## The Only Road **To Emancipation** For All Europe

#### **By The Editors**

In September, 1938, one year before the outbreak of the second imperialist war, the founding conference of the Fourth International met in Europe and set forth a program of socialist emancipation for Europe and the world.

Today, after five years of war, capitalist Europe is disintegrating and falling into ruins. Amid the chaos of a dissolving social order the suffering masses are rising in revolt against their rulers and oppressors. In Italy, Yugoslavia, Rumania, Bulgaria, Greece, France, Denmark and Poland the insurgent workers and peasants are displaying increasing determination to sweep away the rotted system which subjected them to the horrors of fascism and war. Tomorrow this movement will spread through Germany and the whole of Europe.

The Allied imperialists have appeared on the scene in the guise of "liberators." But while conducting war against their German imperialist rivals, they have already made it abundantly clear that they have another purpose in view -- to prevent the masses from taking their fate into their own hands and finding a way out of the bloody morass along the only possible road, the road of the socialist revolution.

#### THE AIMS OF ALLIED IMPERIALISM

Both in word and deed, Roosevelt and Churchill have shown that, far from liberating Europe, they intend to subject its peoples to perpetual capitalist slavery. Germany is to be dismembered and the whole European continent Balkanized in order to assure the ascendancy of Anglo-American capital. As in Italy the peoples are to be saddled with police-military dictatorships subservient to the Allied conquerors. \*

Aiding and abetting these would-be enslavers of the European masses are the Stalinists, the Social-Democrats and the liberals — all of them defenders of the rotted capitalist order. The Stalinists are agents of the sinister Kremlin gang which, fearing for its own rule, has allied itself with the "democratic" imperialists and reactionary capitalist cliques of Europe in a plot to abort and destroy the coming revolution.

The only alternative to the reactionary plans of the imperialists and their European allies is the program of the socialist revolution. Only by the utter destruction of the outworn capitalist system can Europe go forward along a new road leading to lasting peace and security. The program of the Fourth International alone offers real hope to the tortured peoples of Europe and the world.

Europe's crying need is for unification. The Anglo-American imperialists on the contrary want Europe Balkanized. Against this nefarious plan the workers must strive to erase the national boundaries and unite the various countries in a free federation of peoples, into a single political and economic unit. Only in this way can the European peoples survive and the basis be laid for peaceful collaboration and economic and social advancement. But the unification of the continent is unthinkable with capitalism in the saddle. The only realistic formula for such unification is the SOCIALIST UNITED STATES OF EUROPE — the central slogan of the Fourth International.

The one force seeking a fundamental solution, the one force capable of defeating the sinister designs of the imperialists and creating a socialist Europe and a socialist world, is the working class allied with the masses of peasants and city poor.

In order to pursue a program of their own, a program which corresponds to THEIR OWN interests, a program which alone can save them from the barbarism that is inevitable unless capitalism is overthrown - in a word, to realize in life the slogan of the Socialist United States of Europe - the workers must have their hands free. They must tear themselves loose from the capitalist and imperialist enslavers and their Stalinist and social-democratic agents and organize themselves as an independent class opposed to the ruling and exploiting class.

#### TASKS OF TROTSKYIST VANGUARD

The indispensable instrument of this process of class dif-

# THE MILITANT PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

VOL. VIII-No. 37

NEW YORK, N. Y., SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 9, 1944

PRICE: FIVE CENTS

# **Allies Impose Dictatorial DeGaulle Regime To Subdue French Masses**

The Banner of Emancipation

## **'Liberals' Retreat Hastily in Conflict Over George Bill**

#### **By** Art Preis

The handful of "liberal" Congressmen who loudly promised to make a "fight" against House adoption of the Senate's George 'Post-War Starvation" Bill for unemployment compensation, are beating an ignominious retreat before the overwhelming pro-Roosevelt Democratic and Republican forces which last week shoved through a House version of the George Bill stripped even of its few minor

'liberal" provisions. Counterposing only the feeblest opposition to the supporters of the modified George Bill and then hastily "compromising" before the reactionary landslide, the "liberals" in the House and Senate have now abandoned all efforts to secure a measure which would provide even minimum sub sistence relief for the unemployed. Their "fight" is narrowed down to an attempt to reintroduce into the George Bill the few mild secondary features slashed from it by

he House. Thus, in the legislative conflict over the "human side" of reconersion, the leader of the "liberal' forces has become none other than Senator George, viciously anti-labor Southern Democratic author of the big-business inspired unemployment bill which had previously been denounced as a starvation measure by all liberal and labor forces. George has announced his intention of seeking the restoration of the "liberal" In Longshore Negotiations

version of his bill. This is all that the professed "liberals" in and out of Congress are now pleading to secure.

Prominent labor and liberal

#### COWARDLY RETREAT CIO President Philip Murray.

representing the pro-Roosevelt forefront again the decisive question of union control of the hiring hall. Delegates to the ILWU

# SOCIALIST UNITED STATES

## **Increasing Misery Provokes Rebellious Moods And Unrest**

267

**Coalition "Provisional Government" Unable** To Solve Any of People's Urgent Problems

#### By Louis Bonn

The Allied conquerors, who are seeking to replace the Nazi tyrants with their own imperialist rule in France, reveal increasing alarm over the continuing revolutionary ferment among the French working masses. Anglo-American authorities are maintaining a rigorous political censorship over news from France, in an endeavor to conceal the true state of mass unrest. The Allies regard the independent action of the French masses, who were set into motion by the insurrections against the Nazis and their French capitalist collaborators, as a grave threat not merely to their military-political control over France but to the whole capitalist structure.

by the protest of the capi- growing demands of the masses for bread, jobs, peace and real talist press itself following freedom come into ever sharper the recent expulsion of six collision with the predatory aims and counter-revolutionary plans American correspondents of the Allied rulers and their from France, sufficient vide a fairly clear picture of the rebellious temper of the French

Despite the severe cen-sorship, disclosed in part is being aggravated as the French agents.

"The situation and the atmosnews has filtered through to pro- phere are revolutionary," Ray; (Continued on page 5)

#### The Rich Are No Problem In Rome

In Collier's Magazine for Sept. 9 Frank Gervasi cables from Rome:

"The small upper class is well off. They have sold jewels, furniture and gold at enormous prices, and they have hoarded cured hams, chocolate and small luxuries. They survived Fascism and Nazi occupation and they will weather the present difficulties somehow. They can sell their automobiles for from 120,000 to 500,000 lire each, if they can't afford to run them with gasoline at 75 lire for a pint.

"That other special aristocracy Fascism created of already

ferentiation is the revolutionary party. Without it all the struggles of the workers will prove vain. Without it the victory of the socialist revolution is impossible. The building of revolutionary parties upon the program of the Fourth International is thus the task of tasks of the revolutionary vanguard in all the countries of Europe today.

The workers of Europe are thinking more and more in terms of a revolutionary solution of their problems. They have already turned against the capitalist parties. As the Stalinists and Social-Democrats continue to reveal themselves in action as corrupt agencies of counter-revolution, they will turn away from demand for more information them too. By advancing the Trotskyist program of socialist revolution boldly, consistently, untiringly, the revolutionary from labor and other progresvanguard will attract to its banner the leftward-moving worksive organizations throughout ers and be able to build powerful revolutionary parties that the country, the Civil Rights will lead a victorious struggle for socialism. Defense Committee is publish-

The workers are already engaged in struggle against their ing a special circular showing oppressors. The more unbearable the old order becomes, the the hundreds of union, civil libsharper will become their struggles against it. From partial acerties and labor fraternal bodies tions - strikes for higher wages, protests against oppression, which have already demanded demonstrations against hunger rule, etc. - will develop assaults pardon for the 18 Socialist against the system of capitalism itself. The question of power, the question, "Who is to rule society?" will be and is already Workers Party and Minneapolis Truckdrivers Local 544-CIO leaders imprisoned under the being posed with increasing urgency.

The revolutionary vanguard must participate in all these infamous Smith "Gag" Act. partial actions with slogans and battle-cries corresponding to The circular is headed: "Labor the needs of the workers in order to build the revolutionary Organizations Representing Over party and rally the broadest masses behind its program. It must 3,000,000 Members Are Support propagate the need for forming Soviets as weapons of the struging the Minneapolis Labor Case. gle and instruments for the seizure of power by the working It gives a summary of the case class. It must take the initiative in forming and strengthening and the issues of workers democratic rights and civil liberties these Soviets, which alone can coordinate the actions of the involved. It includes a register masses and raise them to the highest levels of revolutionary of the more than 300 organizaaction. tions which have passed resolu-

In the coming great battles for socialism, the European tions and given financial aid to working class will possess a great ally in the working class the defense. These include such of the Soviet Union. Despite the degeneration of the Soviet national bodies as the CIO Tex-Union under the rule of the counter-revolutionary Stalinist gang, tile Workers Union; AFL International. Ladies Garment Workers the nationalized economy of the Soviet Union remains the most Union; CIO United Retail, Wholeprecious conquest of the world working class. For this reason sale and Department Store Emit is the duty of all class-conscious workers to defend the socialployes; CIO Transport Service ized property of the Soviet Union against imperialist attack from without and the counter-revolutionary Stalin regime withfor the Advancement of Colored People; Workmen's Benefit Fund;

With the coming defeat of German imperialism, the Soviet Workmen's Circle. Union will confront - alone unless the European revolution comes to its aid - the colossus of Anglo-American imperialism, eaders who support the case are also listed and their statements which always shared with Hitler the aim of destroying the published. These include John butors to the CRDC are: Dining workers' state which emerged from the October Revolution of Green, President of the CIO Ma- Car Employes Local 370, New 1917. The Soviet Union can make its existence secure only rine and Shipbuilding Workers; | York City; Corset and Brassiere through an alliance with the socialist revolution in Europe. R. J. Thomas, President of the Local 32, ILGWU; TWU-CIO Lo-

÷

The unfolding European revolution will encourage the Soviet workers to struggle against the counter-revolutionary Stalinist regime and regain mastery of their own destinies. Together the Soviet and European working-class will sweep away capitalism as well as the bloody Kremlin gang and proceed to build a socialist world — a world free of tyranny, hunger and war.

Forward to the Socialist United States of Europe!

Long live the Fourth International — leader and organizer T. Farrell, noted author; Warren oken, N. J.; 83, Carlstadt, N. J.; of the struggle for a new socialist world!

mion leadership, in a statement conference held on July 27-29 in San Francisco took a firm stand against granting any conceslast week indicated that the CIO sions on this decisive point. Representatives of the Portland local went a step further in opposing the re-opening of the contract unless assurances were given that the hiring hall would not be sub-

(Continued on page 5) ject to negotiations by the employers.

### **CRDC ISSUES NEW CIRCULAR DESCRIBING LABOR SUPPORT** In response to the wide-spread

#### Life of Riley on the Minneapolis Labor Case

The August 18 issue of that Big Business weekly, The United States News, lifts the curtain on Wall Street's plans for exploiting the world after its war is won.

"U. S. will be expected to change its attitude sufficiently to be willing to permit foreigners to work for it, to act as an employer or a banker should act, not as a borrower and an employe must act.

"Inside official view is that U. S. hasn't learned how to live a life of Riley by clipping coupons, by letting other people of the world work for it.'

Tom Mooney was one of Ameri-

can Labor's outstanding class war

prisoners; Roger Baldwin, Na-

tional Director of the American

This circular, in addition to

supplying general information

about the Minneapolis Labor Case.

is intended to aid the progressive

counteract the efforts of the Stal-

the fight for the 18. These reac-

tionary elements within the un-

this is "not a labor case and is

Among the most recent contri-

son, President of the New Jersey also contributed: 423, Carlinville, guarded by the election of dis-

Industrial Union Council; James Ill.; 211, Elmhurst, N. J.; 9, Hob- patchers from the rank and file.

not supported by labor."

CIO United Automobile Workers; | cal 630, New Brunswick, N. J.;

Willard Townsend, President of Philadelphia Joint Board of Cloak

the CIO Transport Service Em- and Suitmakers, ILGWU; Work-

ployes; George Baldanzi, Execu- men's Circle 60, St. Louis, Mo.

ive Vice-President of the CIO | The following branches of the

Textile Workers; Irving Abram- Workmen's Benefit Fund have

K. Billings, who together with 19, Union City, N. J.

Civil Liberties Union.

hiring hall. The conference rejected a proposal submitted by Bridges and his henchmen that dispatchers no longer be democratically elected by the rank and file but appointed by the union members of the Labor Relations Committee in each port.

**Bv** Oscar Nelson

housemen's Union and the Waterfront Employers Association of the Pacific Coast brings to the

The reopening of the contract between the CIO International Longshoremen's and Ware-

An examination of the role that it is the very heart of the Pope Makes Appeal To Masses played by the hiring hall reveals restrictions of union control over hiring would undermine the basis Not To Overthrow Capitalism on which the union rests.

HIRING HALL

The hiring hall was established by the heroic strike struggles of Pope Pius XII has issued a frantic appeal to the European Coast. Under the terms of the government award at the conclusion of the strikes the hall is

The Pope's speech, broadcast <sup>®</sup> jointly operated by the union and the employers with expenses to the world from Vatican City able and unjustifiable impatience terest in the values of the spirit" ployment is given to members of admission to date by any spokes- from organic reform and everyman of capitalism, that the old thing from subversion

the agreement relates to the per- tions, is tottering on the brink sonnel of the hiring hall. All per- of collapse. In the clearest confesses, no longer expect anysonnel is jointly selected except possible terms it voices the mortal thing from attempts to reform for the dispatcher, who is selected fear of the criminal rulers of capitalism but are preparing to by the union. For the rank and Europe and their imperialist allies rise up and destroy it, the Pope

Prior to the establishment of insurrectionary masses.

sections of the labor movement to the vicious "shape-up" system awaits at the end of the war a which was shot through and profound and final improvement inists and AFL Teamsters Presi- through with corruption, favorit- of its conditions," the Pope warns Employes; National Association dent Daniel J. Tobin to sabotage ism and discriminatory practises against what he terms "a senseagainst militants. (This system less hope of a millenium of still prevails in the Ryan-led universal happiness" which he

ions are spreading the lie that AFL longshoremen's union on the finds animating "the victims of an east coast). With the union hall unhealthy social and economic and the election of dispatchers by order.' the ranks, these corrupt methods

renders impossible and useless SANCTIFIES CAPITALISM were reduced to a minimum. If in practice the natural right to a dispatcher demonstrated any Does His Holiness perhaps feel

ownership of commodities and tendency towards playing favor- that the "unhealthy social and means of production." ites in sending men to jobs he economic order" should be remov-

could easily be removed either ed and replaced by a healthy CENTER OF REACTION through immediate recall or at the system? By no means! That would In order to maintain his be a sin, a violation of divine authority among the Catholic In pre-war years, when shipping law. workers who are turning to was slow, the equitable distribu-He admits that the miseries of socialism, Pius felt obliged to tion of available work was safe-

the war-weary peoples have qualify his support to created "a fertile ground for the "unhealthy social and econpropaganda for a most radical omic order" by vague references

program and prepares minds to to the need of reforming capitalan understandable but unreason. | ism. The Pope inveighed against

**By Ralph Graham** 

violence."

tionary ardor.

principle that any legitimate

economic and social order should

rest on the indisputable founda-

tion of the right to private

property. The Church has always

acknowledged the natural right

to property... Christian conscience

cannot admit as right a social

order that denies the principle or

rich persons who became richer under Mussolini's graftism do very well indeed. They have opened their homes to Allied officers and entertain them as lavishly as yesterday they entertained the hierarchy of the Wehrmacht and the Storm Troopers. These two classes of people present no problem."

