

3,000 New
Militant Readers

— See Page 2 —

THE MILITANT

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DRIVE TO CONSCRIPT LABOR RENEWED

WLB Steel Panel Hears Facts On Low Wages, Super-Profits

Union Proves Need For Wage Increase

By Joseph Keller

While the corporations have boosted their share of the national income 62 percent during this war, the relative share of the workers has actually declined almost 10 percent.

This was the startling fact exposed by Philip Murray last week in his testimony before the War Labor Board steel panel, which heard a mass of irrefutable evidence in support of the CIO United Steel Workers' demands for wage increases beyond the Little Steel formula.

Corporations which received 8 percent of the national income in 1939, raked in 13 percent during 1942. Farmers, which include corporate and bank landowners who got the major portion of the nation's total income from 5.9 percent to 7.1 percent, or a rise of almost 83 percent. Labor, the wage-earners who constitute over 80 percent of the population, received only 59.3 percent of the national income as compared to 65.7 percent in the last pre-war year.

LABOR SHARE DECLINES

The decline in labor's share of the national income is even far greater than these figures indicate when it is considered that this share is now being divided among 12,000,000 more wage earners, and that an enormous portion of workers' incomes is paid out in price rises and the 20 percent pay roll tax.

The average steel worker ends in the red each week to the extent of \$3.44. This debt he makes up by redeeming war bonds, digging into any savings he has put aside for a "rainy day," and principally by borrowing from loan sharks or increasing his debts to merchants.

Steel workers' straight-time

Cost-Plus Hogs

Roosevelt's "Hold-the-Line" order and the Little Steel formula have had no bearing on what the steel bosses have paid themselves in fat salaries during the war period.

War-time salaries of steel corporation heads, who also own the biggest shares of stocks, rose 36.2 per cent from 1939 to 1942. Some of the most vicious opponents of wage increases for the steel workers did far, far better than this.

Eugene Grace, president of Bethlehem Steel, upped his salary take from \$271,000 in 1939 to \$527,000 in 1942—a boost of 94 per cent.

Tom Girdler, head of Republic Steel, snatched a 60.7 per cent salary raise for himself, bringing his 1942 salary to \$275,000.

E. T. Weir, head of Weirton Steel, whose thugs are terrorizing and beating up CIO union men, netted \$275,400 in 1942, "only" 52.1 per cent more than his 1939 salary.

These are the men who insist on a wage freeze.

pay now ranges from 78 cents to \$1.21 an hour, the average being \$1.06. Their average weekly pay, before taxes and other deductions, is \$56.04. This is no "silk-shirt" era for them, especially in view of the 43.2 percent rise in the cost of living since January 1941, as proved by the recent joint AFL-CIO survey. These figures were bolstered by the survey of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics showing cost of living of farm families has risen 42.6 percent.

What does the average steel worker spend his frozen wages for? Murray cited the budgets of 1,000 representative steel workers, whose earnings were paid out as follows:

For food per week, \$18.51; housing, \$25.31 a month; \$16 a

(Continued on page 2)

Steel Barons Grab Gigantic War Loot

"Greed and profiteering of corporations" have caused the "present inflationary rise in prices and cost of living," charged the CIO United Steel Workers in a brief supporting its demand for a 17 cents an hour wage increase, which Philip Murray presented last week before the War Labor Board steel panel.

A devastating barrage of facts about war profiteering and the ability of the steel corporations to pay the demanded wages without boosting steel prices was hurled at the panel by Murray.

Corporate profits before taxes increased on the average 406 percent in 1943 over the pre-war record years of 1936-1939. The estimated increase for 1944 is figured conservatively at 449 percent. Net profits, after taxes and all other costs, rose 175 percent in 1943, and are expected to shoot up to 200 percent this year. This is in contrast to the 15 percent maximum wage increase over January 1941 which the workers are permitted under the Little Steel formula.

SWOLLEN PROFITS

For the steel industry itself, the net profits before taxes from 1940 through 1942 averaged \$752,198,000 a year, an increase of 244.5 percent, and "the 1942 profit showed an amazing increase of 344.8 percent."

From the enormously swollen steel profits, and assets of over 6 billion dollars in 1942, the coupon clippers have sliced off 59.1 percent more dividends, holding in reserve as undistributed profits \$994,035,000, which have expanded by almost \$235,000,000 during the war.

Another third of a billion dollars, representing hidden profits, has been soaked away by the steel

(Continued on page 2)

Amending the "Four Freedoms"



CRDC Launches Campaign For 10,000 Signatures By July 1

The National Office of the Civil Rights Defense Committee announced this week that an intensive national campaign was opened on April 1st to gather 10,000 signatures on petitions by July 1st. These petitions protest the imprisonment of the 18 and urge President Roosevelt to grant the 18 Socialist Workers Party and Minneapolis Truckdrivers Local 544-CIO members unconditional and immediate pardon.

August Scholle, Regional Director, CIO Political Region 6, National CIO Political Action Committee, denounced the imprisonments this week in a letter to James T. Farrell, Chairman of the Civil Rights Defense Committee. He writes: "It is my considered judgment that the unreviewed conviction in the Federal Court at Minneapolis of 18 labor unionists stands as one of the gravest present challenges to the continued efficacy of the Bill of Rights. My attitude in the matter has nothing to do with the ideology of the defendants; it goes to the larger question of what the guarantees of free speech and free press mean in the Constitution. And largest of all looms the proposition that the law now covers what a man may think. This latter proposition places the citizen completely under the domination of the judiciary, astounding as that point of view may seem.

SUPREME COURT

"I believe that this case is most definitely one in which the Supreme Court of the United States should have issued a writ of certiorari and rendered a decision on the constitutional point involved. Its failure to do so established a precedent that stands from now on as a threat to freedom of expression and freedom of thought. The fear that a constitutional guarantee might not be enforceable is just as much a restriction of liberty as the complete absence of the guarantee itself.

"You may use my name in support of any appeal made to the President of the United States for full and unconditional pardons for these 18 persons..."

John M. Holly, President of the Future Outlook League, who spoke together with George Novack, National CRDC Secretary at the Cleveland CRDC meeting during Mr. Novack's visit to that city on March 26, wrote:

"After studying the case of the 18 Minneapolis prisoners convicted for alleged sedition, and following my attending your meeting on last Sunday evening in the Allerton Hotel, I am thoroughly convinced that the men and women involved are not only entitled to, but should have a thorough, unbiased rehearing in this case. . . . If the case against these persons is allowed to go uncontested, it will not be long before every group in America will eventually suffer a similar fate on practically any trumped up charges, by groups whom we may oppose or disagree with. You may depend upon me to assist in every way possible to seek the release of the Minneapolis prisoners."

CRIME DETAILS

The details of this crime are a matter of public record. The before-dawn attack on Trotsky's residence was made by 25 to 30 gangsters, who broke into the building hurling incendiary bombs and spraying machine gun bullets. They burst into the bedroom of Trotsky and his wife Natalia, ripping to pieces with machine gun slugs the bed on which the elderly couple had but a moment before been sleeping. The intended victims awakened at the first sound of firing and hid in a dark corner of the room. They thus miraculously escaped the assassins.

After the assailants, who were

(Continued on page 5)

(Continued on page 5)

DeLorenzo Indicted

Thomas De Lorenzo, president of the militant Brewster Aeronautical Local 365, CIO United Automobile Workers, has been indicted by a federal grand jury for alleged misstatements contained in an application he filed with the Federal Civil Service Commission.

This is a continuation of the witch-hunt instituted by the government against the Brewster local when the House Naval Affairs Committee last year turned its investigation of the failure of the corporation to fulfill its contracts into a smear against the union.

Immediate action was taken by the Local executive board to mobilize labor support behind their president, who is threatened with 10 years imprisonment and \$10,000 fine because of his refusal to knuckle under to the corporation and his defiance of the Congressional labor-baiters.

A resolution issued by the Local 365 executive board states: "Local 365 recognizes that the indictment of Thomas De Lorenzo is nothing more than a reactionary attempt to crush labor. The executive board goes on record to give Brother De Lorenzo all the necessary moral and financial aid required because of the indictment."

Briggs Local Calls For Revocation of No-Strike Pledge

DETROIT, Mich. — The membership meeting of 2000 workers of Briggs Local 212 UAW-CIO, held on Sunday, March 26 voted unanimously to request the International Executive Board to call a special convention in order to rescind the no-strike pledge. The president of the Briggs Local sent out notices to all the other UAW locals asking "that you follow our example by petitioning the International to call a special convention for this purpose." The letter further demands "that the Little Steel Formula be broken" and argues "that if every Local Union gets solidly behind this program and sends telegrams to Brother Murray, this pressure will assist him in this very important fight. We also believe that the revocation of the no-strike pledge is the only way to bring some of the uncooperative companies to terms."

