the cabbage is coming in steady he's too busy painting his house, remodelling it, or thinking about a new one or something like that.

Or say this former Morgan or Rockefeller is such a very sharp operator that he sells shares in a perpetual motion machine or an oil well that gushes gasoline. First it will be against the law for anyone to own shares in a company apart from the rest of the people. We will all own the "companies" together, and any individual stock would be confiscated. With people knowing this, who vould buy a gold brick, genuine or otherwise?

But suppose by superhuman, or subhuman, cheating and thievery one of these seven day wonders picked up a hundred thousand dollars in cash. What is he going to do with it? He couldn't buy back his 47 room mansion, because we'd be using that as one of our summer homes for old people. He couldn't build a new one because we wouldn't allow any more than ten rooms or so for one person. It wastes too much building material. Of course, he might try to drink up a few thousand gallons of liquor, and get a few fools to help him. This would make him look and act like a capitalist again. But he wouldn't be one though. He wouldn't get that big dividend check next month-he wouldn't have thousands of people continuously working for him in "his" factory, making him and his children wealthy forever.

How would he get hold of a factory so he could do this? How would he buy a mine or a big plantation? He wouldn't. He couldn't. Because it would be against our law. And if he somehow got around the law and managed to start out on a small scale, finding four or five zombies to work for him (no sane, live people will work for less than they can make in their own socialist shops) he'd soon have to go out of business anyway, because he could never stand up against the competition of our mighty socialist industries. We'd crush his cockroach corporation as easily as the big corporations crush their smaller competitors today.

shek, July 7, 1944. OF LIVING .... WHRT'S HRDDI

a whipped-up campaign of terror and calumny. The Toledanos try

Campos."

the true working class militants

revolutionists and the workers.

The same thing holds true in

pany. years suspended sentence, Dr. Alseven years, as the time he spent

#### SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 2, 1944

THE MILITANT

- FIVE



As a result of this present ar- had recently shown evidence of tificial wartime boom there are containing heavy oil deposits.

Apparently the whites in this many of us who have been temporarily able to rise above our area decided that not this Negro, previous economic stations in life. but they, should reap the harvest This has caused quite a few of of the oil riches. The owner of the short-sighted brothers to the adjoining property began prothumb their noses at the future vocations against Simmons by diand to sneer at the coming ac- recting him not to cut any more celeration of the class struggle. timber from his (Simmons') land. They refuse to help point out the Realizing the obvious fact that role the Negro must play if we they simply intended to take his are to survive and progress. land from him, Rev. Simmons consulted lawyers in two of the

You may have heard one or more of them. Their cocky palaver goes like this: "Yes, I know the Negro workers are going to catch hell as soon as the lay offs and depression come but that ample of him. won't affect me. I'll be able to get along on the money I've got tucked away, so why should I worry? I am an educated, respectable Negro; a tax payer who is better off financially than the average working man. Because put 3 shotgun blasts in the 66 of my position in life I can avoid year old man's back and then any persecution of the masses mutilated him, including cutting which may come."

#### WIDE-SWEEPING

Almost every day, however, some incident occurs that indicates that "middle-class" Negroes will inevitably be swept up and carried in the wake of anti-Negroism just the same as those who work for wages. Racial prejudice knows no economic distinctions and a brown man is brown the skin color does not change in accordance with the bank balance. In their attempts to maintain economic oppression over all the working people the ruling class will resort to igniting on a nation-wide scale the well-laid tinders of anti-Negroism. There class" Negroes; there will be no escape for the "talented tenth;" there will be no middle ground.

In New Iberia, La. this year we is the lesson that Negro intel- the Paris proletariat poured out the DeGaullists have already de- has been made explicitly continsaw Negro professionals banished | lectuals should draw from this infrom the town because they famous excess of anti-Negroism. were active in trying to set up This case was different in that it a branch of the NAACP and to showed a resentment of the clashes throughout the city. It for French imperialism its former any manifestations of proletarobtain some economic concess- whites against the Negro simply ions for the Negroes. In Memph- because he stood to prosper from is, Tenn. we saw wealthy Dr. J. B. the oil on his land - oil which, Martin physically run out of for that matter, should be for the town because he dared speak out good of mankind and not for exagainst the Crump machine. It ploitation by any one man. was also here that a prominent preacher was threatened with violence because he allowed A.

Philip Randolph to speak in his anger of a misdirected mob of

ing administered to Cecil Poole, a ones who think they can ignore Newton County Agricultural Ex-

# **Allies Fear Independent Armed Struggle Of** French Masses As Threat To Capitalist Rule (Continued from page 1)

EUROPEAN SIGHTSEEING TOURS

American press then sardonically

observed: "Gen. DeGaulle prob-

ment as the best way to make

friends and influence people. The

reserve the possible use of Vichy-

ites or other native reactionary

elements if DeGaulle does not satisfactorily fulfill the role they

The Anglo-American imperial-

ists started out with a plan to

DeGaulle for a native agency

of control. Despite the frenzy of

anti-German chauvinism which

the imperialists and their Stalin-

L. Mathews, N. Y. Times cor-

"The French... are after the col-

clashes between patriots in the

streets and PPF's (Doriot's Fas-

cist Party) barricaded in apart-

ments. The hatred between

Frenchman and Frenchman is in-

finitely greater than that between

Despite their sacrifices and

struggles, the French people have

capitalist ruling class which in

have assigned him.