It seems that the only "class of people" who "present problems" to the AMG is the rebellious working class who are not content to starve while the rich ex-accomplices of fascism entertain Allied officers.

'those effective concentrations of With the tide of revolution steadily rising over all Europe economic wealth . . . that succeed 1934 and 1936-37 on the Pacific workers to respect the system of capitalist private property and offered pity for the "innumerablein evading their social duties" and not resort to "subversion and violence" in order to end the misermultitudes of those who, deprived ies imposed on them by their rulers and exploiters. of any direct or indirect security in their lives, take no further in-

shared equally. Preference in em- last week, is the most significant that does not expect anything and follow revolutionary doctrines. The Church "does not and intend to protect in principle the rich and the plutocrat against the poor. But since the masses, as he

In principle! But in practice? In practice, the Pope shows himself to be a defender of the system of capitalist private property and all the woes and evils that spring from it, the protector Church to restrain their revoluof the rich against the poor.

#### "Leo XIII, in his encyclical FEAR REVOLUTION 'Rerum Novarum,' laid down the

Not for nothing did Trotsky haracterize the Vatican as the world headquarters of obscurantism and reaction." The tie-up between the Vatican and the forces of counter-revolution can be seen from the fact that in the weeks preceding the Pope's latest defense of the system of private property a long procession of capitalist statesmen and diplomats had been visiting the Vatican to confer with Pius. Roosevelt's personal envoy, Myron C. Taylor, hotfooted it to Rome right after the capture of the city by the Allies. Secretary of War Stimson has been another of the Pope's recent callers. He was followed by Winston Churchill.

The real purpose of the discussions cannot be in any doubt. Ob-

(Continued on page 3)

(Continued on page 4)

next election.

the union. The outstanding provision of order, rotted to its very founda-

election of dispatchers. the union hiring hall west coast

longshoremen were the victims of bitter years of want . . . mankind

Acknowledging that "after

file this has always meant the that capitalism faces utter invokes the authority of the destruction at the hands of the

The justifiable anxiety of the delegates was enhanced by

the knowledge that the Stalinist-Bridges leadership of the union

is prepared beforehand to compromise with the employers on the

#### THE MILITANT

## **New 'Militant' Readers Offered Four Pamphlets** TRADE UNION NOTES On The Minneapolis Labor Case At Half Price

Are

bn

oldman

#### By Joseph Keller

Roosevelt last week ordered | campaign for the introduction of government seizure of 10 Penn- speedup "incentive pay" piecesylvania coal mines whose white work systems.

collar and supervisory employes, organized in the United Clerical, rights.

The strikes were "legal," having pay" plan for over 3,000 plants. Business Week gives, some been carried out in strict accord with the provisions of the Smith- figures showing just why the em-Connally Act following a strike ployers like this scheme for vote under NLRB auspices and a pitting worker against worker 30 day "cooling off" wait as which "makes young men old, and prescribed by law. But Roosevelt, puts old men in the grave." who vetoed the Smith-Connally Statistics covering 1,000 plants Act because it wasn't air-tight reveal that for an increase of 15 enough, is using the main provi- to 20 per cent in wages, the worksions of the act to break the ers turn out 40 per cent more strikes. It is illegal to strike in production.

war industries taken over by the However, employers, who have government. In the Ford case last spring, more production, are not taking the NLRB ruled that supervisory | to the proposal for pay raises in employes can have a union, but direct proportion to the increase

they cannot have collective bar- in production. Their interest in gaining rights. The owning class increasing production stops when is extremely disturbed by the fact they cannot realize greater profits that those employes it customarily from it. uses to drive the rest of the work-

George Baldanzi, Executive ers are beginning to join with the Vice-President of the CIO Textile workers against the employers.

Since 60 more strike votes are Workers Union, and Luigi Antaken in Pennsylvania, tonini, First Vice-President of the being West Virginia and Kentucky AFL International Ladies Garthe Administration is ment Workers Union, have been mines. preparing to expedite its strikein Italy as representatives of the breaking procedure so that it will CIO and AFL.

not be necessary for Roosevelt to They have sent back a report denouncing the wage rates paid sign individual papers directing the seizure of each separate group of mines.

International Board have refused to order the strikers back to worker's earnings was less than the best possible introduction to SAN FRANCISCO writes: "San 25 cents a day. "I don't underwork. The strikes of the supervisory employes are proving stand," said Baldanzi, "why the the fact that this group of pamph- of 175 sets of pamphlets. Since effective because state laws Italian worker should now earn lets supplies a thorough under- we have already ordered 100, we prohibit the operation of the mines without them on the job. The situation is fantastic. It is a \* \* \*

shame for our democracy." One of the major demands of the CIO United Automobile Work-CIO President Philip Murray is ers in the current General Motors wage hearings before the WLB reported to have had a "testy conis for the establishment by the ference" with Robert E. Hannegan corporation of a \$150,000,000 emrecently, charging the latter with ployment fund as a "post-war attempting to intervene on behalf

shock absorber." of the company in an NLRB case In presenting the union's argu- between the United Retail, Wholements before the WLB recently, sale and Department Store Em-UAW Vice President Walter ployes and the big Famous-Barr Reuther pointed out that the department store in St. Louis, Mo. corporation "has created a post-According to Harold J. Gibbons, war plant rehabilitation contin- Director of the union's Joint gency fund of \$150,000,000. If it Council in St. Louis, union officials can create out of high wartime received information from reliable profits this fund for the protection sources that Hannegan had apof the stockholders it should proached NLRB members and provide an equal sum for workers | urged them to decide against the and returning servicemen." union's request for a new NLRB Reuther stated there was "too | election.

much discrimination" between the Pro-Roosevelt labor circles are \$150 an hour paid in 1943 to GM all in a dither because Hannegan President Charles E. Wilson and was chairman of the Democratic on the new campaign has already

Pioneer Publishers has just announced a special offer to the

7,000 new readers of The Militant who are receiving 3-month trial subscriptions. A set of four

Business Week, September 2 important pamphlets concernissue, gives a big boost to this ing the Minneapolis Labor Case, Technical and Supervisory Work- method for getting more work for which regularly sell for 50 cents, ers Union of United Mine Work- less pay out of the wage-earners. will be offered for only 25 cents ers District 50, went on strike to It reports that in the past 18 to these new readers by agents secure collective bargaining months the WLB has approved of The Militant who will pervarious forms of the "incentive sonally call upon the subscribers within the next few weeks.

This set of pamphlets is a splendid introduction to the basic ideas of the Trotskyist movement. It includes James P. Cannon's testimony in the Minneapolis court, "Socialism on Trial;" A. Goldman's summation to the jury, "In Defense of Socialism;" the pamphlet 'Why We Are in Prison,' explaining the motives behind the prosecution; and "Who Are the

Defendants in the Minneapolis been making patriotic appeals for Labor Case?" published by the Civil Rights Defense Committee, giving the background of the imprisoned 18.

> "Socialism on Trial" presents the opinions of the Socialist Workers Party, expressed by the party's National Secretary. It is a transcript of the actual court proceedings, reprinted in its original question-and-answer form Workers who have relatively little time for study will find it easy to turn to the answer cover-

ing those problems of the social ist movement in which they are particularly interested. The form

is simple, concise, and direct. The wide sale of all four of these the Italian workers under the rule pamphlets at their regular prices,

of the Allied "liberators." In a and the favorable comments re-John L. Lewis and the UMW typical case, cited by the two ceived about them, dictated their ation for the formal opening of American labor spokesmen, a choice by Pioneer Publishers as the Pioneer campaign this week. socialism. Not less important is Francisco has accepted the quota less than he earned under the standing of the Minneapolis La- will now place the order for the German and Fascist governments. bor Case, first conviction under additional 75. . . To date we have the vicious Smith "Gag" Act, disposed of 10 sets in conjunction

which sets a dangerous precedent | with our regular recall work." for persecution of all militant NEW YORK reports: "Several leaders in the labor movement. teams from the East Side, West Branches of the Socialist Side, and Bklyn. Branches have Workers Party will undertake the begun work on the pamphlet camsale of the pamphlets to subscrib- paign. About a dozen sets have ers of The Militant. Quotas have been sold, and the comrades are

been assigned on the basis of the discussing their experiences in number of new readers of The the branches to help lay out an Militant in each area. The results effective plan of work. An allobtained will be listed from week out mobilization is planned for to week with a report of experi- Tuesday evening."



New York's experimental work



**By Theodore Kovalesky** 

You noticed many things when you reached the camp. You the beautiful little lake framed by soft trees and low hills. saw the beautiful little lake framed by soft trees and low hills you saw the sleeping quarters and the dining and recreation hall. But perhaps what was most noticeable was that here was not merely a group of people who had come to dance fich or evine. merely a group of people who had come to dance, fish, or swim: here was a portion of a disciplined revolutionary party. This discipline was every-

where apparent. It was not the the party and of the necessity to police-discipline of the military | prepare for them in every possible amp, but rather the deep inner and made you very proud to be discipline of people who are acone of these working class fightcustomed to acting in an organ- ers. ized manner under the guidance

SOCIALIST FIGHTERS of elected leaders. When some-

one assigned you, for instance, to If you had come to the camp peel potatoes at the time you had planned to go swimming, you socialists were a bookish lot of of the ideas of Trotskyism, which made a wry face — but you peeled people removed from everyday today are finding ever more conthem, plenty of them, and you life, you were in for a disappoint- firmation in the development of didn't even feel annoyed. These ment, or rather a pleasing sur- world events. assignments were carried out just prise. These were the leaders of as assiduously as The Militant the shops, the youngsters who Dumbarton Oaks Conference,

distributions or pamphlet sales loved dancing and swimming, the pointing out the inability of world time we've worked out the ideas are conducted back in the party fathers and mothers of some of capitalism to solve the problems we gained from the classes we'll branches, where everybody knows the cutest kids you ever saw. They of peace, plenty, or security, and have the beginning of a profeshow much work there is to be were not less than this, but more; counterposed the Trotskyist pro- sional Marxist school."

## SWP HOLDS SUCCESSFUL SUMMER CAMP SCHOOL

DETROIT, Sept. 4. - The Mid-West Vacation School of the Socialist Workers Party closed today after one of the most successful two-weeks courses in the history of American Trotskyism. Attendance at classes averaged between 50 and 60. High point of the school was a one-day trade union conference at which 120 registered. Sixteen cities, ranging from New York to Minneapolis were represented, the majority coming from the Ohio-Michigan-Illinois area.

Subjects and instructors were"

as follows: First week: "The History of American Trotskyism," Charles "Imperialism," Mark Carsten: Braden; "Wage, Labor and Capital." Kenneth Hayes. Second week: "The History of

accept all the applications and many, unfortunately, had to be turned away. OVERFLOW CROWD American Trotskyism," Charles Situated on a wooded slope be-

Carsten; "Democratic Centralism." Mark Braden: "History of side a small lake in central Michthe American Labor Movement." igan, the camp proved ideal for Lydia Beidel; "Colonial Strugsports-softball, swimming, boatgles," Bob Birchman. ing, archery, fishing and hiking. When rain cancelled some of the Three classes a day were held,

contests, chess, checkers and ping morning, afternoon and evening. After presentation of the subject by the instructor the floor was opened for questions and discus-

In addition, two lectures were given by E. R. Frank, one on 'The Italian Events," and the

other on "The Rise of the CIO." Response to the announcement

pong proved popular. Outstanding event of the social activities was a "weinie" roast around an oak fire followed by an amateur show with V. Grey of Buffalo as master of ceremonies. Despite the unexpectedly great number of enrollees, the camp, organized under the auspices of

of the school was much greater

than anticipated. Because of lim-

ited facilities it was impossible to

the Detroit Branch of the Socialist Workers Party, functioned with exceptional smoothness. As, signments in the commissary were made by rotation. To free mothers for the classes, children were placed under a supervisor in the large playground beside the beach.

COMMENTS ON SCHOOL

Typical comments indicate the access of the school:

AUTO WORKER: "You really learn fast here — the classes are so interrelated that what you don't quite grasp in one class is cleared up in another."

NEW RECRUIT: "One of the best things is the learning between classes. 'Negation of the negation.' I couldn't understand what the instructor meant by that. But here sitting under an oak tree with acorns for an example, talking with people who know all about it, the idea has become clear. It was a great education. Not only the classes but what you learn from the other comrades present."

AN INSTRUCTOR: "From this experience I can see where we can make some big improvements. It was good this year but by the

OLD TIMER: "The best school

**Branches of SWP** 

Comrade Marcy analyzed the

BOSTON, Aug. 27-A meeting

way, that arrested your attention in commemoration of the fourth

anniversary of the death of Leon Trotsky was held tonight at the headquarters of the Boston Branch of the Socialist Workers Party. Comrade Sam Marcy of New York, the main speaker of with any preconceived ideas that the evening, spoke of the vitality

mwc -

Wilson, one of the workers.

were made before the pro-corpora- of the Roosevelt campaign. tion WLB, which has indicated in advance that its function is to enforce the wage freeze, not give Woll, in a Labor Day statement, might just as well have saved his breath. The only convincing arguments the employers and their government can grasp is direct militant union action-something Reuther shies away from like a child from castor oil.