This action of the Briggs Local is especially significant following as it does the statement issued by Wise W. Stone, Recording Secretary of the Aircraft Unit of Ford Local 600 and Lawrence Yost, President of the River

(Continued on page 2)

Manpower Shortage Created To Screen Reactionary Plot

Roosevelt Spurs Campaign for Labor Draft As Union Heads Maintain Silence on Issue

By C. Thomas

Under cover of an artificially created manpower shortage, the administration is campaigning to whip up public sentiment in favor of Roosevelt's forced labor proposal. The campaign was launched under Roosevelt's order of February 26, directing Selective Service to review the draft status of men between the ages of 18 through 37 who were occupationally deferred. It came to a head with the issuance of a directive by Major General Lewis B. Hershey, Director of Selective Service, to all draft boards ordering immediate pre-induction physical examinations for occupationally deferred men between the ages of 18 and 26. It was announced that 1,000,000 men

in this category were to be drafted no matter what the effect on war production.

Business Week, voice of the money bags cynically announces: "Manpower crisis in March," said *Business Week* on Dec. 11. Army and Navy have precipitated the crisis right on schedule."

The government announcement elicited a howl from the heads of the various civilian agencies and spokesmen for industrial groups who contended that such blanket withdrawals of key men would create a manpower tangle which would be "disastrous" to "some of the nation's most vital war programs." Administration spokesmen then countered with a proposal to draft 4-F's and men between the ages of 38 and 45 for work in essential industries—those unfit for military service who were not employed in "essential jobs" to be drafted into Army labor battalions. The essence of the administration proposal is to fill the vacancies created in drafting men for military service by a forced labor draft of civilian workers.

"LABOR" REPORTS

"Union chieftains," reports Labor, official organ of the Railroad Brotherhoods, "voiced frank skepticism over the sudden hysteria. They pointed out it came at a time when, on the military side, over 4,000,000 soldiers are already abroad, and millions more at home, and on the industrial side, thousands of workers are being laid off daily due to cut-backs." Frank Fenton, AFL organizer, and a member of the War Manpower Commission's labor-management committee, declared: "The whole scare seems to add up to a neat effort to drum up sentiment for the discredited national service act."

Having failed in his initial attempt to put over a labor draft under the hysteria whipped up after General Marshall's attack on labor, Roosevelt is now executing a flank attack, by manufacturing a "manpower shortage."

Actually, the argument of a manpower shortage is as full of holes as a Swiss cheese. A few weeks ago the Truman committee reported that the peak of manpower requirements had been passed, and, as a matter of fact, unemployment is becoming serious

in many sectors because of cut-backs in war production. The Truman report recommended that the output of civilian goods be increased to absorb the unemployed and save many small plants from going out of business when their war contracts were terminated. The report condemned the "brass hats" responsible for resisting conversion to civilian production. On January 14, 1944 the N. Y. Herald-Tribune reported the announcement of the War Production Board that it had cut its estimated 1944 munitions program by five billion dollars. In a report made in March, the Federal Reserve Bank of St. Louis, stated: "Wartime industrial expansion in the area has passed its peak," and while many workers laid off in the recent period have been reemployed in factories producing civilian goods, "future layoffs, however, cannot be absorbed fully by manufacturing and a considerable number of workers may move back to trade and service establishments." The examples cited could be multiplied a hundred-fold. They tell a story contrary to the legendary manpower shortage being drummed up by Roosevelt and his agents.

Even Paul V. McNutt, chairman of the War Manpower Commission, testifying before the House Military Affairs subcommittee on the draft, declared he was not in favor of a national service act now. "I would have welcomed something of this kind eighteen months ago," he added, "but the job has been done on a voluntary basis. It has been done. Why undo it?" However, if the brass hats want it, says McNutt, "who am I to object?" That the brass hats "wanted it" was made unmistakably clear by the testimony before the committee of Robert P. Patterson, Under-Secretary of War, and Ralph A. Bard, Assistant Secretary of the Navy. They informed the committee that their preference was for a "universal manpower draft such as the Austin-Wadsworth Bill," but "in the absence of prompt enactment" of such a measure they would suggest "modification of the Austin-Wadsworth bill to conform with the 4-F plan."

In the face of the strong opposition to a "universal" forced

(Continued on page 5)

FLINT CIO ACTIVE IN NEW MICHIGAN PARTY

FLINT, Mich.—While the labor bureaucrats are helping whitewash the two corrupt old-line parties, especially Roosevelt's Democratic Party, progressive unionists of Michigan are pushing forward an intensive organizational campaign to build the Michigan Commonwealth Federation.

The MCF membership drive was launched at the first state committee meeting March 26, in Lansing, carrying out the mandates of the 415 delegates at the Detroit study conference of March 4-5. Organizational rules were adopted and plans laid for the combined constitutional-nominating convention to be held probably in July at Grand Rapids.

Meanwhile, petitions are being circulated to place the party on the Michigan ballot in November, if the convention so decides. Membership forms are being circulated and other literature prepared. County committees are

(Continued on page 5)

Stop Plot To Rehabilitate GPU Assassin Siqueiros In The US!

The long arm of Stalin's world-wide GPU murder machine is reaching out into the United States. David Alfaro Siqueiros, notorious GPU gunman, incendiary, self-confessed assassin and fugitive from Mexican justice, is preparing to enter this country with the diplomatic assistance of Nelson Rockefeller, co-ordinator of inter-American affairs.

This Stalinist gangster in 1941 skipped bail and fled from Mexico after confessing to the Mexican police that he had organized and led the GPU machine-gun and fire-bomb assault on Leon Trotsky's Coyocan home on May 24, 1940, when Robert Sheldon Harte, Trotsky's American secretary and guard, was kidnapped and murdered.

The news of this GPU hireling's projected visit to the United States was reported in Time magazine, April 3. Under the heading, "Siqueiros Rides Again," Time magazine states: "In Mexico last week David Alfaro Siqueiros . . . revealed that he is about to visit the U. S. . . ." It then goes on to add that Siqueiros openly boasted of the assistance he had already received "from Nelson Rockefeller's coordinators of inter-American affairs" during his recent junket through Latin American countries.

It was only a few weeks ago that the sudden reappearance of Siqueiros in Mexico created a sensation and a public scandal. His presence was discovered accidentally by a reporter for the Mexico City daily newspaper Excelsior who ran into this "renowned fugitive from justice" on a bus. According to this reporter:



Reprinted from Excelsior

GPU Gunman Siqueiros

reentered the country (Mexico)—coming from Cuba and accompanied by his wife, Angelica Arenal—is one of those things which seem destined to remain a profound mystery." (Excelsior, March 1.)

On March 3, Excelsior reported: "Since his (Siqueiros') arrival in this city seven or eight days ago he has been seen widely and has made no attempt whatsoever at concealment. It is obvious

from this that he 'does not fear the police' and that he doesn't care a hang about the charges still pending against him in the First Penal Court—charges of the crimes of attempted homicide, discharging of firearms, house-breaking, and property damage."

The next day, the same paper reported:

"The judge of the First Penal Court has already declared that his order of arrest against the artist and fugitive from justice, although never carried out, still remains in force, but that it is outside his jurisdiction to see that it is carried into effect."

What is this mysterious power that renders a fugitive from justice immune, enabling him to flee and reenter Mexico at will, and to flout the courts? It is the power of Siqueiros' employers in the Kremlin, the power of Stalin's GPU, whose assignment to assassinate Leon Trotsky this criminal tried to carry out in May 1940.

The details of this crime are a matter of public record. The before-dawn attack on Trotsky's residence was made by 25 to 30 gangsters, who broke into the building hurling incendiary bombs and spraying machine gun bullets. They burst into the bedroom of Trotsky and his wife Natalia, ripping to pieces with machine gun slugs the bed on which the elderly couple had but a moment before been sleeping. The intended victims awakened at the first sound of firing and hid in a dark corner of the room. They thus miraculously escaped the assassins.

After the assailants, who were

(Continued on page 5)

Trotskyists In Italy Issue Call For Socialist Struggle

Denounce the Betrayals by the Second and Third International; Summon Masses to Fight for Socialist United States of Europe

A very important document has just arrived in this country. It is the Manifesto issued by the Italian Trotskyists in the name of the Provisional National Center which has been constituted for the building of the Communist Internationalist Party (Fourth International). The text of this document is the first definitive proof that the genuine voice of revolutionary socialism is beginning to make itself heard amid the crucial events in Italy.

Calling upon the workers of the world to "unite on the principles of the class struggle," the Manifesto begins by a forthright condemnation of the treachery of the Second and Third Internationals. It states:

"Comrades, we issue this Manifesto in order to make clear our political position and our tasks with regard to the war, and the direction and development of political events. Our task is to show the working class the road to the socialist revolution — the socialist revolution that has been betrayed by the parties of the Second and Third Internationals which, repeating the treachery of 1914-1918, have gone over to the imperialist war camp under the slogan of 'national unity.'"

"It is because of this type of politics that the working class of all countries lack revolutionary parties, while the unleashed war continues to starve, convulse and drown the whole world in blood."