#### Speeding Them On Their Way

indicated that they do not intend to permit the French people to determine their own destiny. Instead, as in Italy, they propose to subjugate the French masses and impose upon them a subservient puppet-regime.

The independent rising of the working masses evidently, took the Allied and DeGaullist leaders by complete surprise: It broke out upon the initiative of the workers themselves without directives from the official leaders of the resistance movement. This has now been confirmed by belated reports which are filtering through the censorship.

"The following day the Ger-

mans, suspecting disaffection,

suburban towns of Asnieres and

Gennevilliers. Within twelve hours

soners. The postal workers then

The next night the Nazis ma-

chine-gunned several hundred de-

Luftwaffe headquarters, in the

city roused the entire working po-

"The seething city," reports De

went on strike."

#### nearby towns in order to protect STRIKE ACTIONS his interests. Seeing that this

was a "smart nigger." the whites The most informative and auevidently decided to make an exthoritative account of the Paris events is contained in an eye-wit-Six of them beat him up and ness report of a United Press corhis 46 year old son, Eldridge Simrespondent on August 29. Jean mons, cursed them and told Rev. De Gandt, the correspondent, re-Simmons he shouldn't have been lates that: "The first effective so "smart" as to seek legal aid. blow of the French patriots was a railroad strike on August 13 Four French railroad men were shot without trial, but the Germans suffered a severe blow.

threatening the son if he told on them, they finally let him go. The son made the news known and directed the sheriff to the body and also named the five men which were known to him. The sheriff the police struck all over Paris young Simmons "for his own safety" and kept him in the cooler for a month. They finally let him go and advised that he leave town. The official verdict\_stated | monstrators gathered outside the for life. Strange as it may seem, that Rev. Simmons died at the hands "of unknown parties." The son, through the NAACP,

has requested investigation by the ed and wounded. Instead of in-Governor of Mississippi and the timidating the workers, this atro-Attorney-General's office. He has made public the names and ad- pulace into action. dresses of the lynching party members. It is extremely doubt- Gandt, "reacted with a general the heroic actions of the masses will be no compassion on "better ful whether they will be convicted and sentenced or even brought to justice. Whether or not they are is nowhere near as important as

Paris.

CAN'T IGNORE FIGHT

the class struggle because they

iced. In many of the remarks we

have seen this thought: The Negro

is getting too many concessions

already. He is making too much

money out of this war - more

than he ever made and more than

Could such clues as these be an

indication as to the future twisted

reasoning of the prejudiced and

misdirected white? If so, it means

that the Negro intellectual as

well as the Negro worker should

apply himself now to the task of

making firmer and firmer our al-

liance with the progressive labor

movement for that is the only ally

that will want to, will need to,

and will be strong enough, to pro-

he is entitled to.

NEWS ITEM: Six high-ranking officials of the CIO and AFL are guests of the Army this month touring England and France. disarmed the French police in the Allied command and DeGaulle entering Paris, DeGaulle made his enhower, cabled from Paris on were opposed to any such inde- imperialist purpose clear. "We Aug. 28 that the Allies want "dispendent intervention on the part will not rest," he said, "until we orderly elements of the Maquis of the masses. Harold Callender march, as we must, into enemy and the French Forces of the and the constable then arrested and released 1,000 political pri- cabled from Algiers to the N. Y. territory as conquerors. France Interior kept in check. The Allies Times, August 26: "Local leaders has rights abroad. France is a are determined that Gen. Charles precipitated the uprising and bat-|great nation and has a right that | DeGaulle must solve that probtle in the capital without await- she will know how to make lem." This reporter for the combined

long urged against mass uprising anywhere in France."

#### THE REAL POWER

strike of the French General Con- for his own reactionary political federation of Labor and the Con- purposes as a servant of the Alfederation of Christian Workers lied conquerors and as represent- in the spoils of conquest they on the 18th." By the next day, ative of French imperialism. As may grant to DeGaulle's regime it is not unlikely that Paris will into the streets in overwhelming monstrated in Algiers, they aim gent on its ability to restore "law numbers and engaged the Nazi to conscript the mass resistance and order," that is, to subdue and and Vichyite forces in armed movement in France to regain disarm the masses and suppress was not until five days later that share in the exploitation of the ian class struggle which might the first Allied tanks rolled into world and to keep intact the imperil capitalist rule.

power and privileges of Big Busi-Howard Cowan, reporting his perhave since made it clear that the | Thus, in his first speech upon sonal interview with General Eis-



# **Diary Of A Steel Worker**

#### By Theodore Kovalesky

The boy's home! I just came away from his room, where he was sleeping exactly the way he used to as a youngster, his head turned a little to one side and his forearm resting over his eyes. In fact, he looked like a youngster, a'though he's twenty-five years old and a veteran of the most horrible war in history.

He's home just as his mother and I have been wishing and hoping for such a long time, and I can't sleep for excitement, even though I'm dead tired from working on the furnace in this heat. My heart is so full of happiness at seeing Joey again and so full of sorrow and worry at the thought that he will be going back into that hell of death and devastation in a little while, that sleep won't come. I sit here in the dead of night writing these words, alone.

#### WILL HE COME HOME AGAIN?

I wonder... will he come back again when he leaves us this time? Will he come back whole to marry his Helen? Or will he be a staggering wreck, a legless pencil peddler, blind, or disfigured? I have

known of men who were shipped pack from the last war, lumps of flesh alive only in the sense that their hearts beat and there was blood in their veins, alive only in that they didn't die-couldn't die-for a long time afterwards. I keep thinking of Joey up there in his room, asleep like a little kid. I keep wondering if they'll send him home like that.