While production cutbacks and "Unless a united labor movement unemployment are mounting, the employers are stepping up their

LOS ANGELES Bookshop 8026 SEVILLE AVENUE SOUTH GATE Carries a Full Line of **Pioneer Publishers Works** and All Marxist Classics

\*

the 65 cents an hour paid Joe National Convention, and was the brought fine results in renewals. main sponsor of Truman for Vice Several branches have sent out Reuther's very sound arguments President. He is also in charge special teams which have thus far prought in eight six-month and

> one one-year subscriptions. The \* \* \* comrades discovered when they knocked on the door of a new Militant reader and explained that sounded an alarm against a "conthey were from The Militant and certed assault on the organized would like to come in and talk labor movement as soon as the about the paper and its ideas, they war is over." He stressed that it got a friendly invitation from the is "precisely in periods of unemoverwhelming majority to come ployment" that the enemies of in and sit down. labor "will seek to deal both the

The one-year sub was secured AFL and CIO . . . a crippling if by two comrades from an old not a death blow." He added: Italian socialist. He was very enthusiastic about the paper; read makes adequate preparations now it through every week; and agreed for protection against the in-

with our program. Before the evitable reactionary onslaught, comrades left they drank a toast labor in the post-war world will with him to a Socialist Italy. be a debased commodity, entirely There were many more symvulnerable to the effects of unempathetic comments. One young ployment, insecurity and industrial chaos." garment worker said that she didn't read the Daily News and Woll makes a very strong case for labor unity. Unfortunately, he Daily Mirror anymore, except the himself supports the divisive funnies on Sunday. Every night policies of the AFL craft union before she went to sleep she read

moguls who insist that the basis the Militant. "I like what it says about unions and about the war," for labor unity shall be the subordination or destruction of inshe said. dustrial unionism. Another worker told the com-

\*\*\*\*\*\*

This Coupon and 25 Cents Entitles You to a

3-Month Subscription to

THE MILITANT

A WEEKLY NEWSPAPER

116 UNIVERSITY PLACE, NEW YORK 3, N. Y.

Published in the interests of the Working People

The only newspaper in this country that tells the truth

about labor's struggles for a better world

You may start my subscription to THE MILITANT with your

Name .....

Street ......Apt. ......

City .....Zone .....

State .....

(Please Print)

INTRODUCTORY OFFER of 13 issues for 25c.

I enclose 25c (coin or stamps).

#### Notice To Subscribers

According to postal regulations, your address is not complete unless it shows the postal zone number. For example: The Militant's zone number is New York 3, N. Y. The postal authorities are now insisting that this regulation be carried out in the mailing of The Militant. Check the wrapper in which The Militant is mailed to you and if the zone number is not included, be sure to send it to us at once, to assure delivery of your paper.

Send the zone number to:

#### Business Manager 116 UNIVERSITY PLACE NEW YORK 3, N.Y.

that you noticed. You were struck dignity of the workingmen and particularly by the clear-eyed women of the world and was ac-

of his or her ability.

WORKER-COMRADES

ing to the one-hour lectures. the freedom of labor, for social-These were held three times a ism.

comrades, who sat eagerly listen- tively engaged in the battle for

SAN FRANCISCO, Aug. 27day and followed by discussion It was stimulating to hear the Comrades and friends of the periods, out there at the little impromptu choruses that gathered Socialist Workers Party tonight Michigan lake far from the timeabout the piano. A young Negro honored Leon Trotsky, the instudied turmoil of the shops and girl with a lovely, clear, sweet spirer and founder of the Fourth the scathing blasts of the furnvoice that might some day be aces. It was inspiring to see great sang the "Desert Song," but International, who was slain four years ago by a hireling of Stalin. these workers, young and old, Nemostly the music consisted of the Comrade Anne Alexander, who gro and white, men and women, sturdy songs of the workers' movopened the meeting with a joining in the discussions of Marxement, marching songs sparkling ist economics, history, and poli- with passionate optimism, trenchdescription of the life of Comrade

Trotsky, said, "They can never tics, of trade union policies and ant parodies of the boss class and organizational questions, strain- the renegades of past days, dirges kill the real Trotsky-his ideas ing to learn the maximum that that mourned of our martyrs who and program live and will conthey could absorb in the short had gone cheerfully and with tinue to live."

what you could describe only as of Europe as the only solution for one swell bunch of people was the workers of the war-torn I've ever attended — and I've the fact that each and every one continent. Oh, yes, there were many things of them believed fervently in the The audience contributed \$18.50

Boston Branch.

to its emancipation."

Natalia Trotsky in Mexico.

THE WORKERS

WORLD WAR

A Speech by

116 University Place

New York City

or above and beyond their being gram of a Socialist United States

been to a lot of camps in the radical movement in the past. This to a collection for the work of the is an indication of what we're really going to have in the future."

> CAMP DIRECTOR: "The remarkable response to this year's school has encouraged us to make more ambitious plans for next year. We're thinking now of a school of a month or two months duration and, with a much bigger enrollment '



"This is a real socialist rades, paper." In many homes the comrades had good discussions with workers who liked the paper and were interested in many questions relating to the party and its pro-

gram. Such questions were asked as, "What do you think of Lewis and the miner's strike?"; "What do you think of Roosevelt?" "Is it right to criticize Stalin now?"; "What will happen to the small business men under social-

ism?" In answering these questions the Minneapolis trial pamphlets were invaluable. For instance, in answering the last question, the

comrade took out James P. Can-There was fun, so much of it, non's "Socialism on Trial," opened it up to the section dealing with small business men and socialism, and read it together with the worker he was visiting.

bought subs also bought the four trial pamphlets for 25 cents. In a number of cases where the new duly impressed with the necessity readers were not yet ready to take a regular sub, they bought the subs and that is where the five pamphlets, and will be revisited of this week come from. Especially for a regular sub

\* \* \*

after a forum or meeting, while people gather at the literature

Many branches continue to send | rack, we find a good opportunity in trial subs, sold to contacts. In for selling these subs. After all, the past week Wisconsin has sent where could they get a bigger in two, Chicago one, and San bargain?"

time that had been allotted them. quiet dignity to death that Man And after the classes the matter | might one day be free, and that did not come to an end. Here the children of Man might grow and there you saw little groups | up strong and happy in the sunformed, not exclusive groups, shine and the live air of spring-

but expanding knots of people time. who continued to discuss and Going out of the brightly lightclarify and exchange opinions of ed recreation hall into the cool, how such and such a matter had quiet darkness, under a sky besbeen disposed of in this branch earnest conversation with a gray-

ing children, combined with the chatter of a typewriter, which drifted from a nearby window.

> that it alone made the vacation a memorable event. But there was an underlying, ever-present seriousness, an all-pervading knowledge of the historical tasks of

In most instances those who Francisco five. San Francisco writes: "Most of the comrades are of continuing the getting of trial

ation.

society of tomorrow.

trewn with an incredibly great and what had been learned from number of stars, you still heard a tactical error in that branch. the songs. You looked out across You watched an attractive girl in the lake, past the black rim of her early twenties deep in an trees on the other shore. And you knew that far beyond those peacehaired man with a lined brow. ful shadows there were cities and

Out in the open not far from the factories, workers toiling feversleeping quarters you heard a trio ishly in the shops, pouring out

composed of the distant cheers their sweat on the furnaces, conand laughter of a group of young sorting with death in the black comrades playing ball and the recess of the mines; and soldiers shouts of a nearer band of romp- and sailors of all lands, whose

lives were being wrested from them in agony and despair. You heard faintly the voices of the singers in the hall: "Arise, ye

prisoners of starvation," and you knew that behind those gleaming windows was being developed and tempered the instrument that

tv of the Socialist Revolution.

"A better world's in birth ..."

And the cruel majesty of the tyrants fades, and you catch a glimpse of the new day of peace

and self-fulfillment for all peoples... the vision of the Socialist

The distant melody persists: Arise, ye wretched of the world, 'For Justice thunders condemn-48 Pages

alone can rid society of its anguish and disease, the World Par-

#### SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 9, 1944

THE MILITANT.

# 4th International, Founded 6 Years Ago, shop TALKS Grows In Influence Throughout The World

Six years ago, on September 3, 1938, the Fourth Interna-@ tional, World Party of the Socialist Revolution, was founded. Meeting on the eve of the war "somewhere in Europe" under very difficult circumstances, delegates representing the Trotskyist movement in eleven countries adopted the program and launched the organization which has carried the banner of socialist internationalism throughout the war.

The Fourth International was

ternational had already taken its stand in the camp of the "democratic" imperialists, after domination of Europe by Hitler,

world war. The Third International, rotted to the core by Stalinism, had become a venal agency of Kremlin diplomacy. Neither had any need of international congresses

The Second International and its surviving sections eke out a lity by the French and British parasitic existence as servants of | imperialists. The outbreak of war capitalism. The Third Interna- severed connections between most tional, as Trotsky predicted, has of the sections and shut off sourrevealed to the bottom its "hollow- ces of information, except for ocness and impotence." The empty casional tidings that broke shell of the Comintern was dis- through the censorships of the solved by Stalin last year. Its warring camps. sections have survived only as

their imperialist allies. lives and grows. It continues the ing, and carry on the fight for great work for socialism begun world socialism in both hemisby the International Working- pheres and in many countries. men's Association of Marx and Engels (the First International) and follows the best revolutionary traditions of the Second and Third Internationals.

#### FOLLOWS MARXISM

Hounded and persecuted by both | tion of the Fourth Internationalthe fascist and the "democratic" imperialists, slandered and tra- land. Churchill's government duced by the Stalinists and social- proceeded to frame up four of democrats, the parties of the their leaders and railroaded them Fourth International have held to prison for the "crime" of aidunswervingly to their task of inspiring and organizing the workers in all countries for the strug- section of the F. I. But prior to gle against imperialist war, the struggle for socialism.

In the basic program adopted of an active and growing Trotby the Founding Congress, the iskyist organization, particularly Fourth International proudly and in Paris where an illegal paper boldly proclaimed its aims and methods:

"The Fourth International already today is deservedly hated skyist paper, Le Soviet. by the Stalinists, social-democrats, bourgeois liberals and fascists. ed that comrades Renery, Van There is not and cannot be a Belle and Lemmens, members of place for it in any of the People's the Revolutionary Socialist Party, Fronts. gives battle to all political group- executed by a Nazi firing squad. ings tied to the apron-strings of The leader of the party, Leon Lethe bourgeoisie. Its task - the soil, was previously reported to abolition of capitalism's domina- have died in a Nazi concentration. Its aim - socialism. Its tion camp. Before the war, the

the only world organization of | land, Palestine, India. On every the working-class movement to continent there were organizameet on the eve of the imperial- tions or groups fighting for soist slaughter. The Second In- cialism under the banner of the Fourth International.

The unleashing of the Second World War, combined with the betraying the workers in the first | drove the European Trotskyist organizations into illegality. The Chinese organization had lived in the underground from its inception under the bloody rule of Chiang Kai-shek. Soon the Indo-Chinese, Ceylonese and Indian

sections were driven into illegal-

But from the information availtools of the Kremlin gang and able, it is now completely clear that the Fourth International But the Fourth International lives, that its sections are grow-

#### TROTSKYIST SECTIONS

Great Britain: The fusion of the Trotskyist groups this year into the Revolutionary Communist Party was the outstanding proof of the energetic participaists in the political life of Eng-

ing workers on strike. France: Little is known, as yet, of the activities of the French the complete occupation of France by the Nazis, there were reports was issued. More recently, a journalist returning from France

reported the existence of a Trot-Belgium: Last year word arriv-It uncompromisingly Belgian section of the F. I., were method - proletarian revolution. RSP had its greatest strength and

"Workers - men and women - influence in the Borinage mining maintaining groups and publishof all countries, place yourselves district. There have been strikes ing a paper in Mexico and other under the banner of the Fourth between the banner of the Fourth the Nazi occupation and we can Greece: Official dispatches be sure that working-class mili- ported that 17 Greek Trotskyists, tants, trained in the Trotskyist including Vite, were executed by So great were Stalin's fear and spirit of revolutionary combat, German occupation authorities in were among the leaders of this Athens. Four others fell before



The July CIO Economic Outlook publishes the following devastating analysis of what mass unemployment during the depression cost the people of America in loss of production alone. When to this appalling picture of wasted labor is added the misery, the physical weakening, the demoralization of millions of starving unemployed, we have a sample of what the capitalist promise of "free enterprise" holds out to the workers in the coming period.

"In the 1930's 91 million man years of productive work were forever lost to the nation through unemployment. We failed to create goods valued at 260 billion dollars, or close to twice the national income produced in 1943.

"What specifically did we lose as a nation? We missed a chance to build 15 million new houses, to bring our educational system up to 'a truly desirable standard,' as defined by the National Education Association. We could have spent the 11 billion dollars required for the health program advocated by the Technical Committee on Medical Care, and the 35 billion dollars so urgently needed for forest, soil, fuel, and power conservation.

"We could have done all this and still had 85 billion dollars left over! With this, the people could have spent more than twice what they did each year on recreation. Three million more automobiles could have been produced. And there would have been 35 billion dollars left to pay for community improvements and better food for millions."

> French Indo-China: In this Far Eastern colony of French imper- overthrow by the Italian masses. ialism, now under virtual Japanese occupation, the Trotskyist

### **Pope Urges Masses** To Save Capitalism (Continued from page 1)

The mounting unrest and rev-

A Swiss writer who recently

left the Reich reports in Collier's

then as comrades. His foreman

The author, Konrad Warner,

**Spirit of Rebellion** serving the rising tide of revolution in Europe, Roosevelt and Churchill want to bolster their **Grows in Germany** counter-revolutionary plans with the moral authority of the Roman Church. The Pope, fearing the **As Defeats Pile Up** drift of the masses from the Church, fearing, too, for the enormous wealth of the Church which the social revolution will olutionary ferment among the sweep away, readily lends himself German workers and soldiers as their accomplice. are reflected in fragmentary re-The Pope is especially alarmed ports which manage to break by the increasingly revolutionary through the Nazi and Allied mood of the Italian masses, the

censorships. growth of revolution right on his own doorstep. Last July on the eve of the overthrow of Musmagazine, Sept. 9: "A fellow citisolini, the Pope spoke out, not to zen who had worked in a large encourage the Italian masses to factory in Hamburg told me of rid themselves of the black dica change in the local attitude totatorship which had had them by ward the Russians, and of how the throat for twenty years, but to German workers gradually began decry any revolutionary action against the Fascist regime. He then warned against "false

now in Nazi uniform, defended prophets" who, he said, "would the Russian workers even against have us believe that salvation the Nazis and often placed bread must come from a revolution." and meat at convenient places Now after a year of Allied where the Russians could get it." military rule and police-military lictatorship, of intolerable hunger. continues. "I went to Mannheim inflation, black markets, the Italand found that the Communist ian masses are coming to a leader, Lechleiter, executed in

realization that only by socialist 1943 by the Nazis, was a popular revolution can they make a clean hero among the workers, and his sweep of all the oppression and widow received everything she rottenness of capitalist Italy. The needed in the way of meat and Pope's revived fears are well- bread." grounded.