Monstrous Deception

The Manifesto then goes on to expose in unambiguous terms the fraud that this is a war of "ideologies":

"It is a monstrous deception to explain the causes and aims of the present war as a conflict between democracy and fascism, in the manner of the parties of the Second and Third Internationals. It is a lie propagated all over the world, devised by the greed of world finance capital which seeks to divide the workers and the peoples, pitting them against each other in a war that is being fought solely for imperialist aims; a war that cannot solve but only aggravate the problems of the world crisis."

"The causes and aims of the war have nothing to do with an ideological struggle between democracy and fascism. The present conflict, a sequel to 1914-1918, constitutes the most dramatic event in modern history, and should be viewed within the framework of an entire epoch, an event predetermined by the insoluble crisis of world capitalist economy in its imperialist putrefaction."

The "democrats" and fascists alike pursue essentially the same aims. In the words of the Italian Trotskyists:

"The present war involves the clash of two powerful camps, both with well-defined aims. Both war camps are torn by internal conflicts which threaten with the further development of events to rip them apart, with each power struggling for its own interests, pursuing its own aims."

Hypocritical Pretenses

"Despite their hypocritical pretenses of democracy, the Anglo-American powers, basing themselves on their control of world markets, colonies and shipping lanes, are conducting with all their tremendous resources a war of conquest and for the establishment of their hegemony."

"The Axis powers — fascist to the marrow — are likewise fighting an imperialist war in a desperate attempt to upset the old balance of power, to impose a redivision of the wealth of the world and to obtain access to the world markets, colonies and shipping lanes."

Then follows a brief paragraph with regard to the Soviet Union. This part constitutes the vaguest and weakest section of the document, as it fails to draw a distinction between the reactionary program of the Stalin regime and the progressive struggle of the Soviet masses

to safeguard the remaining conquests of the October Revolution. The Manifesto leaves the false impression that Stalin is merely an agent of Anglo-American imperialism, while in reality the Kremlin bureaucracy pursues its contradictory aims. The text of this section follows:

Soviet Union

"The Soviet Union, in the United Nations bloc, is bleeding itself white, not for revolutionary aims, but for the aims of Anglo-American imperialism. The promises of a democratic peace, of economic well-being and of liberty made by these Anglo-American democracies and concurred in by Stalin's government, are a deception just as in 1914-1918, and cannot by any means constitute the aims of the proletariat either of the Soviet Union or of any other country."

Warning that unless the workers pursue their socialist goal, reaction will continue to reign, the Manifesto states:

"Whatever the democratic regime of tomorrow may be — it will pave the way for reaction unless capitalism is abolished — it will be merely a capitalist government with the velvet glove covering the mailed fist against the proletariat."

The only way out is the road of socialism. The concluding section of the Manifesto calls upon the workers to resume their struggle for socialism despite and against the betrayals of the Social-Democrats and the Stalinists:

"The Second International has betrayed these socialist aims since 1914. The Third International has followed suit in the present war. Having organized and directed the defeats of the European workers, it has dragged the entire world proletariat including the Soviet Union into a useless war."

"Workers! It is necessary to struggle against the war without let-up, in order to achieve a just peace for all peoples."

The key lesson of our entire epoch — the urgent need and the paramount role of the proletarian party — is underscored:

"To accomplish these tasks a strong and disciplined Bolshevik-Leninist revolutionary party is necessary. Without revolutionary doctrine and a class party, the proletariat will come out of the war crushed by the treacherous politics of the Second and Third Internationals."

The Struggle

"The struggle for the building of the International Communist Party and for a Fourth International is the fundamental task of the vanguard of the proletariat; the sole condition for guiding the workers in the struggle for power, in the abolition of the capitalist state, and the construction of a socialist economy in Italy and the Socialist United States of Europe."

"To the social-patriotic Committee of National Liberation of the 'Sforzas', must be counterposed class organizations, the councils of workers, peasants and soldiers. To the capitalist slogans against a king — with or without a regency — a policy that serves only to safeguard the financiers, the industrialists, the church hierarchy, the landowners — in short, capitalism — must be counterposed the demand for a constituent assembly on the basis of freedom of the press, of assembly, of the right to strike, increases in wages, bread, the right to work, land to the peasants, and other slogans to prepare the rising of the proletariat, to pave the way for the socialist revolution in Italy and in the world."

The Manifesto which bears the signature of Rolando, Secretary of the Provisional Center; and which is dated Bari, December 15, 1943, concludes with the following slogans:

"Down with Fascism! Down with Capitalism!
"Long Live the Socialist United States of Europe, United with the Workers of the World!
"Long Live the Workers Revolution in Italy!
"Long Live the Fourth International!"



The strength of the French underground is well illustrated in this picture, taken when underground fighters marched through Oyonnax, France, on their way to hold memorial ceremonies. Faces of cheering townspeople are blacked out to prevent reprisals by the Nazis.

Kremlin Makes Plans To Knife Italian Revolution

By James Cowan

Stalinist policy in Italy, following upon Moscow's action in establishing diplomatic relations with the regime of Badoglio-King Victor Emmanuel, is taking shape in the sinister form of a reactionary plot against the revolutionary movement of the insurgent Italian masses:

M. Ercoli, general secretary of the Italian Communist Party and well-known as an agent of Stalin's G.P.U., has revealed the nature of the Stalinist policy. It follows the pattern made familiar during the Spanish civil war in which the Stalinist agencies combined with the most reactionary political cliques for the purpose of strangling the Spanish revolution.

Upon his arrival in Naples last week, after having spent 18 years in the Soviet Union where he performed every dirty task assigned him by the Kremlin bureaucracy, Ercoli announced a program to be presented to the Italian Committee of National Liberation, calling for:

1. A "united front of democratic, liberal and anti-fascist forces."
2. Formal assurance that "the problem of state institutions" would be solved only by the entire nation through the convocation of a constituent assembly—after the war.
3. A new temporary government "deriving its strength and authority from the support of the great mass parties" and "capable of organizing a genuine, great war effort of the whole country, including primarily the creation of a strong Italian army to fight the Germans."

NO EXPLANATION

Abandoning without a word of explanation the previous position of the Italian Stalinists to Badoglio and the King, Ercoli declared that until after the war "we consider the King to be not a person but an institution and therefore there is no question of changing this institution now."

The Italian workers certainly never regarded the King as just a "person." To them the monarchy and all its aides and supporters were also an "institution"—one which was and is symbolic of the capitalist system and of the fascist regime to which that system gave rise. In their fight against this symbol they have shown their determination to end that system and all it stands for.

The Stalinists, however, have ranged themselves openly on the side of the monarchist clique which the workers have steadily refused to tolerate, and on the side of the Allied imperialists without whose aid the clique and its supporters, the capitalists of

Italy, would long since have been hurled into the garbage can of history.

In Algiers, while en route to Italy, Ercoli made a statement in which he said: "I must first of all express my gratitude to the Allied authorities who are giving me the possibility one more to take my place in my country and in my party." No word of gratitude to the Italian working-class whose action in smashing Fascism made his return to Italy possible!

STALINIST AGENTS

The Allied imperialists know what they are about. Stalinism has become a most valuable weapon in the arsenal of imperialism. Everywhere the Stalinists can be relied upon to mislead and disorient the workers, to stab them in the back and betray their just struggles. It is one of the main preoccupations of the Kremlin to prevent social revolution, for a revolution anywhere would undermine, and help in the eventual destruction of, the counter-revolutionary clique which rules in Moscow. The Allied imperialists understand this. That is why they facilitated Ercoli's journey to Italy.

The Italian workers desire an end to the imperialist war which is reducing their country to a shambles. Ercoli takes on the job of keeping them tied to the Allied war machine as previously Mussolini had them harnessed to the Axis war chariot.

"We are against anything which would weaken the sacred struggle (read imperialist war) which we must carry on for our complete liberation from the shameful regime of Hitlerite occupation," Ercoli told an interviewer. Here, written plainly for all to see, is an announcement that the Stalinists intend to conduct a campaign of slander, intimidation, threats and even murder against every oppositionist element in the workers' ranks. Such oppositionists will be branded as "Trotskyite fascists" if they refuse to fall in line. The Stalinist Daily Worker issued several months ago ominous threats against political opponents in Italy. Now Ercoli, one of Stalin's GPU agents is sent to Italy, to personally direct operations.

COUNTER-REVOLUTION

What is now in progress in Italy is a gigantic attempt to disorient, disorganize and throttle the whole movement of the revolutionary masses, to deliver the masses, bound and gagged, to the forces of capitalist counter-revolution. Badoglio and his monarchist generals proved impotent to halt the resistance. The Allied occupation forces are confronted more and more with active hostility and opposition. Now come the Stalinist misleaders, and attempt to use their

prestige, to shut off the struggle of the masses and shackle them behind the military dictatorship of Badoglio and the King. The Stalinists are attempting to build a peoples' front in Italy on the broadest possible basis—to unite monarchists, fascist officials, brass hats, capitalist politicians—everybody except revolutionary workers. The "peoples' front" in Spain proved a noose for the Spanish revolution. Now the Stalinists are attempting to resurrect it on Italian soil.