It's hard not to go out and

make a damn fool out of myself.

when I think of my son-My

son!-going out to fight and may-

be die or be ruined for life for



the merchants and bankers and industrialists, so that they may

have profits, so that they may have colonies and spheres of influence to get them more profits! It makes me want to run out into the streets and call all the people, all the oppressed to rise up and put a stop to this fiendish slaughter and to the system that causes it, so that we'd have no more wars, no more profits, brown with the dried blood of death and black with agony and heartbreak.

Then there'd be' no more kids marching away like Joey, perhaps to return crippled or crazed. . . or never to return at all. And there'd be no more parents like us waiting each day for that telegram from the War Department.

#### WORKERS WILL END TYRANNY

Oh it's hard to hold back, to wait for an opening before I start throwing punches, hard to take my time and fight sensibly, when Thus, from the very moment of | I think of that sleeping kid up there with a bullet scar on his shoulder. But I've learned how to fight, and I'll go about it methodically . and, by god, I'll hasten the day when all the other fathers and nothers, all the brothers, friends, and sweethearts, and comrades of those kids will rise up, when the working class will end the tyranny that lies so heavily and suffocatingly on top of the world.

Joey, son, I'd be in this fight anyway, but when a man's a To keep DeGaulle on their leash, father, and when he sees his only remaining son fighting against he Allied powers have recognized his will for the capitalists, I guess it's bound to make him fight his "government" only de facto, even harder yet. not de jure. They thereby hold in



ing the approval of either Gen. heard." In this brazen imperial-Charles DeGaulle or the Allies, ist declaration, DeGaulle said who had hoped to avoid that bat- nothing about the social and ecoformer meeting place of the tle." The correspondent further nomic demands of the masses. ably does not view the assign-French Senate. Scores were kill- points out that DeGaulle "has He held out as bait for mass support only the vague promise of "universal and free vote" at Although DeGaulle opposes in- some indeterminate date. surrectionary uprising, that does

not prevent him from exploiting But the real rulers in France today are the Anglo-American forces of occupation. Any share

> to represent. United Press correspondent ALLIED PLAN

Allies are shying away from the use of the military, which would expose them to the accusation of using Nazi methods...It is known that he (DeGaulle) asked Gen. Eisenhower to send two divisions of British and American troops on parade through the city, and

see a demonstration of Allied might sooner or later." his entrance into Paris, DeGaulle feels obliged to call upon Anglo-American military aid against the French people whom he claims

tension Agent, and his being run have confidence in finding some out to town minus his belongings haven by virtue of their money and his job because he committed where they will be protected from the "crime" of voting in the July the interracial chaos that is sure elections and urged others to do to be instigated by the desperate so. Although Newton County is capitalists in their attempts to keep their decrepit system of war 50% colored and although Poole and depression. In several nahails from an outstanding and tion-wide polls that have recently well-to-do Negro family, yet he been conducted among whites as cannot return home if he values to their impression of the Negro his life. struggle this trend has been not-

#### LYNCH MOB

By far the best, (or rather, worst), example of the non-immunity of "better-class" Negroes to the vicious poisons of anti-Negroism was revealed in the recent exposure of the barbaric lynching of the prominent Rev. Isaac Simmons of Amite County, Miss. This 66 year old farmerminister was the owner of a 220 acre tract of land, completely debt-free (which is extremely uncommon in those parts) and rich in timber. Furthermore, the land

Ask Your Shopmate to

tect us as a color minority in the Subscribe to The Militant | trying days that are sure to come.



(Continued from page 1)

of August 23, announcing Ru- to Odessa after the Soviet Black terior, national economy and finmania's unconditional surrender Sea port was captured by Ger- ance, labor and public health, pubto the Allies and the Soviet man and Rumanian troops - lic works and communications, na-Union, King Michael was obliged there to congratulate the despoil- tional education. Heading the the mood of the masses resisting to declare: "Rumanians — the ers of Soviet territory on their foreign ministry is Grigore Nieu-dictatorship has ended!" The first handiwork. He proclaimed Od-lescu-Buzesti, who has not as yet the Nazi occupation and opposing the Vichyites upset the Allies' two decrees of the new govern-lessa "forever Rumanian," the been politically identified. ment proclaimed an "amnesty for center of that conquered Russian all political crimes since 1918, territory which his government MEMBERS OF COALITION except certain cases such as as- in Bucharest named "Transissassinations" and "the closure of trea."

Dispatches from official sources ness in France.

all concentration camps and the restoration of full liberty of the MONARCHICAL AIMS

That there is no real political government représents a real the native fascists. Herbert internees." While compelled to take these difference between Carol and his change, the so-called "opposition" steps, the Rumanian ruling clique son is emphasized by the state- parties have been called in and respondent, cabled from Marseilhas not, in reality, relinquished ment which Carol issued when have accepted with alacrity posts les on August 27 that: its dictatorship. The new govern- Michael ousted Antonescu last as Ministers of State without ment — handpicked, elected by week. As reported by the New portfolio in this nest of reaction. laborationists. We saw dozen of no one — has proclaimed a state York Times from Mexico City, of siege over the entire country Carol expressed his happiness party is represented by Lucretiu and instituted a rigid curfew. over the fact that "my son listen- | Patrascanu, the Socialist party by This state of martial law is direc- ed to the real sentiments of the Constantin Petrescu, the Liberal ted against the masses who de- people and pulled Rumania out of Party by Dinu Bratianu, and the sire to get out of the war and the war. The fact that Rumania Peasant party by Juliu Maniu. settle scores with their age-old ceases to be an enemy of the naexploiters and oppressors. KING MICHAEL'S RECORD

for the future."