A dispatch from Stockholm. The Pope wound up his latest address by extensive reference to  $\begin{vmatrix} p_1 \\ 26 \end{vmatrix}$ , tells of continued rebellion printed in the N.Y. Times of Aug. questions of international organ- among German soldiers and workization in the post-war world. ers: "While purging the German There is remarkable similarity Army of rebellious elements, the between his ideas and the ideas Gestapo has also intensified its of Roosevelt and Churchill. Said persecution of opposition groups he: "The sword can-and indeed among workers, particularly in at times must-open the road to cities in north Germany. This has peace... The threat of the sword | reached its peak in Hamburg, may loom inevitably within where thirty executions a day are juridically necessary and morally taking place in Gestapo prisons. justifiable limits even after the First-hand reports on the situaconclusion of peace, to safeguard tion are available from Scandina the observance of rightful obliga- vian sailors arriving here from tions and prevent a temptation to Hamburg and Bremen. They say conflict." This is simply the that despite the mass killings, un-Pope's formulation of Roosevelt's derground workers' organizations plan for "keeping the peace by are functioning intact in all Gerforce." man sea towns on the northern

Not once in all the years of coast." Fascism did the Pope raise his voice against this vile regime of lished a dispatch from the Lonreaction. He concluded a con- don Times correspondent with





THREE

By V. Grey =

The boys were talking it over while they ate. Some of them said we'd all be on relief pretty soon. And Slim said, "How do you know there's going to be any relief ?" And they were passing half dollar bets back and forth over how soon the war would end, and how many of us would get laid off the day after the armistice. Someone had the latest clipping telling about cutbacks, and how a hundred thousand aircraft workers would be laid off by Christmas.

The clipping told how Ford's Willow Run plant was going to cut bomber production about fifty percent. And a whole lot of other plants would do the same. The idea being that each plant would start changing over to civilian production. This was a War Production Board "order."

"If the War Production Board wants any production," said Fred, the crane man, "Why don't they keep Willow Run going 100 per cent on bombers and change over some other plants 100 per cent to autos or something? I've been nursing that old buggy of mine for about three years too long. And I can get a new car while I still have a job if they'd produce enough of them. But how are they going to do that the way they're going at it? It doesn't make sense to me."

No - the way they're going to change over doesn't make sense to a workingman at all. Just think of every single plant under alteration, installing new machinery, changing tools while it was still 50 percent on war production. Every plant would be disorganized regarding them as humans and to some extent.

#### ANARCHY AND WASTE OF RECONVERSION

Suppose in our shop they were going to fabricate milk cans as well as ammunition boxes. Suppose we rigged up every large press with two sets of punches and dies - one for the ammunition boxes, one for the milk cans. We could do it. We have double set-ups now. For instance, we take a piece of sheet-metal that the brake has already made L-shaped and slide it under the left punch for two holes — then take it out and slide the other part of the L under the right punch for three holes. And we always have two in the press at the same time. You get so used to the operation it's easy to do three hundred fifty an hour.

But what if you took the side of the ammunition box out with one hand and put the top of a milk can in with the other? It wouldn't be so good.

No, any kind of management at all wouldn't be that silly. The machines making the milk cans would be in one part of the shop and those making the boxes in another. Each system of machines, belts, etc. would be a separate unit. A man would work on one thing at a time

But look what they do in this changeover! As soon as you look at production as a whole you see that it's carried on as senselessly as a left hand making milk cans and a right hand ammunition boxes. If you figure every factory as a machine in the total production of the nation, you see they're abusing the machine and wasting both time and materials. A workingman wouldn't think of using a twenty ton press to stamp out cardboard hats for paper dolls. But the War Production Board and the capitalist class do just that when they order us into a changeover that will produce so little, considering the effort involved

Take the auto industry. Airplanes and autos are both pretty large items, with thousands and thousands of parts big and little. Autos require not only production lines, assembly lines, conveyor belts and feeding conveyors, but whole buildings and groups of buildings for their production. It's just about the same with aircraft. So naturally, if one whole production system like Ford's Willow Run ton's tanks instead of continu- is geared to aircraft, and Chevrolet to auto, you have the best production of each. But if Ford is producing 50 percent of each and Chevrolet 50 percent of each, the total production is much less because of lost efficiency. And that is exactly what the changeover will do.

International. It is the banner of your approaching victory."

hatred of the Fourth International that, just before its founding strike movement. congress, he had his GPU assasorganization, Rudolph Klement.

#### FIRST CONGRESS

ica - participated in the delib- continued activity by the German erations of the founding congress.

Trotskyist organizations in the tion of workers' strike commitfollowing countries were unable tees in various parts of Germany, to send delegates, but were pres- distribution of illegal pamphlets, ent in spirit and pledged to the etc.

program of the Fourth Interna- Spain: The Trotskyists were tional: Mexico, Cuba, Puerto Rico, among the most valiant fighters | ideas. The British placed a huge Brazil, Colombia, Argentina, Uru- in the Spanish civil war that guay, Peru, Chile, China, Indo- ended in the victory of Franco China, Union of South Africa, and the crushing of the Spanish Australia, Spain, Norway, Aus- revolution. They continued their tria, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, activities underground and a re-Canada, Switzerland; also small cent report shows that they are groupings in Lithuania, Rumania, still very active. Spanish Trot-Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Sweden, Ire-<sup>1</sup> skyists who escaped abroad are



a German firing squad in Salon-Germany: In the period before ika. They were charged with sins kill the youthful secretary Hitler came to power, the German conducting Communist agitation of the international Trotskyist Trotskyists strove to unite the and being in illegal possession of workers, through agitation for a arms.

### united front of the Communist COLONIAL COUNTRIES

This foul murder was a serious destroy Nazism and open the road India: The Bolshevik-Leninist blow to the International. Nev- to socialism. When this effort Party of India, Burma and Ceyertheless, delegates representing failed, and the Nazis triumphed, lon is one of the newest sections the Trotskyist movement in el- our movement was driven under- of the Fourth International. Its even countries — United States, ground. Some comrades were ar- original Ceylon organization was France, Great Britain, Germany, rested and executed. Others placed the Lanka Sama Samaj Party, USSR, Italy, Poland, Belgium, in concentration camps. Recently | which enjoyed the widest popular-Holland, Greece and Latin Amer- there have appeared reports of ity and support among the workers and peasants of that colonia Trotskyists, including the forma- outpost of British imperialism.

Several of its leading members were arrested by the British imperialists, but they escaped and went to India with their jailor,

whom they converted to their price on their heads and they were discovered and arrested again. Recently received publications show that the movement they represent lives and grows, both in Ceylon and India. Australia: The activities and the program of the Australian

Trotskyists are reflected in a

Workers Party which was pub-The party has its own printed

South Africa: A group of South Only under its stainless banner African Trotskyists publish an can the masses find the program organ called the Workers' Voice. and leadership they need to abol-Part of the contents are in Eng- ish capitalism and build a new lish, part in Afrikaans (the two Socialist society of peace, securofficial languages) and part in ity and freedom.



ness realizes that the only remainleaders were arrested and their the time of the outbreak of war revolution is the Allied imperialin Europe. There has been no ist camp with its system of policecontact with them since. Their | military dictatorships. His motive

AKRON

BOSTON

284 Tremont St.

largest base was in the great port remains what it has been throughcity of Saigon, where they en. out the years: the preservation joyed wide influence among the of capitalism and with it the masses. Prior to the repressions, property and privileges of the

several of their leaders were el- Church. ected to the Saigon municipal

council. In Canada, Mexico, Argentina, Chile, Uruguay, Bolivia, Cuba and other Central and South American countries there are parties or groups of the Fourth International which continue to work and fight despite rigorous government repressions.

#### OUR PART

We American Trotskyists are proud of the important part we have played in the formation of the Fourth International and in the fight for its ideas. Altho the Socialist Workers Party found it necessary to sever all organizational connections with the Fourth International after the passage of the Voorhis Act in 1940, we have always proclaimed our allegiance to its program and our ardent sympathy with the comrades of the Fourth International in other countries

Six years after its founding, the Fourth International stands as the only genuine world organization of the working-class vanguard.

Sesuto, one of the native langua-

CHICAGO Ceshinsky's Book Store, Newsstands on 42nd St. be-2750 W. Division tween 5th and 6th Aves.; Socialist Workers Bookshop, Harlem - Newsstands N.W. Room 421, 160 N. Wells corner Lenox Ave. and 125th St.; S.E. corner Lenox Ave. DETROIT and 135th St.; S.E. corner Family Theatre Newsstand, Lenox and 116th St. opposite theater Brooklyn: Newsstand at Saturday Bookshop, 3513 BMT DeKalb Ave. Subway Woodward station, and 5823 - 4th Ave. LOS ANGELES PHILADELPHIA Newsstands at 5th & Main; N.W. corner 13th St. and 2210<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> Bklyn Ave. (Boyle Market St. Hts.); Modern Book Shop, SAN DIEGO, CAL. Rm. 200, 232 South Hill St. 242 Broadway Smith Newsstand, 6th and SAN FRANCISCO Hill St.; So. side 5th St. between Hill and Broadway; World News Service, 1660 N. Cahvengo; Universal News Agency, 1655 N. Los Palmas Ave.; Owl Stand, 1679 N. Highland, Hollywood. SEATTLE MILWAUKEE N.W. corner, Wisconsin Ave. on Third St. MINNEAPOLIS Shinder's News Agency 1120-1st Ave.; Newsstand, Hennepin Ave. and 6th St., 1520 Westlake St. Pioneer News Agency, 238 2nd Ave., South; Hap- TOLEDO py's Stand, 8th St. and Nic-Athletic Sports Center, 908

ollet.

movement driven underground at ing barrier against the socialist ing their scramble for the Siegfried Line."

> Wages to Meet **Rising Living Costs**

The N. Y. Times of Sept. 4. pub-

## **Buy 'The Militant' Here;**

NEW HAVEN Nodelman's News Depot. News Exchange, 51 S. Main

106 Church St. NEWARK

Bay State Pharmacy, Downtown - Newsstand at 840 Tremont St.; Andel-11 Springfield Ave. man's Newsstand, **NEW YORK** Manhattan: 14th St. between 2nd Ave. and University Pl.;

> Fitzgerald News Agency, 21-4th St.; Duncan's Newsstand, 1986 Sutter St.; Ray's Smoke Shop, 1174 Sutter St.; MacDonald's Book Store, 867 Mission St.; Golden Gate

> News Agency, 81 - 3rd St .; Eckert's, corner Washington St. and 1st Ave.; Bishop's Drug Store, 507 Jackson St.; Raymer's Book Store, 905-3rd Ave.; Bill's Smoke Shop,

Washington St.

#### CASHING IN FROM BOTH WAR AND PEACE

Here they are, engaged in a war for the defense of capitalism, and the capitalists can't get together on a simple little thing like that. Ford couldn't stick to bombers and let Chevvy go into auto on a really big scale. Ford is too worried that Chevvy will beat him to the peacetime market, and Chevvy is too worried about Ford. They can't get together to plan anything for peace or for war. And the W.P.B. "order" is just an expression of this planlessness.

At the same time, don't forget, they're all making so much money out of this war that they can't bear the thought of giving up war production entirely, and losing all that easy gravy. They are preparing to cash in on their old peace-time racket again because they figure their world slaughter will be wound up pretty soon. But at the same time they want to get all they can from the war while the getting is good.

Sort of like a grave robber who decides to reform when cremation is taking away his business anyway. So he makes a changeover to respectable second story burglary. But it's kind of hard to give up the easy pickings he gets off dead people, so he just tapers off and moseys along half-and-half for a while.

It's reasonable enough when you look at things from his point of view, which is - "where is the most profit?" But it's not so good when you look at it from ours, which is - "who's going to give us a job? And will there be enough cars and food, and can we afford to buy them?"

#### WORKERS MUST SET UP THEIR **OWN GOVERNMENT**

The capitalist system can't make enough decent food and clothing for us while the war is on. It produces "too much" of them in peace time, and they are stored up in warehouses for rust and rats to eat. That's the system for you. And that's another reason why each capitalist is so anxious to get in under the wire on peace-time production, even while he looks back lovingly on his war profits. He wants to get the civilian goods sold before everyone's out of work after the war and can't buy them anymore. And he gets his War Production Board to make it all nice and legal. The government which the capitalists own, lock, stock and barrel, helps them to get as much profits as possible, and like them, doesn't worry much about jobs for the working people after the war.

That's why we workers won't just take over the shops and production system of the country. We will have to set up our own workers' government as well. This government will fully utilize the production system of the nation, so that everyone will work. No one will worry about post-war depression or "over production." Because neither one will exist. The workers' government will see to it that everyone has a job. It will keep an eye on production, and if there are too many coats and not enough hats, it will request some of the coat workers to make hats, so we will all have enough. Not in the phony way the W.P.B. does, whose main worry is the bosses' profits - but honestly, and with the authority good committeemen have when you have confidence in them.

For a Rising Scale of

#### FOUR-

#### THE MILITANT

Capitalism in War and Peace

"What methods to use?" the

ful change, why use other meth-

ods? But just as feudal society

did not abandon the arena of his-

ly violent methods which the

bourgeoisie used to fulfill its his-

toric mission, we believe that the

latter will not abandon its privi-

leges and will not permit the pro-

letariat to construct the socialist

society except by means of social

As to the charge that the Trot-

skyists consider the present war

as imperialist war, the open let-

ter "pleads guilty" to that and

"We characterize this war as an

imperialist war - as the Minister

of the Interior states - because

all the countries that participate

revolution."

IMPERIALIST WAR

goes on to explain:

## Labor Fakers Vie With Each **Other In Backing Roosevelt**

#### **By Harry Martell**

worker's money spent by the Po-CIO, the AFL politicians now the CIO, as Pearl would have us propose to double or triple the believe. It is because it offers ante from the treasuries of their no independent and fighting prointernational unions to elect gram to the American workers. Roosevelt for a fourth term.