The Italian workers have this incomparable advantage over their Spanish brethren who were knifed in the back by Stalin's counter-revolutionary mafia: they are forewarned and thus better able to defend themselves against the foul plottings of the Stalinist machine.

REVOLUTIONISTS' DUTY

The Italian revolutionists now face the duty of exposing Stalinism before the Italian masses for the counter-revolutionary force that it is, they have the duty of destroying all Stalinist influence in the Italian labor movement. This is a necessary pre-condition for the health and the future growth and success of the Italian socialist revolution.

To the treacherous Stalinist proposals for a peoples' front with Badoglio and the King, the revolutionary socialists must counterpose the demand for united workers' councils of action, to struggle for the needs of the masses against the capitalist government of Badoglio and the King.

The Italian masses want bread, security and peace. They will win these objectives only in the struggle for the socialist revolution, against the Anglo-American imperialists, against the Italian Capitalist and Monarchist cliques and against their Stalinist agents.

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Churchill Vote Reveals Growth Of Social Crisis

By Ralph Graham

Winston Churchill's government suffered its first parliamentary defeat last week when the House of Commons, by a vote of 117 to 116, passed an amendment to the government's Education Bill which provided equal pay for men and women teachers. Churchill's cabinet met and decided to make the issue one of "confidence" in the government by resubmitting it to the House, which then proceeded to adopt the bill minus the amendment by a vote of 425 to 23.

Taken in conjunction with other recent developments, particularly the coal miners' strike and the election of independent left-wing candidates, this parliamentary incident shows the extent to which Britain's artificial national unity is breaking down before the realities of the class struggle. At the same time, Churchill's demand for a vote of confidence upon a relatively minor domestic issue indicates the fear of the British capitalist class that the smallest breach in the structure of their rule may release the pent-up floodwaters of social discontent.

"CONFIDENCE" VOTE

Churchill made clear the importance of the issue when he threatened to resign unless Parliament reversed itself. The opposition, including the bulk of the Labor members, promptly tucked their tails between their legs and voted "confidence" in the imperialist government.

For more than four years the British working-class has been tied to the Tory war machine through the "political truce" between the Labor Party and the capitalist parties. The truce is expressed in the coalition government and the inter-party agreement whereby it is understood that the Labor Party does not contest parliamentary elections in constituencies held by the Tories, and vice versa.

As the war has dragged on, however, the conditions of the British workers have steadily worsened, while the exploiters, the British capitalists, have continued their accustomed lives of luxury with but the slightest inconveniences. The political truce has meant, in effect, that the workers have had to submerge their own class interests to enable the imperialists to prosecute a war which has brought the workers nothing but misery and hardship.

THE AWAKENING

The workers have lately been indicating their realization of the true meaning of the political truce. First signs of the awakening were observed in a number of by-elections where they violated the truce and ran their own candidates in Tory-held constituencies, winning the elections hands-down. Then came the great coal strikes, in which the workers fought for improvement of their conditions despite the dire warnings of the capitalists and their government.

These developments were undoubtedly in the foreground of Churchill's mind when, on the issue of the Education Bill, he cracked down vigorously on the spineless opposition by his threat to resign. The fundamental question involved is the growing discontent and rebellion of the workers, their refusal to remain passive objects of exploitation. And the class war cannot be exercised by a parliamentary vote of confidence in Churchill's government.

The labor skates in the British Parliament may express their confidence in Churchill, but the feeling is not shared by the British workers. The continuing strikes

and violations of the political truce on a local scale are conclusive proof of that. And it is confirmed by the London correspondent of the New York Times who reported on March 30 that "few even among his (Churchill's) most ardent supporters could fail to see he had lost ground as the nation's leader."

SUSPENSION OF TRUCE

Driven into opposition by the growing pressure of the dissatisfied workers, the Labor Party is now reported to be seeking a partial suspension of the electoral truce with the Tories. According to Frederick Kuh, London correspondent of the Chicago Sun, "this is the first move toward the break-up of the coalition government under Prime Minister Churchill, which may nevertheless remain in office until after Germany's defeat. Labor's decision, however, reflects growing popular restiveness, not with the Premier's conduct of the war, but with the slowness of social change and doubts regarding the cabinet's qualifications to lead the country when peace is restored in Europe."

Translated into more direct language, this means that the workers are no longer prepared to submerge their own interests for the sake of the war, the imperialist character of which becomes plainer every day. It means, too, that they do not want to entrust England to capitalist rule.

In line with their entire policy of collaboration with the British capitalists, the labor misleaders are doing all in their power to sidetrack and halt this movement of the British workers toward class independence. To the proposal for a "partial" suspension of the electoral truce is attached a proviso that the Labor Party agrees to back only those candidates who support the imperialist war. Thus a genuine workers' representative who opposes the slaughter would be fought not only by the Tories and the capitalist class, but also by the bureaucrats who control the Labor Party machine.

TRICKS INEFFECTIVE

In essence, the move toward partial suspension of the electoral truce is designed to prevent a real break between labor and the Tory government. But tricks of this kind will not serve the intended purpose for very long. All the conditions of life drive the workers forward in the direction of independent class action. In the further unfolding of the struggle the workers will be compelled to break from the labor lieutenants of capitalism, to create a new leadership devoid of any ties with the exploiting class, and to move onto the road of the socialist revolution in alliance with their class brothers on the European continent.

The British workers unquestionably desire the defeat of Hitler and the crushing of hated Nazism. Yet the truce with the capitalists into which they were forced by their "leaders" has served only to prop up Hitler's power. Pointing to the "unity" of the British nation, Hitler demanded and has largely been able to maintain the "unity" of the German nation for the accomplishment of his imperialist war aims. No greater blow could be struck at Hitlerism than by a clean break of the British working-class from the leading-strings of the Tory-capitalists. It is only along this road that both British and German imperialism can be vanquished, the frightful war brought to an end, and a vista of peace and plenty through socialism opened up for all mankind.

British Strike Wave Spreads As Workers Defy Repression

By LOUIS BONN

Britain's greatest militant labor upsurge of the past 18 years again threatens to spread, as over 135,000 coal miners and shipyard workers continue their strikes in defiance of the Churchill government's army draft threats and the frantic back-to-work appeals of their own traitorous union leaders.

Last week some 45,000 shipbuilding workers employed in the huge Tyne-side, Clydeside and Belfast, North Ireland, shipyards joined the strike ranks of the 90,000 South Yorkshire coal miners who walked out over two weeks ago.

Government officials termed the current strike movement the "worst labor crisis" since the 1926 General Strike and spokesmen of the Fuel Ministry are voicing the fear that the Yorkshire struggle may spread amongst all the 700,000 British coal miners.

A strikebreaking attempt to send thousands of them into the coal pits under the Essential Works Order, has evoked the threat by the government to draft them into the armed forces.

The British capitalist press, which at first described the strikes as "spontaneous" and "without any definite leadership or program," have opened up a smear campaign charging that the strikes are being fomented by "subversive elements," including Trotskyists, and report that Scotland Yard detectives are seeking out the strike leaders. The threat of a witch-hunt and prosecution is intended to further intimidate the strikers.

Mine union officials only intensified the wrath of their striking members when they publicly termed the Yorkshire strike "sabotage and stabbing the Government in the back." These officials last week spread the false report that the miners had accepted the grudging concessions offered by the Churchill Fuel Ministry in answer to the miners' demands for rectification of their grievances rising out of the government's Porter Commission wage awards.

These wage awards, granted last January, rejected all of the miners' basic demands and instituted minimum wages which resulted in actual wage cuts for many miners and no gains for most. The "concessions" offered since as a consequence of the recurrent mine strikes have only made the miners angrier, since they contained several slyster pieces of additional chiseling on the miners' wages, such as requiring payment for household coal the miners previously received without cost.

The last big upsurge of British labor resulting from the conditions of the first World War did not begin until a year after the Armistice, culminating in the historic 1926 General Strike. Today, British labor has begun another historic struggle in the very midst of World War II.

German Communists

Despite more than ten years of effort by Hitler's Gestapo to eliminate Communism from the political map of Germany, the movement still lives and carries on a vigorous activity, according to a New York Times dispatch from Stockholm which quotes "private information from a reliable source."

Nor is it just "Communism" of the bowdlerized, social-patriotic Stalinist type, for according to the dispatch "the new crop of German communists are convinced internationalists," which fact, it is pointed out, "may perhaps make cooperation with Moscow difficult."

This report is of the highest significance. It means not only that a decade of Nazi terror has failed utterly to extirpate the workers' revolutionary movement, but that the efforts of the Stalinists during the same period have likewise failed to uproot the ideas of socialist internationalism from the ranks of the vanguard.

The report goes on to state that the Gestapo has captured and executed some of the participants in this new revolutionary movement, but only "small fry." The movement, however, continues its activities through secret "cells" which "sabotage war industries and agitate among foreign workers."