King Michael and the new government, however, intend - to Rumania and resume his formif they can - to harness the er life as a royal parasite. Both ian workers were ready to hurl immediately the weight of ancountry to the Allied war ma- he and Michael were willing tools it into the garbage can. Instead other. The detested Vichy govchine just as King Victor Em- of the Rumanian fascist butchers of leading the Rumanian masses erment of collaboration with the manuel and Marshal Badoglio and of the Nazis. Today they are in a struggle for liberation, they Nazis is now being replaced by sought to do in Italy. Above all, clambering on the war bandwa- have allied themselves with the a regime of collaboration with they are anxious to preserve the gon of Roosevelt and Churchill, property and privileges of their who, in conjunction with the caplass against revolutionary at- italists and landlords of Rumania,

"All Rumanians," says the masses of that country to the con- masses that the Stalinists, Social- being protected by the Allied King's proclamation, "must rally tinued oppression of their rulers Democrats and Liberals did not "liberators" in 1944. around the Throne and the Gov- and exploiters and to make them wait a whole year, as they did The French people want peace. ernment for the salvation of the cannon-fodder for the Allied im- in Italy, before coming into the bread, jobs, security and freedom. fatherland. He who does not assist perialists. They have switched open as props and defenders of The Allies and DeGaulle offer the government and resists the sides in the war, but their aims capitalist reaction and its police- them instead a continuation of will of the nation is a traitor to and purposes remain unchanged. the country."

Who is this'King Michael who reveals that nothing has really thus insolently commands the Rumanian people? He is the son of the ex-King Carol, now living in Mexico City on the wealth he sentative of, or responsible to, the plundered from Rumania. Carol Antonescu. surrendered Rumania to the rule

of the fascist butcher Gen. Ion Antonescu, who in turn helped stantin Sanatescu, master of the escu from the political stage is a ist, Stalinist and reformist subject the country to the Nazis. King's military household and promise of the further develop- agents, can lead the masses in But Michael served as king under himself a member of the brutal ment of the revolutionary crisis successful liberating struggle. Antonescu and held his throne as and reactionary military clique in the Balkans which can only a puppet monarch during all the which produced Antonescu. To end with a clean sweep of all the ready exhibited an inspiring re- where) must and will again be- of capitalist rule, abolish national years that Antonescu played the members of the same military monarchist - capitalist - landlord surgence of revolutionary ardor come the central rallying slogan divisions, and reorganize Europe clique, all generals and admirals, scum.

It was Michael who, in this have been given the controlling impose upon France a dictatorship role of puppet to the Nazis, went ministries of national defense, inon the Badoglio model, using Darlan, Giraud, and possibly Petain himself. However, even before the invasion of Normandy, plans and forced them to switch to

> In order to give this patently reactionary outfit a semblance of popular color, and to deceive the ist helpers are stirring up, the masses into believing that the main hatred is directed against

The "Communist" (Stalinist) These traitors to the cause of the French and the Germans." tions that had always been her the Rumanian masses thus duplicfriends has a happy significance ate the role which their confreres in Italy played when they entered not achieved national liberation.

Carol, of course, hopes to return the phony "coalition" cabinet of They have thrown off the yoke of Badoglio at a time when the Ital- one imperialist power only to feel Rumanian reaction and the Allied the Allied invaders. The very imperialists. It is significant of the revolu- 1940 delivered the French masses

tionary temper of the Rumanian into bondage under the Nazis is

military dictatorship. They find the imperialist slaughter, more it necessary from the very begin- intense hunger, unemployment ning to identify themselves with and economic insecurity under the old oppressive capitalist system. Despite their traitorous sup-Only on the road of the socialist port, the redecorated regime will revolution can the tortured people gain no more popular approval of France reach the peace, free-

and will display no more durabil- dom and security they crave. ity than its Badoglio-Bonomi Only the proletariat, waging ircounterparts in Italy. The mass reconcilable battle against all im-The new premier is Gen. Con- resurgence which forced Anton- perialists and their native capital-

#### The Militant In

#### SEPTEMBER 1, 1934

NEW YORK-750,000 textile workers prepared to leave the factories in the first nation-wide strike since the inception of the NRA (National Recovery Act). "Despite the statements of the timid, treacherous Gorman, chairman of the strike committee, that the strike is not against the government, the fact remains that it hits directly at the NRA," The Militant explained.

"The first of the slave codes to be adopted in the country was the textile code. . . The code did not abolish the stretchout, nor did it raise wages, nor did it grant union recognition. . . Not only did the code and the code authorities grant the workers nothing, but through a plan of 25 percent production curtailment, thousands were forced out of jobs and into the unemployed army.

"If the strike depends on militancy and a will to fight, then there can be no doubt of the outcome of the strike. Terror, intimidation, deputy thugs and all the other trimmings of democratic America will not stop the textile workers. . . If the strike is crushed or sold out we can say in advance it will be due to the Gormans. . . and the rest of that treacherous crew."