Victor Reisel of the New York Post (Aug. 23rd) says that the "Federation will make the CIO's still-to-be-collected \$5.000.000 campaign fund look like a Sunday school charity collection." Teamster's President Tobin, to cite only one case, "has already spent nearly \$1,000,000 for President Roosevelt's re-election."

#### AFL AND PAC

William Green "has ordered the establishment of almost a thousand state and local non-partisan political committees... Each of the 900 city central labor unions affiliated with the AFL and State Federations of Labor in every state, as well as in Alaska and Puerto Rico, was directed by Mr. Green to set up committees to get out the vote." - A.F.L. News Service, Aug. 22.

The atmosphere is full of mutual recriminations. The reactionary Philip Pearl, AFL writer, denounces the PAC as "the strongest anti-labor force in America today." He lays at its door responsibility for the Senate killing "vital legislation for the protection of workers in the postwar period." He accuses the PAC of driving congressmen "responsive to labor's point of view" into the camp of "the southern Democratic reactionaries and the Tory Republicans.'

Pearl says is that the organiza- by the capitalist class because he tion of the PAC was a signal to was and is the representative of the flunkeys of Big Business on | the great banks and monopolies in Capitol Hill and in the White the White House.

House that the CIO leaders were surrendering the independent power of the workers on the pol- money of the American workers itical field in the same manner

they had already done by the no- They won't "buy" even a small strike pledge and by submission | concession from him. The millto the WLB on the economic ions of unionists will continue to wartime conditions with jobs field. Just as the no-strike pledge be sold by the Murrays and the helped to spur anti-labor meas- Greens to capitalist parties and ures in the past, so the craven program of the PAC has emboldened Congress to kill labor-supported bills today. dependent Labor Party.

#### Without their own party based on the unions, American workers AFL and CIO labor skates are | are powerless to defend themselat each other's throats, scrap- ves against the blows of reaction. ping for a place at Roosevelt's | Pearl asks: Who is the PAC gocoattails. For every dollar of the ing to convert politically? If the answer to this question is a dislitical Action Committee of the CIO the AEL politicians provide the PAC is the political arm of

evelt Administration. AFL POLICY

The AFL skates intend to go their colleagues in the CIO one better. Aside from supporting Roosevelt and Truman, they will oppose candidates endorsed by the PAC. So for example, they switched their support in California from a Democrat to a Re-

The PAC is a pawn of the Roos-

publican congressional candidate in order to oppose the PAC. The AFL skates, as is to be expected, have no other program than to jump from the Democratic frying pan into the Republican fire. The object of these political shenanigans is to prove to the boss in the White House that they have as much or more command over the so-called "labor vote" as the CIO. What they are really demonstrating is their treachery

to the real interests of labor. Pearl correctly points out that "John L. Lewis tried to buy an election in 1936 for the CIO but the bargain didn't stick ... " But what else is the AFL - and PAC - trying to do in this election? They are once again trying to corral the great strength of the organized labor movement behind the capitalist parties. "We do not believe," says Pearl, "that President Roosevelt can be bought. Yes, it is true. Roosevelt cannot

be "bought" by the labor move-The only grain of truth in what | ment and he need not be bought

The AFL and PAC misleaders are squandering the hard earned by trying to "buy" Roosevelt

politicians until they organize their own great power in an in-

## **Tobin Inspires Frameup Of Militant Union Head**

MINNEAPOLIS, Sept. 2. - trol over News and Views; Jan-Daniel I. Tobin. AFL Team- asco was charged with participaster's czar who helped engineer tion in the publication "through subterfuge." Actually, the Local the frameup prosecution of the 18 imprisoned Socialist Workers Winneapolis Truckcroachment on the independence Party and Minneapolis Truck- to supply it with news of Local partial" coastwise chairman of the drivers Local 544-CIO leaders, 1859 activity.



# In Longshoremen's Negotiations

(Continued from page 1)

The role of the dispatcher has lost in San Francisco, Harry Bridges none of its importance now under | declared: plentiful. A reactionary dispatcher can invoke all kinds of discharging of practically all penalties initiated since the ships entering Pacific Coast ports, beginning of the war for regi-proposed to the government and menting the longshoremen. The to the employers a plan to have election of dispatchers gives the

workers the opportunity of selecting men more responsive to its "Off The Beam" demands. Appointed dispatchers would be in a position to callously disregard the ranks. Harry Bridges has given a

#### 'IMPARTIAL CHAIRMAN"

The proposal for the appointment of dispatchers serves the employers as a bridge for en-

Relations Section of the Com-longshoremen's conditions. The recommendations from white monwealth Club on April 8, 1942 | right to discipline union members | workers, gained access to the inwas turned over to the MIB. dustry. Walking bosses were given "The ILWU, a large part of authority to arbitrarily fire work-

which embraces the loading and ers from the job. Actions of Eliel as chairman of the MIB to obtain their transitional desolidarity were penalized. A charging him with sole responminimum average work week of sibility for the union-busting role fifty hours was established in San of the board. At its conference in

Francisco. Most important of all, March 1944 at Portland the union administrative assistants were rescinded its acceptance of Adassigned to supervise dispatching miral Land's arbitrary order emin the hiring halls in the major powering the MIB to supersede ports with power to suspend dis- the contract. But Eliel still re-In the current slander campatchers for laxity in execution mains chairman of the board and paign against the Trotskyists of MIB orders.

technique of twisting faets shipowners.

hiring hall, the MIB set about

In addition to infringing on the a union-busting agency.

## UruguayTrotskyists Fight Gov't. Attack

The Militant of July 8, 1944 reported that the Uruguay government has accompanied the introduction of anti-strike legslation in that country with a violent campaign against Trotskyism. Citing the jailing of the eighteen Trotskyist leaders and the attempt to suppress The Militant in the United States, as well as the arrest of the four British Trotskyists, the Minister of the Interior attacked the Fourth International as a movement "inciting to strikes and violence" and implied that similar repressive measures should be taken against the Uruguayan Trotskyists, the Revolutionary Workers League.

Replying to the socialist deputy, Dr. Jose Pedro Cardozo, on political struggles and consequently, that the workers must acquire the matter of making strikes a their political consciousness. Why. criminal offense in the Swift then, would we try to destroy the packing-plant National Frigoronly arms we have, the democratic ifico, the Minister attacked the rights with which the proletariat Revolutionary Workers League can acquire consciousness and prein a long speech in the Chamber pare itself for the next great task of Deputies. In the course of which history gives it: that of this speech, he completely disforging the socialist society?" torted the aims and ideas of Trotskvism. The R. W. L. addressed open letter continues. "That does an open letter to Dr. Cardozo in not depend on us, but on the old answer to this attack. society which is opposed to the change. If it will permit a peace-

The open letter begins by charging that the "Minister tries utilize our revolutionary movement in order to dictate restrictive measures against trade tory except through the profoundunion liberties. Denouncing our official organ Contra La Corriente, distorting our principles, he wishes to show that all conflicts that have recently taken place between capital and labor are the results of our provocation."

#### ANSWERS LIES

"During all of historical development," the letter continues, "we observe how the attempt is made to disfigure ideas of social progress, covering them up with the mask of provocation. The idea itself, its real content, is not attacked, but rather those who propagate it are attacked as profes-

sional agitators, as provocateurs of artificial conflict in order to disturb the public order."

> desires the defeat of Hitler as we do and since 1930 Trotskyism. has been the only force that warned of the Nazi danger, while the British and Yankee capitalists supported the economic development of Nazism."

> > Besides refuting the base slanders of the Minister, the open letter exposes the role of the Stalinists in aiding the government's anti-working class campaign and takes advantage of the opportunity to put forward the basic ideas of Trotskyism. It is being distributed among the workers of Uruguay and has received a wide response. In Uruguay, as elsewhere, the Trotskyists are sho

in it except the Soviet Union, do so for imperialist interests. This war will be really and truly The Uruguayan Trotskyists for democracy only when the peothen take up the Minister's lies ples take into their own hands and slanders, one by one. The the conduct of the war. Does this latter had charged them in his policy favor a Hitler victory? We speech with advocating strikes as defy anyone to show us one single 'revolutionary exercise." To this act of ours that has favored the ridiculous charge, our co-thinkdevelopment of Nazisms. No one ers reply: "We never preach the strike as 'revolutionary exercise,' as the

Minister of the Interior says. We consider the strike as the only weapon that the workers possess mands and consequently we advise them to defend this fundamental right by all possible

means. . . As revolutionists; we understand perfectly well that any conflict between capital and labor which is artificially prov oked leads only to the demoralization of the workers and the desthe MIB is still the unquestioned truction of their trade union organizations. Are we the ones that provoked the recent strikes? Or are the economic conditions the

union to accept it as anything but

In addition, the union undertook a campaign for the removal of

All this was accepted by the tool of the shipowners. What is Bridges clique to prove their needed is a condemnation of the willingness to cooperate with the MIB itself and the refusal of the

is continuing his efforts to wipe out the progressive forces in the Minneapolis labor movement. Tobin's agents recently centered to do with the management of their attack against John Jan- News and Views, of "causing to be asco, business agent and secre- employed" on the staff of the pubtary-treasurer of Minneapolis Local 1859, AFL International er President of Minneapolis Lo-Upholsterers' Union.

At the instigation of Tobin and neapolis Labor Case trial. his representatives, the Upholsterers' International President, Sal Tobin machine in this latest B. Hoffman, has suspended Janasco from his union on a series of trumped-up charges and ordered him to stand trial on September 20. The charges allege that Janasco violated the IUU consti- Sidney Brennan, International tution by publishing News and Vice-President and Secretary-Views, organ of the Furniture Treasurer of Local 544-AFL, disand Wood Workers Credit Union No. 410, which had issued accounts of the attempts of Tobin's Local 544-AFL to raid the estabpolis Central Labor Union lished jurisdiction of Local 1859, IUU.

futation of the charges and is pre-Although the Credit Union is not connected with the Furniture paring to make a vigorous fight Workers Union, which has no con- for his reinstatement.



Labor Relations Committee ap-The real intent of the charges points agents in each port to serve are revealed in that section which in similar capacity. Since exaccuses Janasco, who has nothing perience has amply proven that these so-called " impartial" chairmen usually side with the employers, the bosses have here a lication "one Miles Dunne," formnechanism for controlling the selection of dispatchers. Pressure cal 544-CIO who was acquitted as would be brought to bear on the one of the defendants in the Minunion members of the Labor Relations Committee and the em-Proof of the complicity of the ployers, reinforced by the chairman, would certainly demand conframeup attempt against Minneacessions on the question of the polis union militants is contained hiring hall. Since the policy of in the August issue of The Inthe Bridges clique has been to ternational Teamster, Tobin's grant any concessions in the name monthly organ. An article by

of increasing efficiency, the employers would be able to make serious inroads into the hiring hall. closes that "we preferred charges

The decision of the longshore against Janasco as a suspected conference against the undemo-Trotskyite" before the Minneacratic proposal of the Bridges clique reflects the hostility of the Janasco has issued a full rerank and file against encroach-

ments on the independence of the hiring hall. In the meantime the the Pacific Coast operated exemployers are undoubtedly preclusively under the control of a paring to demand concessions during negotiations. The rank and joint management-labor-governfile must watch vigilantly against ment board. We devised the probetrayal by the Bridges - led gram and pushed for its adoption. "In proposing the establishment negotiating committee.

Since American imperialism of such a board, the union agreed UNION MOVES to set aside any and all provisions plans the revival of world trade by cutbacks at home, it of its entire collective bargaining the 30,000 civil service workers must cut down the cost agreement if any such provisions held in army and navy pools up of production. In the longshore of the contract blocked an all-out and down the coast, union repindustry this can best be accom- war-effort." plished by increasing slingloads

abolishing safety provisions and cutting wages. The destruction of union conditions will lead ultimately to the destruction of the hiring hall.

BRIDGES POLICY

torney General Francis Biddle is "Number One on the list" of "people who pal around with them (the Trotskyists) and go a long way to protect them." Every informed person in the labor movement knows that Biddle was instrumental in railroading to prison the 18 Trotskyist leaders in the Minneapolis Labor Case. Biddle "protects" them by putting them behind hars because of their socialist ideas and labor activities. And he is now using the precedent set in their case in the Department of Justice's

prize example of the Stalinist

into their opposite to further

their reactionary political

aims. In his column in the

Aug. 11 CIO Longshoremen's

Dispatcher Bridges makes the

startling discovery that At-

Bridges. It doesn't bother Bridges that his frenzied falsehoods do violence to the most elementary facts. His column is entitled "On The Beam." To suit its real character it ought to be changed to "Off The Beam."

deportation proceedings against

force. It set up machinery protects this shipowners' weapon separate and apart from the for the destruction of the union. hiring hall, in conjunction with The rank and file must guard ATTITUDE TOWARD VOTE the U. S. Employment Service vigilantly during the present negotiations against any further and the War Manpower Commission. One of these abortive inroads into the hiring hall and attempts was made in May 1943. against the betrayals of the ing participation in parliamentary Bridges Stalinist clique. Only such The ILWU Dispatcher, May 21, 1943, reports it as follows: "It was learned this week that

Chairman Paul Eliel of the Pacific the union hiring hall against all Coast MIB has conferred with its open and concealed enemies. well that all class struggles are

vicious shape-up system with a view to transferring east coast longshoremen to Pacific Ports. After conferring with Ryan in Tacoma, Wash., Eliel announced that he and his staff were 'taking full control' of longshore recruiting. Then he launched into a bitter attack upon the ILWU and President Bridges." The employers took up the cue

a few months later. The Dispatcher (Nov. 19, 1943) relates: "In the most flagrant attempt vet made to use the MIB as a the entire longshore industry of union smashing instrument, Frank P. Foisie, President of the Waterfront employers Ass'n, has propos-

ers to action? We call attention Bridges still lies about the MIB to the fact that the recent coning that they know how to meet aying the basis for the recruit- and peddles its doubtful virtues to flicts were directed not by us, but reactionary attacks and redouble ment of a non-union working the rank and file. He thereby by the regular trade union organtheir efforts in the very face of ization, the U.G.T."

cause, the low wages and the high

cost of living that drove the work-

 $\sim\sim\sim\sim$ The capitalist Minister further accused the R.W.L. of opposing the use of the ballot, of renound elections. The Trotskyists counter

THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

READ

persecution.