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Seventeenth Anniversary Of Chinese Revolution Recalls Role Of Chiang Kai-Shek As Executioner Of The Masses

By Li Fu-jen

In these days when the magic wand of imperialist propaganda changes bloody dictators and reactionary monarchs into champions of democracy and liberty (provided, of course, they have entered the war camp of the self-styled "United Nations") it is well that we remind ourselves and the workers, of the real character of these men and the political regimes which they represent.

Chiang Kai-shek, butcher of the Chinese masses and head of a reactionary semi-colonial government, is a case in point. On April 12 it will be 17 years since Chiang, helped by the same imperialists who today have dressed him up in the garb of a "defender of democracy," staged a coup d'etat at Shanghai which was the opening assault in a savage campaign that exterminated a popular revolution of the Chinese masses. The entire history of Chiang's regime is written in the blood and agony of the Chinese people.

Driven by the direst economic necessity, and inspired by the flaming example of Bolshevik Russia, the oppressed of China had risen to take over the land and the factories and to drive the imperialist freebooters from their country. Stalin proved to be the grave-digger of their revolution and Chiang—the executioner.

From the spring of 1925, which was marked by the great strike movements at Shanghai, Hongkong and Canton, the revolution had proceeded in an ever-ascending curve. Workers who had never known what it was to belong to an organization flowed into trade unions by the hundreds of thousands. Peasants formed village organizations. Class-conscious proletarians by the thousand entered the youthful Communist Party.

This elemental movement of the masses took on the aspect of a tidal wave. The most advanced revolutionary ideas were caught up by the awakened Chinese toilers, who manifested the utmost determination to carry them into action. The imperialists trembled for their vested interests and sent their warships and troops to the principal ports. The native exploiters, who hoped to use the masses for the purpose of extracting concessions from the imperialists, viewed with misgiving the process by which a movement which began as a campaign against foreign domination, took on more and more of a class character, with the masses directing their blows at both foreign and native exploiters.

Capitalist Class Leader

Chiang Kai-shek, leader of the native capitalist class, sought to vanquish the regional military chiefs who were the puppets and agents of the various imperialist powers, and unify the country under a national capitalist government.

To liquidate the regional militarists Chiang needed mass support. The masses, however, would rally only to a party with a radical program, or which they believed had one. They were following the Communist Party. It was therefore necessary to use the Communist Party. Through his own party, the Kuomintang, Chiang entered into a so-called "united front" agreement with the C. P.

On the direct instructions of the Comintern, dominated at that time by Stalin and Bukharin, the Third Conference of the Chinese Communist Party, in June, 1923, raised the slogan: "All work for the Kuomintang!" And its Manifesto proclaimed that "the Kuomintang should be the central force of the national revolution and should stand in the leading position."

This classic reformist dogma, which Lenin fought against in Russia, meant loss of the political and organizational independence of the C. P. and the subordination of the class interests of the toilers to the class interests of their exploiters and oppressors. The C. P., instead of becoming the revolutionary leader of the exploited people, became a miserable political appendage of the Chinese capitalist class. Never before had a party with a great revolutionary mission so shamefully abdicated its historic role.

Throughout the years 1925-27 the Chinese Communists acted as a brake upon the developing revolution. When peasants rose up to seize the land from reactionary landlords, the Communists restrained them. Otherwise, don't you see, the landlords would be antagonized and the "national united front" disrupted. When workers went on strike against Chinese capitalists, the Communists acted similarly, for the capitalists, like the landlords, were not to be antagonized.

Chiang Advances on Shanghai

In the summer of 1926 Chiang Kai-shek embarked on the great northward expedition from Canton to the Yangtze, subduing local militarists who would not acknowledge his leadership, making deals with those who did. To the accompaniment of this expedition, which had the effect of rousing more millions of the oppressed, the Chinese revolution moved toward its tragic climax.

On February 17, 1927, Chiang's forces had advanced to within easy reach of Shanghai, where they were expected to clash with the local militarist, Sun Chuan-fang. The workers of this great indus-

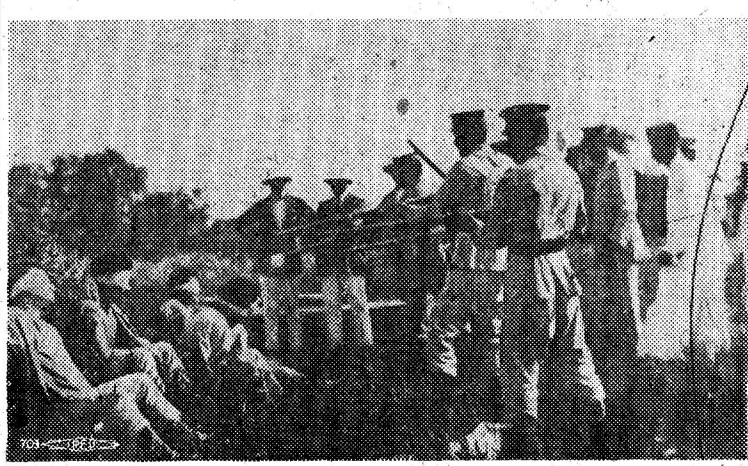


The scene above was typical of hundreds throughout Chinese cities in the bloody terror that followed Chiang Kai-shek's coup d'etat. The slain bodies lying on the street before a large textile mill in Shanghai are those of "suspected" workers dragged from the factory and shot dead. Their fellow workers stand by to pay their last respects, as a Kuomintang policeman, pistol still in hand, stalks arrogantly from the scene.

trial center greeted the approach of the nationalist troops with a general strike. Within 48 hours more than 350,000 workers were on the streets. The city was stopped dead. The slogans of this great political strike reflected unfortunately the class-collaborationist character of the C. P. program: "Support the Northern Expeditionary Army!", "Overthrow Sun Chuan-fang!", "Hail Chiang Kai-shek!"

Bound by their Moscow-dictated pact with Chiang, the Communists grew fearful of this great mass movement. They failed to give it leadership and facilitated the breaking of the strike by Sun Chuan-fang's police and armed gangsters. Many of the best worker-militants were captured and executed. The workers armed themselves and fought back against the police terror, and this defensive movement, rapidly passing over to the offensive, compelled the Communist Party leaders to make plans for an armed uprising. They had no intention however of establishing workers' power. They simply intended to crush Sun Chuan-fang—and turn Shanghai over to the "great liberator" Chiang Kai-shek.

The uprising took place on February 22 and was bloodily suppressed. Fighting in the streets continued until the 24th and then died out. Chiang had his troops halt some distance from Shanghai to enable the Shanghai garrison commander to carry out a blood-



A common scene after counter-revolution had triumphed at Shanghai. Militant workers and intellectuals face an executioner's firing squad on the outskirts of the city. The white-gowned figure at the right is the magistrate. The helmeted men in the background are white officials of the Shanghai International Settlement.

letting of the workers. Later he rewarded this butcher with the command of one of his armies.

Trained Worker's Militia

However, the events of February 19-24 were merely the prelude to a vastly greater attempt by the Shanghai workers to establish their own power. They had been defeated but not crushed. Their organizations were still intact. March 21 was set as the date for a new strike and insurrection. The Chinese Communists, young, inexperienced were completely disoriented by Stalin's policies and instructions. They were carried along however by the surging mass movement and found themselves in a position where, despite Stalin's orders, they were forced to lead the insurrection, even though halfheartedly. They still planned to turn Shanghai over to Chiang after the workers had captured it.

The military nucleus of the insurrection was a trained workers' militia of about 5,000 men divided into squads of twenty and thirty. For arms, at the beginning, they had only 150 Mauser pistols—less than one per squad. The others fought against the police and soldiery armed only with clubs, knives and axes. But—testimony to their magnificent will to win and their matchless courage and ingenuity—by the late afternoon of March 22 all of the city—except the foreign concessions—was in the hands of the revolutionary workers who had fought down and vanquished (where they did not win over) the police and soldiers of the other side. A white flag over the North Station signaled the end of the last pocket of resistance to the triumphant workers. The sounds of rifle fire gave way to the crackle of fireworks and the shouts of workers celebrating their victory.

After it was all over, the First Division of Chiang's nationalist troops reached the city. Their commander Hsueh Yoh, despite contrary orders from Chiang, had been compelled by pressure of his own ranks to come to the help of the workers, but by the time the troops arrived, the workers, unaided, had done the job of sending Sun Chuan-fang into limbo.

Chiang himself reached Shanghai on March 26. His first caller was Hwang Ching-yung, gangster leader of the notorious secret society known as the Green Circle which was to play a leading role as executioner of the Shanghai proletariat. His next visitor was T. Patrick Givens, head of the political department of the imperialist police force of the Foreign Settlement, who presented the "anti-imperialist" Chiang with a pass for entering the foreign concession areas and accorded him the privilege of traveling therein with an armed guard. Chiang for his part, assured Givens that he would "cooperate with the foreign police of Shanghai" and then plunged into conference with his aides and supporters to see how "law and order" could be reestablished.

While Chiang plotted against the workers, preparing to drown in blood the new power which they had organized and which in every respect was preserving order, the workers were being prepared by the Communist Party leaders to welcome Chiang as their liberator, as the leader of the national revolution against imperialism. Stalin had declared Chiang to be "a reliable ally"—one who "will not betray." And although the Chinese Communists, with good reason, had misgivings on this subject, they kept their counsel to themselves.