WASHINGTON - Harry Hopkins, Relief Administrator under Roosevelt's direction, hastened to assure the textile bosses that the government would not feed striking workers. He pointed to the record of relief agencies during the great West Coast longshoremen's strike: "During the California strike, no additional funds were given by the Federal Relief Administration. to California for relief needs, nor was the cost of relief appreciably increased."

Hopkins' statement was made in direct reply to the demand of John E. Edgerton, President of the National Association of Manufacturers, who shouted that the threatened textile strike would not last a week "if the government would revoke its unfortunate comment that no one shall go hungry in this country."

PITTSBURGH-"As first fruits of Mike Tighe's (president of the AFL Iron and Steel Workers Union) betrayal of the steel strike in July, a drastic cut in the salaries of white collar employes has been announced by virtually all members of the American Steel and Iron Institute," The Militant reported.

"Prices, as the NRA intended, will leap rocket high this winter-are already mounting. . . Prices will go up, and wages will come down. Unemployment is increasing, and will increase. That is the prospect facing the worker this winter, under the smiling regime of President Roosevelt and his coterie of social workers."

in hand and are refusing to sur-In its new revolutionary offensrender them. The workers re- | ive, the French working class will member the glorious days of the find powerful allies among the 1936 sit-down strikes, when they rising masses of all Europe. With raised the Red Flag in one oc- the battle-cry of "The Socialist cupied factory after another. The United States of Europe!", they cry of that time, "Les Soviets Par- will unite forces to expel all the The French masses have al- tout!" (For the Soviets Every- imperialists, purge the continent and vitality. They still have arms of the revolutionary movement. on socialist foundations.

# are conspiring to subject the

Examination of the "new" government which Michael has set up this regime.

been changed. The government is handpicked and no more reprepeople than the government of

#### 5 I X -

#### THE MILITAN'

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 2, 1944

# THE MILITANT

Published in the interests of the Working People

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To defend the USSR as the main fortress of the world proletariat, against all assaults of world imperialism and of internal counter-revolution, is the most important duty of every class-conscious worker.

- LEON TROTSKY

#### JOIN US IN FIGHTING FOR:

- 1. Military training of workers, financed by the government, but under control of the trade unions. Special officers' training camps, financed by the government but controlled by the trade unions, to train workers to become officers.
- 2. Trade union wages for all workers drafted into the army.
- **5.** Full equality for Negroes in the armed forces and the war industries-Down with Jim Crowism everywhere.
- 4. Confiscation of all war profits. Expropriation of all war industries and their operation under workers' control.
- 5. A rising scale of wages to meet the rising cost of living.
- 6. Workers Defense Guards against vigilante and fascist attacks.
- 7. An Independent Labor Party based on the Trade Unions.
- 8. A Workers' and Farmers' Government.
- 9. The defense of the Soviet Union against imperialist attack.

Army Jim Crow Negroes in the uniform of the U.S. Army are henceforth to be treated as equals in Army post exchanges, and Army buses and motion picture houses, if an order of the War Department issued

August 23 is carried into effect. It does not require great perspicacity to see that this order is a special election year feature, designed to mollify the righteous anger of the Negroes over the Army's outrageous Jim Crow segregation policy. The Negroes correctly identify this policy with Roosevelt and the Democratic Party, which is the party in power. By making this slight concession to outraged Negro opinion, Roosevelt hopes to retain at least some of the Negro votes that otherwise would go to his Republican opponents or not be cast at all.

The Army order is a hypocritical gesture and nothing more. While ending certain superficial and incidental aspects of the Army's Jim Crow system, it leaves the system itself intact. Negro soldiers, conscripted in this "war for democracy." are segregated into Jim Crow regiments and divisions. Few of these formations are organized for combat duty. Most of them are assigned to the most menial tasks in the Army organization. Scarcely a week passes without reports of brutal and humiliating treatment accorded Negroes in the armed forces by their white officers or by white bullies of the Military Police. None of this has been changed. All that the

War Department order does is to remove some of the minor manifestations of the Jim Crow system. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People asserted, quite correctly, that "the basic problem of segregation still remains and is untouched by the order."

Even these very mild concessions which the order makes have aroused the fury of the "white supremacy" hounds who are the backbone of Roosevelt's party. Speaking for this reactionary element, Governor Chauncey Sparks of Alabama protested to Roosevelt against the order, which, he declared, "breaks down the essential principle of race relationship in the South" and "grievously handicaps efforts to bring about better race relationships."

One could scarcely imagine anything more ludicrous than this suggestion that "better race relationships" are helped by maintaining the system of Jim Crow whereby millions of people are stamped as inferiors and pariahs in the land of their birth. Governor Sparks is opposed to the slightest modifications of Jim Crow because he fears they may encourage the Negroes to fight more vigorously to end the entire system. Sparks and his kind want to keep the Negroes in a state of semi-slavery, so that they may continue to subject them to unlimited exploitation and tyranny.

In and out of the Army the Negroes, for their part, will continue to fight the hateful race discrimination of which they are the victims. The War Department order, far from solving the problem of Jim Crow, serves to bring it to the fore. The entire labor movement must back the Negro fight for full race equality, for Jim Crow is a powerful weapon in the hands of the boss class for keeping labor degraded and divided.





The columns are open to the opinions of the readers of The Militant. Letters are welcome on any subject of interest to the workers, but keep them short and include your name and address. Indicate if you do not want your name printed. - Editor.