This book, appearing four years after the death of Leon Trotsky, testifies to the vitality of the movement founded upon the ideas of the great revolutionary Marxist. The volume is a history of the origin and development of Trotskyism in the United States. James P. Cannon, the author, is the founder of the American Trotskyist organization.

CLOTH \$2.75, PAPER \$2.00

dustry."

resentatives on the MIB proposed An arbitrary order by Admiral the establishment of a single labor

Land, setting aside the arbitration pool, on the basis of the union nachinery of the contract and hiring hall, in order to increase empowering the MIB to make efficiency. This suggestion was decisions on disputed issues, was contempuously rejected by the accepted by the Bridges clique to employers and Eliel who recognize

demonstrate its willingness to the value of a huge reservoir of make concessions to the bosses. unorganized longshoremen in the The employers have not yet suc- Bridges has earned high praise coming struggles.

ceeded in completely regimenting from brass hats responsible for To meet this offensive of the the longshoremen and in under- army and navy cargoes on the MIB, the union threw its books mining their union. But they are west coast for his efforts to wide open. A decision of the June laying the foundation in many sacrifice union conditions in order 1943 convention of the ILWU put ways. At present their chief to speed up the movement of an end to the permit system and weapon is the Maritime Industry cargo. provided for taking in thousands Board (MIB). (For a history of of new members on a six months

ROLE OF MIB its origin see the article by C.

probationary basis to be followed Thomas: "West Coast Longshore-The employers, quick to see the by full membership status. In this men and the Bridges Plan," advantages of the MIB, have fully way, Negro workers, who were Fourth International, Dec. 1942.) exploited the willingness of the previously denied membership be-In a speech to the Industrial Bridges clique to sacrifice the cause of difficulty of getting

In a futile effort to encompass

ed that the board outlaw the payment of initiations and dues by new men coming into the in-



#### vigilance enforced by the fighting this lie with the following exposispirit of 1934 and 1936 can defend tion of their real stand: "As Marxists we know perfectly

Joseph P. Ryan, exponent of the Just Published!



#### The Bright Light Uncle Toms

ple of France, having thrown off With the season for Negro stage | hues. It is not a matter of being the Nazi yoke, do not intend to shows here again it is time we supersensitive or of not having a bow their necks to any native relifted our foot to stamp out once sense of humor. It is the very gime which does not have as its and for all that reptilian menace practical consideration of political primary aim a completely new of the bright light Uncle Toms. and social damage being per-These actors and actresses per- petrated upon a group by memform a great service to the ruling bers of that group. By their unclass by helping to maintain the principled action they are selling false stereotype that flashes on us out for a few lousy sheckels. even revolutionary action are in many a white worker's mind as MASS PROTEST

soon as the word 'Negro' is mentioned. The NAACP as well as other

We usually see one or two such organizations and individuals has actors on every billing that plays made frequent verbal protests at a Negro theatre or night club. regarding this matter, but more dat" jargon, thus inferring that picture industry which, of course, the average Negro talks that way. is under rigorous capitalist con-By their actions and words they trol. Few concessions have been indirectly condemn the whole race gained, mainly because more milibuffoons, lethargic no-goods and used.

chronic rapists. They frequently wind up their pantomime by most from the damage wrought producing an elongated switch- by these actors, then it is their blade or razor the size of a meat responsibility to make them either cleaver. What is worse, they change their Uncle Tom line or ridicule and slander the integrity quit the stage. In the case of the of the brown worker with greater abandon when they are playing appear in person, it would be an before a mixed audience which is easy matter for the audience to usually the case above the Mason-Dixon line. They paint a distorted picture of the Negro of today.

TYPICAL REACTION This letter to the editor of PM by H. P. Goldstein of Brooklyn reveals the characteristic reaction of the average white observer: "Recently I visited the Apollo theatre in Harlem, where in the stage show, was a comedy routine featuring Butterbeans and Suzy, both Negroes. When the former began cavorting about the stage, attired in a very picturesque zoot suit, Suzy asked: 'Who do you think you are?'

"''Frank Sinatra,' came the reply. "'Who?' she asked increduously.

"'I'm Frank Sinatra,' repeated Butterbeans, 'cept that I'm in technicolor.

"The audience, which was predominantly Negro, reacted very favorably, but somehow I/a white person, found the line objectionable. Perhaps I'm being very picayune, but I've heard similar material on the Apollo stage before (I visit the theatre because hear some of the bands featured there) and I can't help but wonder how Negroes can object to 'Uncle Tom' caricatures and material with an objectionable connotation, when they burlesque themselves so crudely

Although some of the things Mr. Goldstein is "wondering" OUR PROBLEM about are certainly quite clear,

#### deal for France." In another dispatch, filed on August 31 but delayed, Daniell describes Paris as 'in no mood to bow its head again ... violence and change and

mond Daniell wired from Paris on September 2 to the N. Y. Times. "If Paris is any sample, the peo-

the air." The confused jubilation of the

Parisian masses after the lifting of the Nazi boot did not survive 24 hours after the entry of the They use the antiquated "dis and especially directed at the moving DeGaullist forces backed by the military might of the new foreign conquerors. "The first great burst of emotion has spent itself," wrote Harold Denny from as being composed of moronic | tant methods have not yet been | Paris on August 29. "People are

Since the Negro masses suffer leprived of many of its simplest menities.'

ACUTE DISTRESS stage where the actors must

Latest reports tell of an acute posed in the main of his handbread shortage, lack of electricity, picked regime imported from Algas, fuel and transportation. One giers, plus a few selected "safe" bring these people into line. An correspondent reports in the N. Y. representatives from the former organized group scattered around Times, September 3, that the black French underground, including the theatre with no other weapon at their command but the Bronx market has "attained phenomen- several Stalinists. This regime, cheer could do the trick. Every al proportions" with butter selling which proclaims its intentions to time any actor or actress started at \$8 a pound, eggs as high as rule "in the name of the French any routine, dialogue or song that 50 cents a piece, meat at \$4 a people" has neither asked nor resmacked of Uncle Tomism then pound. "Often there is nothing ceived any mandate from the

that would be the cue for boos, cat to buy and poor families who masses. calls or any other method of have no friends or relatives in DEGAULLE'S PROGRAM registering resentment. After all, the country eat one meal a day if we applaud what we like, why composed of bread soaked in sugshouldn't we demonstrate our ared water or a vegetable cooked ously quoted dispatch points out that the DeGaulle government revolutionary sentiments and This tactic has been occasionally addition of fats."

Only the scantiest food supplies has been one attempt on his life... tried by a few individuals with coming more and more prevalent lies, who have converted the of people toward him and the regardless of the fact that, as Mr. country's transport system almost deep-seated feeling among many Goldstein mentioned, such sup- entirely to the uses of the mili- of the leaders of the underground posed-to-be-funny slander oc- tary machine. The Allied inva- that there is a cleavage between

casionally gets a good reception sion of France, following on four them and those who fought for from a thoughtless audience. It is years of brutal Nazi occupation, France beyond her frontiers." certainly worth a try by those who has resulted in "the almost total DeGaulle has come forward as are seriously interested in the collapse of whole sections of the representative of French imeradication of Uncle Tomism. French industrial and economic perialist interests. His aim is to Furthermore there is no doubt life," states a United Press dis- defend French capitalist rule and a screen for a military-police dic- French workers seeks to express, that, if such a practical protest patch from Paris on August 30. | salvage the rotten French colon-As in Italy the Anglo-American | ial empire. One of his first formal is made, it will not take any rulers aim to harness the French utterances upon entering Paris performer who wants to hold his I'm addicted to jazz and like to job, very long to change his line masses to the Allied war machine was a statement of intention to and restrict himself to singing, once more, prop up the bankrupt drag the hungry and war-weary dancing or an unbiased comic capitalist ruling class that worked French people into the war routine. The tactic could be executed under auspices of your impose upon the French people a of Indo-China to the French Emdependent group of individuals ship, backed by Allied bayonets. who have that particular kindred Strutting forth under the pro-

thought.

## Allied Powers Impose Dictatorial DeGaulle Rule **On French Masses As Hunger And Misery Grow** (Continued from page 1)

1943 CIO Auto Workers Convention



During September conventions will be held by the United Auto Workers, CIO, at Grand Rapids; tired. They are hungry, too, for the United Rubber Workers, CIO, at New York City; United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers, they are not getting enough to CIO, at New York City; Gas, Coke and Chemical Workers, CIO, at Cleveland; Marine and Shipbuildeat. They face again the hard ing Workers, CIO, at Atlantic City; and the United Mine Workers, at Cincinnati. The largest and realities of life in a great city most significant of these conventions will be that of the UAW, which begins on September 11. Some indication of its size can be seen in the photograph above of the delegates at the last UAW convention in Buffalo in 1943

> to an indefinite future the general strengthen the position of Gen. election which was promised be- Charles DeGaulle and help in the fore Allied "liberation" began. | solution of his particular prob-How DeGaulle is handling the lems.' urgent problem of prices and

STALINIST DANGER vages, over which he has express-

ed deep concern, is graphically The most dangerous and treachillustrated in the case of the erous force within the working Paris subway workers, who are class of France is the Stalinist receiving wages based on the 1937 party which has entered the Descale, which was set before prices Gaulle government and is reportsoared by several hundred per- ed to be the strongest in France. cent. CBS correspondent Charles The Stalinist leaders have no Collingwood reported August 31 other objects than to divert the

disapproval in such fashion? in water without the nourishing that DeGaulle's "political future first promised them a 20 percent struggles of the French masses is by no means certain. There raise. But "that was yesterday. into the utterly reactionary chan-Now it appears that there was nels of bourgeois nationalism and inevitable support from Negro are being shipped into Paris, with but what has significance is the a law passed by the refugee gov- class collaboration and to yoke audiences. This feeling is be- its 5,000,000 population, by the Al- apparent apathy of the great mass ernment when it was in Algiers them once again to the war charwhich makes this impossible." iot of Allied imperialism. The DeGaulle's "provisional govern- three-point program issued by the ment" is a coalition of leaders of French Communist (Stalinist) the political groups which had a Party in its first meeting at Paris long record of betrayal of the contains not a single reference to French masses before the war, the pressing needs of the French including the Radical Socialist workers and peasants:

(bourgeois-democratic), Socialist In following the Communist and Stalinist parties. It is merely Party an important section of tatorship; Allied military might not their allegiance to the reacupholds DeGaulle and dictates his tionary aims of Stalinism, but policies. Thus, a dispatch from their desire for revolutionary ac-

Supreme Headquarters, Allied Ex- tion such as Lenin and Trotsky's peditionary Forces, reports that Bolshevik Party of Russia carried Gen. Eisenhower explained the through in October 1917. The hand in glove with the Nazis, and against Japan for the restoration march of American troops working masses must not place through Paris as "more a matter the slightest confidence in the local NAACP branch or by an in- puppet police-military dictator- pire. DeGaulle has called for an of necessity than ceremony." Gen. Stalinist and Social-Democratic army of 2,000,000 men, the cost Eisenhower, "after reviewing the flunkeys of Anglo-American and of which will impose another political situation," ordered the French imperialism. They can astecting muzzles of Allied guns, staggering burden on the diversion of two American divi-sure the future of France and General DeGaulle last week pron- French masses. Unable to provide sions in order "to quiet the nerv- achieve their demands for econ-

## **Diary Of A Steel Worker**

#### By Theodore Kovalesky

I saw a pathetic thing happen today. A young colored fellow lost his entire check in a crap game in the locker room. That means that he will have to work plenty of overtime this week to make up for it. . . if he can manage to do it in this hot weather. A couple of months ago one of the white boys did the same thing and swore off the game for life. But I noticed that he was back there in today's crap game

Why do they do it? And why do they play horses and numbers? It might seem strange to some people that these workers in one of the world's toughest, most gruelling industries should risk their pay this way, when they have to go through such a hell of sweaty fatigue to earn it, and when they earn so little at that.

Well, that question answers itself. They shoot crap because the work is so tough. They shoot crap because they earn so little. Put yourself in the position of these fellows. You've worked forty-eight

hours in the heat of mid-summer. You've felt the piercing heat radiated from the molten metal and slag and seen the steam rising from your clothing. Each day when you've gone to work, your clothes have been still wet and sour with yesterday's sweat. And each day when you've left the plant, you've gone past stores and seen the high prices in the windows, you've gone home and eaten the inferior trash that passes for food these days.



You have noticed the fringe on the cuffs of your pants, the frayed collar of your shirt, the threadbare coat that your wife may

have to wear next winter, and you've heard the knocks in the motor of your car. Well, what are you going to do about it? Look at your paycheck — thirty-five or forty-five dollars after deductions. Pay off the loan shark, the butcher and grocer, spend a dollar lavishly for the luxury of a show. . . and then hope that next payday will hurry along before you have to pay out any more money.

But wait! Here's a chance to make some money, a lot of money without killing yourself in the heat to do it. When you get your check, you cash it and put aside a couple of dollars for a crap game, but no more than that. If you win, fine. If not, you don't want to lose a lot. Okay, shoot a half. You're faded. Six. . . and then seven. Well, you can't win every throw. Shoot another half. Then a quarter. Maybe you win a couple times, but then the two dollars is gone. That's kind of hard to take on YOUR wages. But then there's always the law of averages. You lost the two, but as you say, you can't win all the time.

You win a couple more throws and then lose a couple. Why can't you have some luck? Just yesterday one of the fellows was telling you how he picked up thirty-three dollars in an hour and a half. You roll the dice again. Snake eyes! All right. You won't keep on playing all night. You'll just try to win back what you lost, break even and you'll quit.

What lousy luck! Five dollars left out of all your pay! You can't go home with five dollars. Shoot a dollar. Bet a half you make it. You don't. You take a breath, but don't let the other guys see how miserable and scared you feel. Shoot the whole thing. What's the difference? You can't lose much now, and maybe. . .

You make a couple of wisecracks about how there's not much difference between what you're taking home this week from the amount you take home any other week, and then you go out, trying to figure out what you'll say when you get home.