Conspiracy of Silence

These C. P. leaders were engaged in a conspiracy of silence—a conspiracy to conceal Chiang Kai-shek's counter-revolutionary role. Along the route of the northward march from Canton, Chiang had employed reactionary troops in a reign of terror against the peasants in the countryside and the workers in the towns, exterminating revolutionary militants by the thousands with brutish bestiality. Where elements of feudal reaction had been overthrown by the masses in advance of the arrival of Chiang's troops, Chiang restored these elements to power as his vassals—heedless of the fact that Stalin had assigned him the role of leading a national revolution which, among other things, was to liquidate these feudal elements.

The Communist Party leaders could not proclaim these facts, could not expose Chiang's reactionary role—because they were under constantly-reiterated orders from Moscow (which also knew the facts) not to break with Chiang and the Kuomintang, but on the contrary to do everything necessary, including crawling on their bellies before Chiang, to preserve the "national united front."

Trotsky demanded at that time that the Chinese C. P. break with the Kuomintang and assume complete political and organizational independence. That it lead the masses instead of restraining them. That it pursue its own independent program and prepare the workers for the nation-wide seizure of power. On April 3, 1927 Trotsky submitted for publication in the Soviet press an article embodying this program entitled "Class Relations in the Chinese Revolution." It was refused publication under Stalin's orders.

The workers of Shanghai, instead of being aroused to revolutionary vigilance against Chiang's capitalist counter-revolutionary stroke, were being lulled into a feeling of false security by their leaders. While their executioner stood at the very gates of their new citadel of power, the workers, kept in ignorance of Chiang's real role, were preparing to welcome Chiang—as their great liberator!

Chiang's First Division

The First Division of Chiang's army had arrived in Shanghai on March 22 under command of Hsueh Yoh. It was composed of seasoned soldiers deeply conscious of their bond with the revolutionary workers, which explains why they insisted that their commander take them to Shanghai to aid the workers' revolution. Chiang, within a week of his arrival in the city, ordered Hsueh Yoh to remove his troops. The young division commander, himself sympathetic to the workers' cause, appeared before the Central Committee of the C. P. and confided to them his knowledge that Chiang was preparing a counter-revolutionary stroke. He offered to defy Chiang and hold his troops in readiness to aid the workers in crushing any attempt at a coup d'etat.

Demoralized by Moscow's conciliatory policy which called for preserving the "national united front" at all costs, the Chinese Com-

munist Party leaders would not take responsibility for asking Hsueh Yoh to keep his troops in the city in defiance of Chiang. Instead they addressed a humble petition to Chiang asking that the First Division be kept in the city. Chiang's answer was a peremptory order to the young general to move his troops out at once. The troops, lacking any other directive, and having confidence in the judgment of the Communists, departed. Workers' Shanghai lost a precious ally.

From then on Chiang moved swiftly. Piecemeal attacks on the workers by reactionary troops which had replaced the First Division took place all over the city. Workers' pickets—the Chinese equivalent of the Russian Red Guard—were set upon in the streets by soldiers and gangsters. Raids took place on union headquarters. Even the city Kuomintang office, largely under Communist influence, was closed down. The workers were bewildered by these events and thought them due to some misunderstanding. For were they not told that Chiang Kai-shek was their true leader and liberator?

Chiang's Counter-revolution

The counter-revolutionary coup which was to smash the revolution opened on the morning of April 12 when attacks by troops, police and armed gangsters were launched simultaneously against the five proletarian districts of the city. The workers were caught unawares by the turn of events. Too late, their leaders issued a call for a general strike. More than 100,000 workers responded to the call and armed themselves to ward off the attacks of the counter-revolution. It was an unequal struggle whose tragic ending had been predetermined by the false and vacillating policy of the workers' leaders. The Communist Party leaders had done nothing to prepare for the counter-revolutionary stroke while the class enemy was making every possible preparation.

The workers' revolution was shattered and drowned in its own blood. The flower of the militant working-class was slain amid scenes of the wildest savagery. The Chinese bourgeoisie under Chiang's leadership displayed a relentless determination in pursuing its bloody task—a determination that had been conspicuously lacking in the Communist Party leadership which left the workers unprepared and virtually defenseless in face of their mortal foe. Working-class victims were numbered by the thousands. Both in the number of victims and the savage cruelty visited upon the vanquished, the defeated Chinese revolution ranks with the Paris Commune of 1871.

At Canton in December, 1927, the Communist organized an adventurist uprising on the declining wave of the revolution which had been decisively broken at Shanghai eight months earlier. More thousands of victims were added to the lists. Reaction in its most vicious forms stalked the land from one end to the other. Those who did not fall in the first attacks of the counter-revolution were in subsequent years hunted down by Chiang's police. If they escaped summary execution, it was only to die from incarceration in foul medieval dungeons. Almost an entire revolutionary generation was wiped out. Among them were not only members of the Communist



Despite the fearful bloodbath to which Chiang Kai-shek subjected them, China's oppressed masses rose to their feet again when Japan's imperialist armies marched into their country. Pictured here is part of a crowd of 50,000 workers, students and small shopkeepers which gathered in Shanghai on Sept. 26, 1931 to protest the Japanese invasion of Manchuria and the treacherous policies of Chiang's government.

Party, victims of Stalin's monstrous policy of revolutionary betrayal, but many Trotskyists, faithful heroic bearers of the banner of Lenin and Trotsky. Nor has Chiang's reactionary terror ended. It continues still. The prisons of Kuomintang China are crowded with workers, peasants, intellectuals whose only crime has been criticism of Chiang's bloody régime.

The crushing of the Chinese revolution meant a new lease on life for imperialism. It laid China open to attack by the Japanese imperialists and was no negligible factor in the preparation of the present world war. Chiang Kai-shek, the sinister agent of Chinese reaction, is being held up before the world as a "lover of liberty" both by the Allied imperialists and their allies in the Stalinist camp. But the false mantle of "democracy" cannot hide the infamous deeds of this Chinese Franco. The Chinese masses have not forgotten them. They are a part of history. Only the triumphant Chinese revolution can adequately avenge them.

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Canadian News Letter

The final Agenda of the Ontario Canadian Commonwealth Federation Annual Convention which is being held April 8th week-end in Toronto, has been sent out to the CCF clubs and constituency organizations for discussion and instruction of delegates. Scanning its thirteen pages of resolutions and amendments, even the kindest critic might be pardoned one or two gasps of bewilderment.

Presumably the Ontario CCF stands very close to the threshold of political power in Ontario. It is the official opposition. Only the loyal support of the defeated Liberal Party and the spineless yes-men of the alleged Labor Progressives (Stalinists to you) gives the present government of Conservative George Drew a majority in the Ontario House. One might expect, therefore, that the Ontario CCF would be girding its loins for the final tussle that should give it a clear majority at the next election. One might look for some evidence of this preparation in the agenda of the Ontario CCF Convention. It would be a disappointing search.

Five of the thirteen pages of the agenda are taken up with resolutions on the new constitution of the Ontario CCF. Much of the new proposals may be classed as button-polishing. Even apart from the Provincial Council's new proposals on the Constitution, there is no direct indication anywhere else on the agenda that the Convention recognizes the possibility of a sudden crisis that may precipitate a new election and the CCF's ascent to power. The whole flavor of the agenda is of polite and ladylike loyal opposition. The subjects that are dealt with specifically and which are provincial issues, show no imagination, daring, and very little courage. Some are enough to make a socialist's hair stand on end.

"Provincial" in the very worst sense is the resolution sponsored by the Kingston CCF, deploring the discussion of international issues, on which we have "no first hand knowledge". Maybe the Kingston CCF club should be moved in a body to Berlin or Cassino to get a first hand knowledge of the fact that there is an international capitalist war being waged.

Short-sighted and cowardly is the resolution, sponsored by three branches, Windsor Central, Perth and North Essex, opposing the CCF's participation in municipal election, "as a result of the recent failures of the CCF in the municipal field." Since the CCF failed to carry the country in the last federal election, why don't they drop out of that field as well?

Sensitive to every breath of criticism from the right, Port Elgin CCF deplors Sunday meetings. Capitalism makes a point of Sunday meetings, by gathering the flock into churches to hear poison against socialism. Presumably the Youth are fighting the present capitalist war, but there is only one resolution on Youth on the agenda, and that is sponsored by the CCYM of East York. It is encouraging to find there is one section of the Youth Movement still in existence, anyway.

Perth CCF has the honor of sponsoring one of the most reactionary resolutions on the agenda, as well as one of the best resolutions.

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The Negro Struggle

By Charles Jackson

The Role of the Stalinists

The American Communist Party in its early days was the most outspoken champion of the rights of the Negro people.

The members were called at that time "reckless agitators" and "provocateurs" by the reactionary Southern bourgeois because their militant program included a demand for complete racial equality. They were accused of attempting to stir up "insurrections" among the millions of disfranchised and oppressed Negroes in the South.