Beef—And "Beefs" Editor:

Some Detroit "labor leaders." as they call themselves, are very busy these days, skipping out of the shops to hobnob with the bosses. On Wednesday night August 23, officials of West Side Lothe Communist Party, alias Lacal 174 of the UAW gave "the first hor Progressive Party. annual industry-union dinner" at The Communist Party is sup-Webster hall.

porting the Liberals, headed by Officials of 52 companies, "inthe Right Honorable MacKenzie cluding presidents, vice-presi-King. Therefore Tim Buck (Staldents, personnel managers and inist) supports King against the other executives," according to Cooperative Commonwealth Fedthe newspaper reports, ate a nice eration. Buck claims to be suproast-beef dinner with some 350 porting the principles and tactics representatives of the UAW-CIO laid down at Teheran. locals in their plants. The Stalinists have always

Walter Reuther gave a little been experts at rope work, altalk, painting a rosy picture of though there are few sailors post-war world of security for among them! They are great on the workers based on collaborathe line, sometimes using a tion with the bosses. H. N. Todt, sheep-shank knot to shorten it, Works Manager for the Revere the next time a Boland so it Copper and Brass Company, won't slip; but they have now cut wasn't quite so optimistic. He out the Boland and the bite. They said that management simply don't use that knot any more, couldn't afford to guarantee the since Hitler utilized the Stalinist workers an annual wage under "bite" as a stirrup to raise himthe present economic system. self into the saddle. But right ational." I was struck with its The Detroit News said in an editorial a couple of days later on their Party Line which Mr. on their Party Line, which Mr. that "no epochal decisions were Ellis the British hangman, bemade, in fact, none at all." It came famous for using - the seems the only people who took the whole thing seriously were

Reuther and his followers. Meanwhile, the auto bosses are going right ahead with their own stalling on contracts and griev-The workers, who are ances. getting fed up with the no-strike pledge and want to fight for their rights, aren't going to be too them a juicy piece of beef!

We've got quite a few juicy 'beefs" to settle ourselves!

### **Stalinist Knots**

NDIA

Editor: The government of Canada has cut out one way in each of the four shipyards in Vancouver. This means about a twenty persystem! cent layoff in all yards. Meanwhile the election guns are com-



## **GM Will Sit Pretty Even If Workers Walk Streets**

In the Senate debate on the Kilgore-Murray bill to provide minimum subsistence unemployment compensation during "reconversion," Senator Kilgore cited some striking examples of how the capitalist government is providing "post-war relief" to the giant corporations. General Motors, the country's largest corporation, provided one of Kilgore's chief illustrations.

Kilgore first pointed out that in its best pre-war year, GM raked in net profits of \$253,790,148. The corporation's average yearly profits between 1936 and 1939 were \$189,000,000. Despite wartime taxes, average GM yearly profits-after all taxes-from 1940 through 1943 were \$240,000,000, with a 1941 high of \$343,based, essentially, on one thing 643,160. This is the company's own figure and does not represent hundreds of millions in undistributed and hidden profits.

and it probably is for a while at While the Democratic and Republican agents of least — that a lie repeated often Wall Street viciously opposed his bill which "does enough will, as Hitler says, be believed, then how much truer not provide even the necessities for an extended - and more solidly so - is it period of unemployment," Kilgore stated, "General that the TRUTH repeated often Motors Corporation, whose profits I have just enough will be believed. Therefore I believe that certain basic stated . . . will have to their credit on the books of truths should be repeated over the United States Treasury at the end of 1944 a and over again in the press, even carry-back-carry-over credit of \$480,000,000."

If GM 'operates at a complete loss for two whole at the risk of being redundant. years, it can secure enough tax rebate to provide small price to pay for the goal it with continuing profits at the highest wartime sought - freedom from exploilevels. But, Kilgore 'asked, will the corporations agree to rebate unemployed workers' taxes so that they Here is what, for example, I think could be repeated over and will have incomes for two years equal to their warover again, issue after issue, in time earnings?



The August 19 issue of Labor, national railway page 55, reads: "Its task - the workers weekly, publishes a letter which sheds conabolition of capitalism's domination. Its aim — socialism. Its siderable light on who is paying for the war and who method - the proletarian revoluis profiting from it. The letter, which we quote almost tion." Those concise words could in full, speaks for itself. be boxed in some such form as

"I am what some people irreverently call a 'tax lawyer'; that is, I advise my clients how they may reduce the amount they pay Uncle Sam from time to time. It's not an inspiring business, but perfectly legal and, therefore, legitimate. I am not writing this letter to defend my calling, but to throw a little light on the problem of 'Who is profiting from this and who is paying for it?'

"We are told every day that the rich have made great sacrifices in the way of taxation; that no one is getting rich out of the war and that the poor man should not complain if his taxes are drastically increased. Well, the other day I was asked to look over the investments of one of my clients. He has approximately \$500,000 invested in stocks and bonds... words but they are never defined His income from these investments is a handsome one. In addition, he has a salary from his business, although it does not take much of his time.

"Now this gentleman pays a very large sum each year to the Public Treasury in the form of income taxes, and he doesn't like it a little bit. But, as the result of prosperity which has come to this country because of the war, his investments have increased in value.