You go along the street wondering miserably where you're gong to horrow the money to live on this wook 1

Although it is true that the yet we are forced to agree that the use of this type of material trade, union movement is our only by our outstanding stage stars dependable ally in the economic has a most unhealthy effect (from and political fields, yet there are a working class point of view) on some problems it is easier for us the mind of the average white. To to solve ourselves through our further poison the mind of the own organizations. The elimina-Negro masses is playing right used by the unions, must revolve into the hands of the ruling class around mass action.

which from a practical point of Also this should be right down view is the only major factor that the ally of our civic leaders and stands to profit from racial pre- the brown "400." They have no great verbal clamor against the judice. Therefore these bright balm for the "socially undesir- channelize the CIO struggle for light Uncle Toms, regardless of ables" among us. So maybe they adequate unemployment legislawhether they realize it or not, are operating against the interests will also pick up a stick against tion into a plea for the "liberal" of the working people and such politically undesirables as version of the ultra-reactionary especially those of the darker the bright light Uncle Toms.



Factory committees, as already will join the movement. The agricultural workers, the ruined tionary stage. From the first stated, are elements of dual power inside the factory. Consequently, and semi-ruined farmers, the moment of their appearance, the their existence is possible only oppressed of the cities, the under condition of increasing women workers, housewives, pressure by the masses. This is proletarianized layers of the inlikewise true of special mass telligentsia-all of these will seek groupings for the struggle against | unity and leadership. war, of the committee on prices, How are the different demands

and all other new centers of the and forms of struggle to be movement, the very appearance of harmonized, even if only within which bears witness to the fact the limits of one city? History tory, then the soviets initiate a that the class struggle has over- has already answered this ques- period of dual power in the counflowed the limits of the traditional tion: through soviets. These will organizations of the proletariat.

These new organs and centers. the fighting groups. For this purinsufficiency. Not one of the transitional demands can be fully met under the conditions of preserving are not limited to an a priori the bourgeois regime. At the same party program. They throw open time, the deepening of the social their doors to all the exploited. crisis will increase not only the Through these doors pass repre-

ounced the establishment of a bread, jobs, security, his "provi-"provisional government" com- sional government" has postponed and, as Gen. Eisenhower said, pation only by irreconcilable op-

# 'Liberals" Beat Hasty further poison the mind of the diverse in the diverse is surely one of them. demoralize from within the on the stage is surely one of them. Our tactic, like those successfully on the stage is surely one of them.

Raymond Daniell in his previ-

#### (Continued from page 1)

officialdom which has been making George bill.

Instead of organizing and leading a nation-wide militant labor fight for a program of jobs for all and decent living standards, Murray is concentrating the power and prestige of the CIO upon

regaining a few meager handouts to the unemployed, dropped from the George measure. With this transitional demands. Soviets can arise only at the "compromise," his statement in-

time when the mass movement dicated, he is prepared to accept to summon all members in the enters into an openly revolu- the George Bill. This means acceptance of unemployment compensation according to present soviets, acting as a pivot around state standards ranging as low as which millions of toilers are \$2 a week, an average of \$12-\$14 united in their struggle against per week for a period of 2 to 16

the exploiters, become competitors weeks, and leaves over 30,000,000 and opponents of local authorities | wage - earners completely unand then of the central governprotected by any form of unemment. If the factory committee ployment insurance. creates a dual power in the fac-

COVER ROOSEVELT

Behind the cowardly retreat of the pro-Roosevelt labor and liberal

Dual power in its turn is the leaders on the most decisive unite the representatives of all culminating point of the transi- domestic issue today confronting however, will soon begin to feel pose, no one has yet proposed a tional period. Two regimes, the the American masses is their fear their lack of cohesion and their different form of organization; bourgeois and the proletarian, are of putting Roosevelt "on the ifreconcilably opposed to each spot." Roosevelt has contemptuindeed, it would hardly be possible to think up a better one. Soviets other. Conflict between them is ously ignored all their pleas to inevitable. The fate of society speak out against the George Bill depends on the outcome. Should and support the far more liberal the revolution be defeated-the Kilgore-Murray-Celler bill. This fascist dictatorship of the bour- latter bill was ruthlessly scuttled sufferings of the masses but also sentatives of all strata, drawn geoisie will follow. In case of by Congress with the aid and their impatience, persistence, into the general current of the victory-the power of the soviets, connivance of Roosevelt's leading and pressure. Ever new layers of struggle. The organization, that is, the dictatorship of the henchmen, including "Assistant the oppressed will raise up their broadening out together with the proletariat and the socialist recon- President" **Byrnes** and Senate heads and come forward with movement, is renewed again and struction of society, will arise. Democratic Majority floor leader demands. Millions of toil-worn again in its womb. All political (From "The Founding Confer- Barkley. In his Labor Day "little men," to whom the re- currents of the proletariat can ence of the Fourth International," message, Roosevelt made no formist leaders never gave a struggle for leadership of the pp. 39-40; Socialist Workers reference whatever to concrete thought, will begin to pound in- soviets on the basis of the widest Party, 1939, 128 pp. 25c. Order measures for preventing unemsistently on the doors of workers' democracy. The slogan of soviets, from Pioneer Publishers, 116 ployment or even alleviating its organizations. The unemployed therefore, crowns the program of University Pl., N. Y. 3, N. Y.) worst miseries.

position and unremitting independent class struggle against the imperialist conquerors and all their aides and accomplices. To win peace, bread, work and freedom, a real people's government is needed in France — a workers and peasants governnent which will proceed uncompromisingly to solve the basic This has reduced the Rooseveltian labor leaders to the shady problems through the overthrow

expedient of trying to place full of the rotten capitalist system and responsibility on the Republicans the establishment of socialism. for the George Bill by pointing to the handful of "liberal" Such a government will be built and based upon the Workers Democrats who supported-for Councils (Soviets), the indispensable instrument for organizing the record - more progressive measures. This maneuver to cover and rallying the masses for the up the reactionary role of Roose- revolutionary conquest of power. velt and the overwhelming The victory of the French workers will be secured only if their majority of Democrats is belied revolution sweeps over national by the record of the House debate boundaries and merges with the

liberating struggles of all the Out of 435 members of the House, less than 100 bothered to European masses, united under the central rallying slogan of the attend the debate on the George **Trotskyist Fourth International** Bill. In a brief attempt to get "For the Socialist United States consideration for the more liberal Dingell bill, after ringing the bell of Europe."

building for a vote, only 54 Rep-In Detroit, Mich. resentatives could be mustered to vote in favor; 188 voted against. You can get On the vote to restore the deleted THE MILITANT sections of the George Bill at the those mild provisions which even the most reactionary section of FAMILY THEATRE the Senate supported-the "pro-NEWSSTAND gressives" could get together only opposite the theatre

## A new timely pamphlet **Wartime Crimes**

## of **Big Business**

By George Breitman

The truth about the war-profits scandals that have been hidden or whitewashed by the capitalist press 16 pages 5 cents

#### **PIONEER PUBLISHERS**

116 University Place, New York 3, N.Y.

feel this loss for a couple of months. You think again about the clothes you need, about your wife's coat, about the repairs on your car. It's a hot day and you suddenly realize that you're sweating and thirsty, but you go right by Emil's place, because you can't even afford a beer. Damn it, you wish you could get a raise. You think angrily, "If we could get that 17c or part of it. . . if I had a halfway decent check, I never would have got in that damn crap game!"



#### **SEPTEMBER 8, 1934**

NEW YORK - Half a million textile workers were out on strike from Maine to Mississippi in a powerful demonstration of labor solidarity and militancy.

"Pressed by a militant rank and file, ready to brave tear gas and bayonets, prepared to fight to the finish," The Militant reported, "even the diffident top leadership (of the Textile Workers' Union-AFL) has been forced to issue bold statements." The account quoted Francis J. Gorman, head of the strike committee, who said, "We shall agree to arbitration only after we have closed all mills in all divisions of the industry."

Gorman's pronouncement, however, was immediately revealed as a cover for the leadership's retreat. A late bulletin announced that Gorman was accepting proposals of the Federal Mediation Board to participate in an early "peace conference."

- MOSCOW A new Soviet film, "Soviets Greet the New Turkey," was released with official endorsement and fanfare. Describing the picture as a tribute to the dictatorship of the reactionary Kemal Pasha, The Militant declared, "The degeneration of Stalinism in the direction of class collaboration proceeds rapidly. . . The Soviet film. . . paints in glowing colors, the differences between the old and new Turkey. . . (In actuality) the (Turkish) Communist Party and all other workers' groups have been suppressed. . . trade unions. . . are prohibited. . . The rights of minority nationalities. . . are not recognized by the Turkish government."
- BELGIUM Learning a bitter lesson from Hitler's assumption of power in Germany, the anti-fascist youth groups of Belgium took the first steps toward a united front of working class organizations. The Militant published the text of a pact signed in Brussels on August 18, by representatives of the Young Socialist Guard, Young Communist League, and Leninist Youth League (Trotskyist). Set forth were fundamental aims of the united front, including: "Common action of solidarity for all victims of capitalist reaction. . . Against all steps tending towards dictatorial measures. . . Against all decrees that may have their origin in these dictatorial measures. . . Against the dissolution of labor defense organizations. . . For the active defense of all liberties and reforms won by the working class . . . Active organization of the defense of the USSR, without thereby meaning elimination of the freedom of criticism."



and vote.

between 40 and 43 votes.

#### BIX-

#### THE MILITAN:

#### THE MILITANT Published in the interests of the Working People VOL. VIII-No. 37 Saturday, September 9, 1944

Published Weekly by THE MILITANT PUBLISHING ASS'N at 116 University Place, New York 8, N. Y. Telephone: ALgonquin 4-8547 FARRELL DOBBS, Editor

THE MILITANT follows the policy of permitting its contributors to present their own views in signed articles. These views therefore do not necessarily represent the policies of THE MILI-TANT which are expressed in its editorials.

Subscriptions: \$2.00 per year; \$1.00 for 6 months. Foreign: \$3.00 per year, \$1.50 for 6 months. Bundle orders: 3 cents per copy in the United States; 4 cents per copy in all foreign countries. Single copies: 5 cents.

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



To defend the USSR as worker.

#### the main fortress of the world proletariat, against all assaults of world imcounter-revolution, is the most important duty of very class-conscious

perialism and of internal

- 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.
- 3. 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' Govern-

blood on the battlefields, there is left - THE SCRAPHEAP OF UNEMPLOYMENT AND STARVATION DOLES BY THE STATE GOV-ERNMENTS. Roosevelt's henchmen in Congress have just rushed through the House a mutilated version of the infamous George Bill, which, after other measures were passed taking good care of the exploiters of labor by a piratical pilfering of the public purse, leaves the working-class victims of

capitalism to take care of themselves. Roosevelt takes care of the big corporations whose interests he serves. Labor, he says in effect, must take care of itself. That's right! That's just what labor must do!

It means a fight — a fight by labor against the post-war hunger plans of Roosevelt and Big Business

This is a political fight — a fight by the whole working class against the whole capitalist class and its executive committee which sits in Washington. For this fight, labor needs, and must have, a political weapon — a strong, reliable weapon with which to defeat the hunger plans of the capitalists and their government.

That weapon cannot be anything less than labor's own political party - an independent Labor Party based on the trade unions and armed with a fighting program - a party of the workers, built by the workers, for the workers.

Such a labor party would fight for a universal 30-hour week, without any reduction in weekly earnings, as a means of absorbing workers displaced from war industry and for a nation-wide program of home-building and public works to provide still more jobs.

Such a labor party would fight against Roosevelt's plan to turn over government plants to private ownership and would strive for the nationalization of all industry, with workers' control of production, in order to insure jobs at decent pay for all.

Neither of the two capitalist parties, neither the Democrats nor the Republicans, can or will concern themselves with the welfare of the workers. Only Labor's own party can or will do so.

## U. S. And India

Ten years ago, in a thesis entitled "War and the Fourth International," Leon Trotsky, outlined the aims of American imperialism in the light of preparations for the second world war. The American imperialists, declared the thesis, "are in reality preparing to establish for themselves a territorial base in China, so as to raise at the following stage, in case of conflict with Great Britain, the question of the 'liberation' of India."

This prophetic statement received remarkable confirmation last Sunday with the publication of a letter written by President Roosevelt on May 14, 1943 by Ambassador William Phillips, the President's personal envoy to India. The letter has been kept secret for more than a year. Its contents leaked out only when Phillips was declared persona non grata by the British authorities because "his views are not what we are entitled to expect from a professedly friendly envoy."

The anger of the British colonial slavedrivers is understandable, for the Phillips letter draws a picture of conditions in India which they are only too anxious to conceal. Moreover, it calls bluntly



The columns are open to the opmions 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. and to bed so you can work hard such an accomplishment. What

sloppy. If you are working on a

tomorrow. You have personal with the leaders of the AFL, CIO,

The post-war period will bear

out my statement, there will be

grave issues to be met later on

and the need for political solidar-

The Democrats and Republicans

have no interest in labor, other

than to profit by the system and

the nefarious practices that make

After all is said and done, Labor

contributes the votes that elect

presidents, be they Republican or

Democratic. Labor pays the heav

upon to supply the material neces

sary to build up and maintain

tion. The only method that meets

these requirements is the Marx

ist method of scientific socialism.

Marxism is based upon the ex-

R. R.

exploitation possible.

Party?

Sacco-Vanzetti Editor:

Editor

problems...you can't make ends and UMW scrapping and baring meet? Well, that's only a tem- their teeth at each other, there's In my article on Sacco and porary problem-when the war is no wonder that the capitalists sit Vanzetti in the August 26 issue over the County will give you a back so smugly and defy labor of The Militant, I neglected to say budget to live on. You are on every issue. that both men were anarchists. Would you publish this to rectify disgusted at it all? Don't be bullheaded. If we say this oversight.

Ruth Johnson no raise-don't insist. Don't be

filthy floor because they will not ity in the ranks of labor will be hire enough janitors at a decent keenly felt. 'Merit Review" rate of pay or you are working with grease and oil because the job

A scintillating brochure issued calls for it . . . don't. A smudge few weeks ago by the Douglas on your arm or overalls means a Aircraft Company in Southern low mark. California entitled "YOUR Merit You can't win because even if it Review" begins with the question, was possible to come up to the "How am I doing ?"

Douglas Company standards, the The response of the workers in supervisors are only allowed to ier part of the cost of running my department at first was "with issue merit raises to 30% of their the government, Labor is called a hey hey twee twee twee twa department. That means that no twa. . ." But upon reading this matter how good the other 70% intimate message we discovered may be, they must be denied the this terrible war: Why then don't that this was no ordinary question increase to which the quality of cemanding an answer. Instead, their work entitles them. "How am I doing?" explains how If you would like me to, I will the group leaders, the assistant let you know how I am doing next foreman, the foreman, the as-

week-that is, if I am still doing. sistant supervisor, the supervisor What with all the lay-offs. That's and a gang of analysts put their a problem in itself. Like the little heads together to determine the voman who wasn't there. You answer. know-you are laid off-but there

They give each worker one of five possible grades on ten sub- I'll tell you about that. jects and one to ten points on five other subjects. A total of one hundred points in each case if you are perfect. (However that is one thing we in the shop are all

agreed upon . . . who can be Editor: perfect?)

you will credit me with a sixof how this game, which I call months subscription. 'You can't win," works.