Many pioneer Negro Communists were beaten up and run out of town by gangs of Klansmen when they attempted to expound their program of emancipation of the working class and suppressed minorities; when they advocated militant methods of struggle by the Negro masses to fight racial segregation and discrimination. In Tennessee, Mississippi and other Southern states these fearless Communist militants were jailed by the ruling-class time and time again for utilizing their right of free speech.

Today, however, it is a known fact that the Communist party, in blind obedience to Stalin, has actually completely dropped the fight for Negro equality here in America.

This about-face switch in the party policy has been cleverly camouflaged, however, in an attempt to conceal this betrayal from the Negro rank and file party members. Worse still, even though the Negro struggle has been forsaken, attempts are still made to enmesh and befuddle the political freshmen among Negro militants so that they may be sold down the river, all on the grounds of "patriotism" to the American and British imperialists who hold hundreds of millions of our dark-skinned brothers in starving subjection throughout the world.

The average Negro worker or soldier is naturally resentful these days of the kind of treatment he is receiving in this "democracy." He has found out through experience that he cannot gain equality under Capitalism.

He looks with hope and faith to the Communists for salvation, imagining that they are naturally in the forefront in any fight for the underdog. Such is no longer the case.

The Negro Intellectuals are being used to do the dirty work in this betrayal. For example, let us examine some of the contradictory spewings of Ben Davis, Jr., Negro councilman of New York City and member of the Stalinist party. In a recent article in New Masses he states: "The Communists identify themselves with the deep indignation of the Negro masses . . . supporting the demands of these masses for the elimination of jim-crow." This is the juicy bait intended to hook the unsuspecting Negro.

In the same article, the betrayal is exposed. It reads: "Now the Communists have, however, sharply dissociated themselves from reckless methods (Davis is speaking here of the March on Washington Movement) . . . and we oppose these methods as harmful to the Negro."

How can this politically anemic hypocrite "dissociate" himself from "reckless" methods and yet even pretend to "support the demands of the masses"? And speaking of recklessness, the unexampled methods of struggle that had to be used by the Russian masses to free themselves from autocratic tyranny symbolize the heritage of real Com-

munist. Even Davis might agree that to call that struggle "reckless" would be treachery—yet this perfidious lackey who admittedly puts himself above "reckless methods" has the undiluted gall to call himself a communist.

Speaking of Randolph, Davis states that "the leaders of this movement—yielding to provocateur-Trotskyite influence—talked of starting a 'civil disobedience' campaign." Obviously this gutless brother considers "civil disobedience" too "reckless" a method for him but history proves to any one who reads it, (be he Trotskyist or not), that the real defect with such tactics consists in their pacifist nature: they are not militant enough to be successful.

For example, look at the futility of Ghandi's civil disobedience campaign in India where the British imperialists are still exploiting over 400 millions of starving Indians.

Even from a local point of view the Stalinist terminology is enlightening. "Reckless methods," "provocateur"—these same familiar words used to be applied by the reactionary ruling class to the militant Communists when they called for Negro equality. Now, wonder of wonders, we witness the same slanderous terms employed by those who dare call themselves communists to deride all people who advocate an aggressive fight for Negro rights.

Furthermore, these Stalinists are today repeatedly telling the Negro to forget his struggle now and have "patriotic" faith in the decisions of "Teheran." Nobody, however, seems to know the authentic details concerning this mysterious pact which is supposed to "deliver us from evil" on some indefinite date in the future. Although neither Stalin, Churchill nor Roosevelt have divulged the results of this secret conference, yet New York Councilman Ben Davis informs us that these three decreed that "Socialism and Capitalism would collaborate in the world of the future." Needless to say, such a paradoxical collaboration, even if "decided upon" by these three men, could never endure because the two forces are incompatible.

However, for the sake of argument, let us suppose "Teheran" could and did assure the continuance of Roosevelt's capitalism here in cooperation with Stalin's regime in Russia. How would the American Negro be affected?

Knowing that American Capitalism has relied on racial hatred as its best weapon to keep the Negro and white worker in economic subjugation, it is certainly logical to believe that its struggle to maintain the greedy profit system it will be forced in the future to keep the Negro in his present second-class status and even to draw the color line, as Bilbo said "tighter and tighter." Therefore we must conclude that anything which prolongs American Capitalism proportionately impedes the Negroes' struggle for equality.

So even if we accept Ben Davis' vapors as to the meaning of "Teheran" this ritualistic mumbo-jumbo that is being repeated by the Stalinists is prophetic only of the Negro's doom, not his salvation.

Hence this amusing—if it were not so tragic—phenomenon of the Stalinists marching under the liberal banner of Communism but actually traveling in the exactly opposite direction is one of the most dangerous and pernicious influences affecting the Negro struggle for equality.

PIONEER PARAGRAPHS

SOURCES OF STRENGTH WHICH SUSTAIN MARXIST MOVEMENT

Our party is built on correct ideas and therefore is indestructible. But, in addition to that, I believe there is in this party of ours an intangible power which reinforces the power of its ideas. That is the spirit of the party—its comradeship, its solidarity. You know the word "comrade" has been so long abused and so badly defiled by self-seekers and pretenders that honest people sometimes shrink from using the word any more. But in the movement that has been created under the inspiration of Trotsky, with his example always before us, the word "comrade" has acquired a new, fresh meaning that animates the members of our movement, not only in their political work in the class struggle, but also in their daily lives and in their associations with each other. It is not any more, not with us, a formal and conventional word, but

a bond of unity and solidarity. Our comrades are devoted to each other and trust each other. That is an intangible source of power that will yield great results in the days to come.

The grandest figure in the whole history of America was John Brown. In John Brown of Osawatimie the word and the deed were always in harmony with each other, never in contradiction, never in conflict. When the old warrior went to Harpers Ferry, to "interfere," as he said, against the abomination of chattel slavery, he took a small group of young men with him, among them some of his sons. They went to Harpers Ferry where they perished, because like Luther they could do no other. They felt required to do it. When Watson Brown, the son of the old man, lay dying in the firehouse, bleeding from his wounds, with his

Sign This Petition to Free the 18 Free The 18 Minneapolis Prisoners

FIRST TO BE CONVICTED UNDER THE SMITH "GAG" ACT FOR THEIR IDEAS AND UNION ACTIVITIES

PRESIDENT FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT WHITE HOUSE, WASHINGTON, D. C.

The undersigned respectfully petition you to grant unconditional pardon and immediate release to the 18 members of Minneapolis Truckdrivers Local 544-CIO and of the Socialist Workers Party now serving twelve and sixteen month prison sentences.

These trade-union and socialist leaders have been persecuted solely because of their opinions and their activities on behalf of labor. The U.S. Supreme Court in an unprecedented action refused to review their case even though the infamous Smith "Gag" Act under which they have been convicted clearly violates the constitutional rights of free speech and free press.

We believe that the unjust imprisonment of the 18 provides a dangerous precedent that is a threat to the democratic liberties of the American people.

We therefore urge you to uphold the Bill of Rights by pardoning the 18 Minneapolis prisoners.

| NAME | STREET | CITY & STATE |
|--|--------|--------------|
| Please return signed petition to CIVIL RIGHTS DEFENSE COMMITTEE, 160 Fifth Ave., New York City 10, N. Y. | | |
| JAMES T. FARRELL, Chairman | | |
| JOHN DOS PASSOS, Vice Chairman | | |

CRDC Begins Campaign For 10,000 Signatures

(Continued from page 1)

voice to the numerous protests by prominent national Negro organizations, in a resolution to the President. In addition, Mr. Joseph James, Committee Chairman, wrote a personal letter to President Roosevelt, declaring:

"As a Negro I have long been interested in the minorities problem in this country. The treatment accorded one minority is likely to be accorded to others. A right most important to every minority group is the right of its members to express themselves for the purpose of bettering their conditions. When that right is

denied, we see a legal weapon pointed against us. . . The Minneapolis convictions are out of line with every principle which has led minorities to support this administration."

George Novack, National CRDC Secretary has visited two more cities in his national tour to secure support for the CRDC Labor Case. From Cleveland, Mr. Novack reported on March 30:

CRDC TOUR

"Everyone was pleased with the attendance and results of the meeting held by the Local Committee at the Hotel Aljerton, on

Sunday night. Auto workers, steel workers, Negro workers attended the meeting. I spoke after John M. Holly, President of the Future Outlook League. This is the leading Negro organization in Cleveland, numbering, according to Mr. Holly, 23,000 members. It is an organization dedicated to the defense of the Negro economic and social rights and has branches in a number of other cities. Holly, who has himself been put in jail because of his fight for equal rights for his people, pledged the complete support of this organization to our Committee and its work. He gave us permission to visit any of his branches throughout Ohio."

From Toledo, Mr. Novack reported: "The Toledo public meeting on Thursday night was equally encouraging, held in the new headquarters of the Toledo CRDC in the Roi Davis Bldg. Newly-painted, newly-furnished, centrally located, it was a very attractive meeting place. There were mostly auto workers and railroad workers—in fact all were one or the other. They listened attentively, asked questions, bought literature to distribute among their friends, and contributed to the collection that night."