"As a consequence, since Pearl Harbor, his increase in principal has been twice the amount he has paid to Uncle Sam in taxes during that period little more. Obviously this war hasn't cost my client a penny. On the contrary it has added to his wealth. "Now the workers, organized and unorganized, and the other low income groups, have been taxed as they have never been taxed before. But they have no investments, except their war bonds and, therefore, they are getting no increase in principal out of this war. "My client does not present an exceptional case. All the 'idle rich'-that is, those who depend on income from investments-have had the same experiences. The rich have grown richer; the poor have grown poorer, despite all the fine promises made by those n high places."



copies. I am delighted with the pleased by this bright idea of paper. It is the only paper I have taming the bosses by handing ever read that talks my language 100 percent. The articles in The

Militant are written in excellent

style and diction, so that it is a pleasure to read them. I. R. I am going to see to it that Detroit some of my pals in the shipyards

subscribe to The Militant. After space. Words or phrases from

reading my copy I always pass it around among the boys. The exploitation of American resources and American labor for private profit must stop. Down with capitalism and the profit

for the Dominion elections; Pre-|Suggestions mier MacKenzie King is soon to Editor: announce the election date. For whatever aid they may be The parties running candidates offer some ideas anent The Milare the CCF (Cooperative Comitant. monwealth Federation), supposed Let me say, first, that all edu to be a socialist party; the Libertion propaganda, advertising is al Party; the Conservative Party;

- repetition. If it is true -

For redundancy, at worst, is a

a box form near the top of the

Our Task-to abolish capital-

Our Aim-to establish social-

Our Method — the proletarian

Also, I believe a column called

"political definitions" or some

such title would be worth the

the daily press could be defined

for the benefit of the workers.

The daily press constantly uses

so as to make sense to the work-

tation.

this:

ism.

revolution.

### Strike Weapon

In their frantic attempts to stem the increasing rank and file movement to scrap the no-strike pledge, the union bureaucrats are peddling the promise that if the workers will only remain submissive "for the duration," then "after the war" the union tops themselves will lead a "show-down fight" against the anti-labor offensive of the employing class and the government.

This is a lie. Because the union officialdom are just as opposed to militant action in peacetime as during war. Their song-and-dance about leading the workers in fighting union action at any time is belied by their whole peacetime record. The union leaders opposed openly or covertly every independent struggle of the workers during the great upsurge of labor in the last decade. They "supported" strikes only when they were forced to do so by the pressure of the ranks and took over the leadership of struggles to behead them.

The reformist union leaders are opposed in principle to militant struggle. Theirs is, and has always been, the philosophy of class-collaboration between exploited and exploiters. Their method of "struggle" is to, "play ball" with the employers and to curb militant labor, in return for the crumbs of prestige and privilege with which the capitalists reward their labor agents.

The present claim of the hard-pressed bureaucrats that they are opposed only to "wartime" strikes is a fraud. The capitalist war has merely provided them with new and more convenient pretexts for enforcing the service policies they always pursue.

Labor has already paid a heavy price for surrendering the strike weapon. It has given up gains which were won through decades of bitter struggle. It has received in return wage-freezing, jobfreezing, forced labor, compulsory arbitration, repressive legislation.

To beat back the bosses' program of wage-slashing and mass unemployment, to prevent the unions from being further weakened, to regain freedom of action in the fight against the anti-labor drive, the organized workers need to grasp once more their most powerful economic weapon of struggle.

The time for the union ranks to scrap the nostrike pledge is now.

On September 3, 1939 the second imperialist world slaughter began. Five years of "blood, sweat, agony and tears" have passed. The number of victims already far exceeds the number in the first world war. Europe has been converted into a charnel house of the dead, a torture chamber for the living. Cities and towns by the hundreds lie in ruins. Fields and pastures have been converted into waste-lands by the juggernaut of war. Millions of people have been rendered homeless.

Early this week American soldiers raced into Chateau Thierry. They strode over the moldering bones of a generation of American youth who preceded them to the imperialist shambles in World War I. Fresh corpses are now being laid alongside the old. Will another generation of living youth have to tread the same road in a third imperialist war?

The first world war arose out of the irreconcilable antagonisms of the big capitalist powers, their lust for markets, colonies, profits. When, except in the Soviet Union, the working-class failed to destroy capitalism in the revolutionary upsurge of the post-war years, the second world war became inevitable, for the imperialist antagonisms and appetites remained.

Today, as the war enters its sixth year, the tide of socialist revolution is rising in Europe again. The workers in all countries will have new opportunities to deal mortal blows to capitalism.

According to Roosevelt and Churchill, the only road to peace lies through imperialist war. The preceding generation were likewise told that the war in which they fought and died was a "war to end wars."

The lie is as palpable today as it was then. There can be no peace as long as capitalism continues to live. Roosevelt and Churchill, in reality, call upon the workers to shed their blood, not to insure peace, but to establish the world domination of the Wall Street bandits and their British allies. The longer capitalism lives, the more terrible and devastating its wars become. For the workers being sent to the shambles, for the tortured, warweary peoples of all lands, there is only one true rallying cry for peace: .

Forward to the socialist revolution! Forward to a workers' world!

FREE THE 18!