My opinion of The Militant is periences and needs of the work-Take "Job Interest." Say you definitely a favorable one. I take | ing masses in all countries, and are filing or drilling or grinding this opportunity to state here and its ideas are the product of great or buffing or sweeping. Do you now that the crying need of Lademonstrate an intense interest bor today is a strong political working class thinkers and leadin your job? Hell no. Especially party, a party worthy of the name, ers of various nationalities. Readafter two years of it at 90c. an a party American in its scope, ers interested in this question hour. See what I mean?

divorced from all foreign isms, a should read that section of Leon Then the one about your loyalty party that will demand and get Trotsky's introduction to "The to your department and the Com- a hearing. Such a party could Living Thoughts of Karl Marx," pany. These come above all else. | rightly be called the American La-What? You are tired? Well my bor Party. entitled "Marxism in the United little woman, go straight home Labor is a long way off from States.").



**Huge War Profits Jackpot Hit By the Corporations** 

Wall Street's "post-war" crop of stomach ulcers due financial worries is not expected to increase materially, even if millions of workers are thrown out on the streets and forced to subsist on starvation 'relief.'

This assurance comes from no less an authority than the Securities and Exchange Commission which recently issued a comprehensive report on the financial strength of American corporations based on their vitamin-rich diet of war profits and their prospects for government "relief" considerably higher than the best social service standards for the unemployed.

Corporate industry, the SEC reports, has hit the ackpot for a net working capital of \$43,000,000, highest in all history. This represents an increase since 1939 of \$19,000,000,000. "As of Mar. 31, 1944, American corporations had net working capital which was almost \$11,000,000,000 in excess of their working capital at the end of 1941, at the time of the highest peace-time production of goods in our history. This overall working capital is currently being augmented at the rate of about \$5,500,000,000 per year."

In addition, the corporations have tax rebate and 'carry-back, carry-over" provisions which guarantee them for two years a continuation of "normal" profits even if they operate at a loss.

This phenomenal aggregate of working capital, says the SEC, "re-emphasizes the ability of American industry as a whole to reconvert to peace time production and also to undertake considerable expansion without recourse to outside sources of funds."

But working capital, in the opinion of the capitalwe have an American Labor ists. doesn't necessarily mean capital to put men to work. On the contrary, Wall Street's government Brookly agents are thinking up new schemes to put the public treasury through the wringer for the benefit of the (EDITOR'S NOTE: While w agree upon Labor's need for a big business plunderbund, while laying the basis for mass unemployment and misery that will make 1929strong party of its own, we cannot agree that this party mus

39 seem like "Paradise Lost."

### **Another Tip-Off On Allied Powers' 'Democratic' Aims**

The U.S. State Department has given another intimation of how it intends to let the sweet, fresh winds of "democracy" into Europe. It has appointed Robert Murphy once more to the task of cleansing the Augean stables of reaction, this time, the foulest and fargest in Europe, Germany itself. Murphy is to be special political advisor for this country with the rank of Ambassador during the occupation of Germany.

The big problem for Murphy will be to find some worthy and diligent helpers within Germany. Naturally, he will have to find a "responsible" group with which to deal. That, of course, in the language of American imperialism, automatically excludes any genuine government of the people, a working class government.

Murphy has tackled the task before, however, and has no little experience to aid him. He handled the diplomatic negotiations and arrangements preceding and following the invasion of North Africa. His first choice for head of a "liberated" French North Africa was the chief of the Vichyite navy, Admiral Darlan, who was assassinated by an ungrateful subject opposed trol of the provinces, which is to Murphy's choice. Subsequently, Murphy solicited threatened by the growing in- the services of such other Hitler collaborators as

he "divorced from all foreign are no lay-offs. Well, next time isms." The important thing is not the national origin of ideas A. T. and programs, but their scientific Los Angeles correctness and correspondence to the actual needs of the workers in their struggle for emancipa

Labor Party Enclosed find \$1.00 for which] I would like to give an example

ment.

9. The defense of the Soviet Union against imperialist attack.

### Unemployment

"Cutbacks" and "contract terminations" are expressions now appearing with growing frequency in the daily press. Their inevitable consequence -MASS UNEMPLOYMENT - is rarely ever mentioned. Yet this fearful menace to the welfare and the lives of the millions of the country's wealth producers is becoming a grim reality.

This menace was highlighted back in June by the Brewster UAW Local 365 "sit-in" when upwards of 8,000 workers lost their jobs due to termination of Navy contracts in plants of the Brewster Aeronautical Corporation in Long Island City, N. Y. and Johnsville, Pa.

The process which the capitalist press itself terms "disemployment" - permanent loss of jobs and livelihood --- has taken on an accelerated pace. To-day, with Wall Street's war against its German rivals drawing to a close, the pace grows faster, FASTER!

Total Army Air Force contracts already cancelled total \$3,600,000,000, the N. Y. Post reported Aug. 28. The same paper predicts that \$10,000,-000,000 in war orders will be cancelled "overnight" when the war in Europe ends.

In plain language: MASS UNEMPLOYMENT IS JUST AROUND THE CORNER; the beginnings of it are HERE NOW!

The Roosevelt Administration, through Congress, is taking care of the profit-bloated corporations. Roosevelt's post-war reconversion plans call for:

1. Handing over to the corporations plants, materials, equipment, stores and land acquired or built by the government for war purposes, and paid for out of public funds, to a value of between \$75 and \$100 billions.

2. Post-war gifts to the corporations through tax rebates and other hand-outs to the tune of additional billions.

3. Guaranteed profits to the corporations, equal AT LEAST to their highest pre-war profits.

This is Roosevelt's program of aid to the capitalists. What is promised to the workers?

For them, or the producers of the nation's wealth, for the class whose sons are pouring out their

for American intervention in the affairs of India. Here are some of the points of the Phillips letter:

1. The Indian people are at war "only in a legal sense, as for various reasons the British Government declared India in the conflict without the formality of consulting Indian-leaders or even the Indian Legislature. Indians feel that they have no voice in the government and therefore no responsibility in the conduct of the war. They feel that they have nothing to fight for, as they are convinced that the professed war aims of the United Nations do not apply to them."

2. India's army is "purely mercenary" and the morale of the Indian officers is "poor."

3. The attitude of the general public toward the war is even worse. "Lassitude and indifference and bitterness have increased as a result of famine conditions, the growing high cost of living and continued political deadlock."

4. "While India is broken politically into various parties and groups, all have one object in common - eventual freedom and independence from British domination."

5. Phillips went on to say "it is high time that they (the British imperialists) should make an effort to improve conditions and reestablish confidence among the Indian people that their future independence is to be granted. Words are of no avail. They only aggravate the present situation."

6. If the British imperialists cannot or will not act by means of "a solemn declaration from the King-Emperor that India will achieve her independence at a specific date after the war," then, said Phillips, the United States should intervene. "If we do nothing and merely accept the British point of view that conditions in India are none of our business, then we must be prepared for various serious consequences in the internal situation in India which may develop as a result of the despair and misery and anti-white sentiments of hundreds of millions of subject people."

Phillips, and Roosevelt, are not concerned with the true liberation of India. The American imperialists have done, in Puerto Rico, for example, just what the British have done in India. And they are still doing it. Phillips and Roosevelt (Phillips admits this with unusual candor) merely fear that the "despair and misery" of the Indian people will make India a precarious base of operations against Japan. Eventually, they want to oust the British imperialists from India, not in order to liberate the Indian people, but in order to subject them to the exploitation of Wall Street.

Churchill-Stalin plan for Balkanizng Europe.

According to the London Daily Telegraph, "the first tangible step towards the liberation of Austria was achieved today (June 8, 1944) when Baron von Berger-Waldenberg. Minister to Italy before the (Nazi) invasion of Austria, took possession of the Austrian Legation (in Rome) with the approval of the Allies. The red and whiteganized workers. barred Austrian flag was flown."

Who is Baron Berger-Waldenberg? He was one of the leaders of the Heimwehren, fascist organization in Austria which was subsidized by and directed under orders from—Mussolini! When the parliamentary regime was overthrown, the Baron became Minister for Home Security in the fascist government which not intend this plunder to continue. succeeded it and was the author of many of the decrees which CHINA wiped out all democratic liberties and paved the way for the ab-

sorption of Austria by Hitler's Third Reich. This, then, is the "democrat" chosen by Roosevelt-Churchill to occupy the Austrian Legation in Rome on the eve of Austria's "liberation." It is not difficut to see that the regime the Allies will attempt to impose upon 'liberated" Austria will be of a kind with the "democratic" regime of Badoglio in Italy.

#### PORTUGAL

In June of this year a wave of in China after the overthrow of strikes spread through Portugal the dynasty in 1911 is being as workers in industry, transpor- revived as the internal chaos tation and public utilities ceased deepens. Powerless to mitigate, work in protest against the much less solve the crisis-which inadequate bread ration and the is of its own making-Chiang continued rapid decline in their humbly supplicates the American standard of living. imperialists for financial and

The reactionary Salazar gov- economic aid. Roosevelt has ernment, so admired by Winston dispatched Donald M. Nelson and Churchill, met this movement of Major-Gen. Patrick J. Hurley to protest with the time-honored Chungking to help bolster up methods of repression. Many Chiang's bloody rule. Latest symptoms of the disinhundreds of workers who participated in the strikes were tegration of the Kuomintang arrested and thrown into prison. regime are reported in dispatches But according to the New from Chungking by Time magleader, organ of the British In- azine and Associated Press. Ac-

dependent Labor Party, the gov- cording to Time, Chiang has ernment, watching nervously the decreed "separation of political as an honored guest. It is not dif. rising tide of working-class revolt and military powers" in the ficult to guess whose interests throughout Europe, was obliged provinces and has ordered "war- the new Cuban president will to make concessions. The bread zone commanders to be barred serve.

colony of Nigeria, on the West Coast of Africa. This is reported Federation of Trade Unions, had removed Gen. Sheng Shihwhich notes that the first Trade tsai from the governorship of Union Congress for Nigeria was Sinkiang (Chinese Turkestan) in held in Lagos in August, 1943. | far northwest China and replaced Present at the congress were him by one of his own close some 200 delegates representing subordinates, Gen. Wu Chungh-56 unions with a combined mem- sin, chairman of the Mongolian bership of nearly 100,000 or- and Tibetan Affairs Commission of the Kuomintang government. Highly significant is the fact Gen. Wu's position, said AP, that the first trade-union congress "will be that of a loyal Kuomin-

in this backward colony passed a tang official taking orders from resolution demanding the nation- Chungking." alization of the mines. The British imperialists have for generations vain, for they do not go to the mineral wealth. The workers have the empty facade of Chinese "na-

now served notice that they do tional unity" to crumble. Those factors reside within the Kuomintang regime itself, which is reactionary to the core and incapable either of defending China against Under conditions of continuing the Japanese imperialists or of economic decline and military mitigating the economic crisis failure the Kuomintang regime of which holds millions in the grip of Chiang Kai-shek has for some poverty and hunger.

President-elect Dr. Ramon Grau San Martin of Cuba arrived in the United States last week to do obeisance to the Wall Street masters of his island homelandhis first notable act since his recent election.

By this demonstrative visit the new President intimates that he will, like his martinet predecessor, Col. Fulgencio Batista, do his level best to keep the Cuban people subservient to American imperialism which enslaves and exploits them.

Back in 1933, Grau San Martin was elected President by the masses of Cuba on a program which promised a struggle against the Wall Street imperialists. Roosevelt refused to recognize him or his government on recommendation of Sumner Welles, who was then U. S. Ambassador to Havana, and encouraged his overthrow by the bloody Batista.

Today Roosevelt receives him

not to mention the reactionary Gen. Giraud. From Another move of the same kind North Africa, Murphy sojourned to Italy, where as was reported in an AP dispatch chief American political advisor for Gen. Sir Maitland in the bulletin of the International of Aug. 29 which said that Chiang Wilson, Mediterranean commander, he did his best to foist the Badoglio regime on the Italian people.

## **Liberal Wailers Against Roosevelt's Policies**

Pro-Roosevelt liberals these days have their noses right up to the wailing wall, indeed threaten to wash it away with a flood of tears. A typical liberal organ Measures such as these are like The Nation blubbers from beginning to end about plundered the colony of its root factors which are causing creating for the professional liberal apologists of the the difficulties Roosevelt and the Democrats are

Administration. The August 26 issue of The Nation, for instance, starts off with an editorial complaining that "the Democrats are not only being sadly unrealistic regarding post-war economic policy but are missing a golden opportunity to create a vote-getting issue for themselves." "It seems" that the "majority of Democrats" -who are not likely to take The Nation's advice on enlightened self-interest-are backing the George "Post-War Starvation" Bill,

On the matter of taking care of war profiteers and monopolists, The Nation a few pages further on complains about the War Property Surplus Bill "which will leave war surpluses securely in the hands of those who believe in scarcity economics." The painful aspect is that it "is the logical result of White House policies, which in this field have consistently appeased and served big-business forces."

Is Roosevelt being induced to turn the whole country over to the bankers and bosses and impose mass unemployment and hunger on the workers because of "bad advisors"? Maybe when he reads this copy of The Nation, Roosevelt will get wise to the fact that he's palling around with shady company, like Boss Hague of Jersey City. According to The Nation, Hague is a "millstone around the neck of President Roosevelt."

Let us turn the pages-perhaps Roosevelt will shine more brightly on the international field? Alas no, for we learn that "the Atlantic Charter has lost, under the impact of bitter realities, so much of its lustre that instead of being the cornerstone of a saner future it might become an insurmountable obstacle to durable reconstruction."

The liberals are like the dog chasing his own tailthe more he bites the harder it is for him to leave go. Three guesses whom the Nation declares must be elected for President. It may help if we hint that his initials are F.D.R.

time been showing symptoms of disintegration. Foreign cor- CUBA respondents reported months ago that Chiang's regional commanders were disregarding operational orders from the High Command and assuming more and more an attitude of independence from the government.

which marked the warlord period

The provincial particularism