Among the recent trade union contributors are: Painters & Decorators No. 1309, Reading, Pa., Amalgamated Clothing Workers Local 198, Passaic, N. J., SWOC Local 1339, Jersey City, N. J., Brewers Local 2, Newark, N. J., United Packinghouse Local 15, Kansas City, Kans., UAW Local 230 Maywood Calif., Amal. Clothing Workers Local 169, N. Y. C., SWOC, Local 2715, Reading, Pa., Amal. Lithographers Women's Aux., N. Y. C., Worcester, Ind. Union Council, Worcester, Mass., SWOC 2058 Maywood, Calif., ILGWU, 160, Bayonne, N. J., United Shoe Workers Local 56-A, St. Louis, Mo., Waiters & Waitresses, Local 1, N. Y. C.

Recent Workmen's Circle contributors are: Branches 182, Bronx, N. Y., 250-Y Bronx, N. Y., 493, New Haven, Conn., 198 Hoboken, N. J., 581 N. Y. C., 43 N. Y. C., 297 N. Y. C., 294 Bronx, N. Y., 95 Perth Amboy, N. J., 461 Linden, N. J., 818 New Haven, Conn., 111 Detroit, Mich., 179 Cincinnati, O., 140 Paterson, N. J., 760 Brooklyn, N. Y., 62 Passaic, N. J., 664 Sioux City, Ia., 39 New York City, 87-B Brooklyn, N. Y., 485 Toronto, Can., 184 Hartford, Conn., 261 Bronx, N. Y., 559 Cleveland, O., 88 N. Y. C., 277 Bronx, N. Y., 108 Lakewood, N. J., 244 Bronx, N. Y., 257 Atlantic City, N. J., 224 Bronx, N. Y., 320 Albany, N. Y., 99 N. Y. C., 122, N. Y. C.

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This is contemplated at a time when world-renowned anti-fascist fighters, men and women of unimpeachable character and reputation, are being denied visas to enter this country. Among them is the aged Natalia Trotsky, widow of Leon Trotsky, who has been denied even a temporary permit to secure special medical treatment.

SINISTER IMPLICATION

The presence of Siqueiros in this country is pregnant with the most sinister implications. It cannot be regarded as anything else than a move to rehabilitate the reputation of a GPU assassin. The rehabilitation of Siqueiros will go a long way toward strengthening the hand of the GPU, and untying its hands in the United States in preparing new blows against the Kremlin's political opponents.

Every union leader, every liberal and progressive must rally to halt this brazen GPU move. The most vigorous and indignant protest must be raised against this attempt to extend the GPU terror apparatus to this country. The cynical diplomatic agents of the Roosevelt administration must be stopped in their conspiracy to rehabilitate the GPU gangster and self-confessed murderer, Siqueiros.

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Ask Your Shopmate to Subscribe to The Militant

Flint Militants Active In New Michigan Party

(Continued from page 1)

This was obviously in recognition of the labor party pioneering efforts of Flint auto militants.

To counter the growing strength of the MCF, the CIO bureaucrats are spreading the story that they have practically captured the Democratic Party of Michigan. In reality they have only provided a labor veneer to this discredited machine especially after the exposure of the wholesale bribery scandal in the Michigan legislature. Democratic leaders are only too anxious to replace some of their indicted legislators with CIO stooges.

CIO politicians boast of overwhelming CIO majorities in the Detroit and Flint delegations to the coming Democratic State convention. Just for good measure they also have a few CIO delegates to the Republican convention.

It is significant that a goodly portion of these CIO Democrats are really prominent Stalinists, advocates of piece-work speedup, strike-breaking and complete submission to the war machine. The old parties welcome such "labor representation," hoping it will help corral the labor vote. It is doubtful, however, that many Michigan workers will be deceived again.

CAMPAIGN ON

Meanwhile the MCF organization campaign is proceeding. The MCF is enrolling charter members at \$1 up to 31 days before the convention. Charter member clubs will be those formed within the same limit. Clubs will retain half the fee and half will go to the state office at Detroit, for organizational work. Unions and other groups may affiliate on a bloc basis, paying 1 cent per capita. Convention delegates,

however, must be registered members, having paid the \$1 registration fee, either to a club or to the state committee. Offices are at 606 Hofmann Bldg., Detroit 1, Mich. The phone is CA 4-3085. Commonwealth Clubs may be organized within a trade union or other group or on a neighborhood basis, by counties, cities, wards, precincts, etc.

The state committee meeting at Lansing set up four committees to prepare for the convention with the following chairmen:

Platform, Willard Martinson, educational director of Bomber Local 50, UAW-CIO, Ypsilanti; economic principles, Frank Marquart, educational director of Ford Local 600, UAW-CIO, River Rouge; by-laws and constitution, Philip Lutgen, president of Local 47, UAW-CIO; electoral activity, Blaine Marrin, financial secretary of West Side Tool and Die Local 157, UAW-CIO, Detroit.

The Genesee County Committee at Flint is headed by Chairman, Francis R. Palmer; vice chairman, Bert Boone, and secretary, Andrew Michelson, all of Chevrolet Local 659, UAW-CIO, of which Boone is president. Boone headed a "labor party" slate that swept all the Chevrolet local offices but one in the February-March elections.

DRIVE TO CONSCRIPT LABOR IS RENEWED BY ADMINISTRATION

(Continued from page 1)

labor bill, it is obvious that the strategy of the Roosevelt administration is to impose its program piecemeal. The "4-F" plan would be an entering wedge for Roosevelt's universal labor draft. How the 4-F plan would work was revealed by Col. Francis V. Keesling Jr., legislative representative of Selective Service who announced that measures had already been taken by the Selective Service system to put the

plan is nothing but a tactical adaptation of the forced labor draft intended to disarm the opponents of the latter measure and provide an entering wedge for a further extension of slave labor.

The imposition of a labor draft, modified or not, will cancel all other legislation gained by the labor movement in decades of struggle. It will undermine the unions and make the labor movement easy prey for the Big Business tycoons who rule the roost in Washington and Wall Street. Every union local must take action immediately to force the "top labor leaders" to speak out against any and every form of forced labor. Break the silence of the labor leaders by adopting resolutions demanding that they voice the unrelenting opposition to forced labor.

PROFITS FIRST

The Army accepted 250 defective engines from the Wright Aeronautical Corporation despite their previous rejection by civilian Army inspectors, it was revealed on April 4 at a court-martial of three Army Air Force officers on charges of neglect and conspiracy. William J. Ratchford, one of the inspectors, testified, "The company did not repair them and we did not accept them. Then the company said it could not meet its monthly quota and they were all accepted in that condition."

10 Years Ago In The Militant

APRIL 7, 1934

LUXEMBURG — Expelled from Holland by the Dutch government, representatives of independent proletarian youth organizations reassembled in Luxembourg to discuss the lessons of the German events, of the crisis in the international labor movement and its youth sections. Delegates from Holland, Belgium, France, Sweden, Czechoslovakia, Switzerland, Roumania, Greece, Spain, Australia and the U. S. participated; four of the representatives from Germany had been deported by Holland to Hitler Germany, and no word of their fate had been received.

The conference issued a call for the following campaign: Relentless struggle against Fascism; Against war, chauvinist and military propaganda, and the militarization of the youth; For the defense of democratic rights of the proletariat; For shorter working hours with no cut in pay; Against forced labor; For the defense of the USSR as a workers' State.

Delegates present represented the following groups: Union of Young Socialists, Holland; Revolutionary Youth Union, Holland; Young Socialist Union, Germany; Young Workers Union, Norway; Youth Group of Communist League of Struggle, U. S.; International Communist League Youth (Trotskyist), Germany, France, Belgium, U.S.A., Canada, Switzerland, Spain, Greece, Czechoslovakia, and Australia; Mot Tag Group, Norway; Federation of Young Communists, Sweden; Federation of Young Socialists, Roumania; and Unitary Federation of Young Workers, France.

NEW YORK — Trotskyist leaders participated in the Anti-Fascist Committee formed to aid Anthony Bellussi, militant Italian trade-unionist. The Militant reported Bellussi had "won the right of voluntary departure from the United States. . . sentenced to deportation to Fascist Italy, Bellussi is now enabled to escape from the clutches of the Mussolini regime."

NEW YORK — The second general strike of the New York taxi drivers was defeated. The Militant demonstrated, by "the combined forces of the companies who imported gangsters from Chicago to supplement the home supply, the police who drove scab cars and rode in them to provoke attacks by pickets, the yellow press which tried to frame up bombings on the union, the Mayor and his mediators, the NRA doves of peace. . . the Socialist party which sabotaged the strike and went in for a vicious red-baiting campaign in the union, and (by) the mistakes of the leadership."

EVERY READER OF THIS PAPER CAN

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POLITICAL PRISONERS AND THEIR FAMILIES

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CIVIL RIGHTS DEFENSE COMMITTEE
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