Having only recently come through the worst famine in all its history under Britain's robber rule, India is now in the throes of lies: mounting epidemics which are taking a further heavy toll of life. This is according to Dr. Bidham Chandra Roy, leading physician of Calcutta and President of the Bengal Relief Coordination Committee. In a statement to children. the press Dr. Roy declared:

"And are they hungry? You inces native workers have to car-"Today, all over Bengal, an al should see them eat what we give ry a 'contract of service' docu arming wave of epidemics is taking a heavy toll of lives already hit by famine. There is practiget too much. cally no district of Bengal where the mortality figures have not assumed alarming proportions. Even the Government admits that keep: it's like chocolate. I shall ployer or other competent authorcholera and smallpox have broken get about 28 days pay stopped if ity. . . An African buying a railout in epidemic form in not less they find out. Still, to see that way ticket in another province than 18 districts of Bengal. The kid when I gave it to him will may be asked to produce his estimate of the relief workers be worth that.

puts the number of people af-"I can't write any more about fected as well over two crores ing now to think of it, and that provision that an African apply

(200,000).... "There is a shortage of medicine, lot were going back to Cassino. ing for an Enabling Certificate the most important being quinin e. Government allotment there was not a house standing. enter into a Christian marriage, amounts to 124,000 lbs so far, but Just try and think what those may be challenged by the issueven moderate estimates would people have got to look forward ing officer to produce both his put the need at 230,000 lbs...some to. As long as I live I will never pass and his tax receipt.

relief units found it extremely take part in another war." difficult to secure quinine. The JAPAN complete absence of sulphur rules

out any attempt at treatment of scabies, which is spreading widely-installed Japanese government will be unable to pay their fines. ly. We have received complaints also about vaccination lymphs, as headed by General Kuniaki Koiso and the result will be a large they do not seem to afford enough protection against the incidence of smallpox."

Cholera, smallpox and scables married able-bodied girls and jail for the first time." are diseases of poverty. They women from 12 to 40 years of age, abound in the filthy, festering with the exception of those whose there has sprung up among the slums of all the imperialist colonies in Asia, where usually there According to a dispatch by the of- opposition to the Pass Laws, beis a complete absence of anything ficial Domei agency, female seresembling modern sanitation. | lectees will first be given an op- | tions have borne remarkably lit-These are the conditions in India portunity to "volunteer," but stiff the fruit during the past quarter -after more than two centuries penalties await those who fail to of a century." Does the corresof British rule. And the "White do so. Sahibs" do not even provide med- | The ruling class of Japan, like this just movement? By no or that their monopoly will be ended.

icine enough to save the lives of the Nazis in Germany, are drawthe millions who fall victim to ing on their resources of labor- (for instance, passive resistance) to the American workers the true picture of monopoly the poverty and filth for which power in a vain attempt to stave would be a very unfortunate devthey, and they alone, are respon- off the inevitable military defeat elopment." Unfortunate for sible.

> - the revolutionary explosion which will follow and sweep away

A British soldier in Italy, in a their oppressive rule with its war, letter to the New Leader, organ hunger and misery.

of the British Independent Labor | SOUTH AFRICA Party, gives the following vivid

ers.

The South African correspondpicture of the life of the common ent of the Manchester Guardian. people in that part of Italy which liberal British capitalist organ has been "liberated" by the Alhas written an article which reveals the conditions of slavery to

"I am in the best; just fed up which millions of natives are subwith the war, and believe me you jected under the Pass Laws in would be if you had seen what that "self-governing" dominion of I have seen today. Families of the British Empire, where 7,000,-Italians going back to what were 000 natives are held down by a their homes, poor women and handful of exploiting whites.

"In urban areas within all prov

them. It's not a lot, because when ment, usually also referred to as you are at the front you don't a pass; and in all such areas there is a curfew, after which a "I had to give one poor little native may not be out unless he kid my ration which I should has a 'night pass' from his em-

pass...

"In the Transvaal and Orange that. Honestly, I am nearly cry- Free State there is the monstrous

When I was going into Cassino without which he cannot legally

The enforcement of the Pass Laws is difficult without police raids and hold-ups... A raid may

In an effort to mobilize all la- involve the arrest in a large town bor reserves for war, the recent- of several hundred people. Many

has enacted, by decree, a compul- number of short-term prisoners, sory labor service law which pro- many of whom make their acvides for the drafting of all un- quaintance with the inside of a

The correspondent notes that families are dependent on them. victims a vigorous movement of cause "constitutional representa-

means! Says he: "Direct action

a faithful flunkey.



How the monopolists and finance capitalists deliberately retard economic development is once more illustrated by the Department of Justice antitrust suit initiated last week against the major railroad interests, charged with collusive rate-fixing and discouraging improvement of the service and equipment of western railways.

The suit has been brought against the most powerful financial interests in the United States, including J. P. Morgan and Co., Kuhn, Loeb and Co., and other leading banking groups which control virtually the entire railway system.

A summary of the government's complaint declares that "a combination of private financial, industrial and railroad interests have acted collusively to maintain non-competitive rates for transportation and to prevent and retard improvements in the service and facilities of railroads for the western part of the United States . . . (and) have retarded and suppressed the development and growth of the motor carriers and other forms of transportation competitive with the railroads in the western area."

It has already been indicated that trial of the suit may be held up "for the duration" in accordance with the standing policy of the administration. The filing of the suit is intended primarily to force a lowering of the high railway rates. Thus, it is unlikely that pondent commend and support the criminal conspirators will suffer any penalty

The suit has served, however, to reveal once more capitalism, which has put a stranglehold on basic transport and production facilities for the profit and and — what they fear even more whom? Obviously for the white privilege of a parasitic handful. The suit is an inslavedrivers, of whom, as always, dictment, in reality, of the entire capitalist ruling the "liberal" reveals himself to be class, for those named represent interests which control the entire economic life of the nation.

ITALY