

Novack On CRDC Tour Addresses Labor Meetings

SEATTLE, Wash. — George Novack, National Secretary of the Civil Rights Defense Committee, has completed a week of very successful work in this area on behalf of the 18 Minneapolis prisoners convicted under the Smith "Gag" Law.

The mounting interest in the Minneapolis Case on the West Coast is evident in a letter received by the National CRDC office from San Diego: "Having read that George Novack of the Civil Rights Defense Committee is making a tour of the country in behalf of the 18 prisoners, it is my hope that he will appear in San Diego in order that the thousands of war workers may have an opportunity to hear what is being done to protest this miscarriage of justice and attack on the civil liberties of the American workers and their democratic rights."

The Local Committees in New York, Seattle, San Francisco collected about 600 signatures last week. Both the New York Knitgoods Workers Union Local 155 ILGWU-AFL and the American Federation of Hosiery Workers Branch 49, Irvington, N. J., sent signed petitions to the National Office of the CRDC, amounting to almost 300 names.

RESOLUTIONS Resolutions of protest, and urging Presidential pardon of the 18, continue to pour into the National Office. These include a resolution by the Executive Board of Industrial Union of Marine and Shipbuilding Workers of America-CIO Local 49, Bay City, Mich., Brotherhood of Railway Carmen of America, AFL Lodge No. 652, Reading, Pa., Workmen's Benefit Fund, Branch 102, San Francisco, Calif.

MAIN SPEAKER Mr. Novack also had the opportunity of addressing a membership meeting of Local 104 of the AFL Boilermakers Union. The 400 workers present expressed their solidarity with the eighteen. Mr. Novack later addressed a gathering of the NAACP given for the purpose of installing the incoming local officers. The 100 Negro leaders present received Mr. Novack's report with eager interest and expressed their solidarity with the work of the CRDC. Mr. Novack also spoke on the Minneapolis case at Rev. Shorter's church on Sunday evening.

discussed the Minneapolis case before an audience at Tacoma, Washington. This meeting was arranged through the efforts of the World Peace Movement and was held at the local YMCA. Ed Lohrre, President of Local 2-9, International Woodworkers of America, was chairman. The CRDC owes a debt of gratitude to Mr. Robert Pearsall of Tacoma who arranged this meeting.

George Novack, National Secretary of the CRDC, will be in Los Angeles and San Diego from May 8 to May 22.

Following him, William F. Bauck, Secretary of the Farmers League of Washington, spoke and sharply condemned the imprisonment of the eighteen.

Nick Hughes, Assistant Secretary of Local 104 of the AFL Boilermakers Union was greeted with applause when he stated that his local union sent him to speak in defense of the imprisoned labor leaders. He pointed out that free speech is a myth unless it is applied to all minorities and that the Smith "Gag" Law is only a part of the general campaign against the working people.

Mr. Novack, the main speaker of the meeting, gave a complete report of the history of the case and the work that has been carried on by the Civil Rights Defense Committee. The audience, composed mainly of workers from the shipyards and aircraft plants, listened with deep interest, and contributed \$100 toward the CRDC defense work in the Minneapolis case.

A letter from Mr. J. B. Simmons, Director, The Mass Movement League, a Negro organization in Toledo, Ohio, stated: "Our organization, at a regular meeting on April 16 went on record to support the Civil Rights Defense Committee in its struggle to free the 18 in the Minneapolis Labor Case. In our opinion these convictions are a threat to all minority groups. 'An injury to one is an injury to all' where civil liberties are concerned. The unprecedented refusal of the Supreme Court to review

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Big Business Opens Offensive On Union Maintenance-Of-Membership

UAW Local Makes Company Rehire Committeemen

DETROIT, Mich. — Motor Products Local 203, UAW-CIO, won a significant victory this week and temporarily stopped the company anti-union offensive.

The Motor Products Company brought to a head its campaign against the union last Wednesday night, April 19, when it suspended indefinitely five members of the bargaining committee, including Frank Donley, President of Local 203.

In line with the general policy of Michigan industrialists in harassing the unions, the Motor Products Company sent a communication to the local union with the information that henceforth all committeemen would be permitted to spend only one hour per day negotiating on grievances and bargaining procedure. Shortly afterwards, a foreman in Department 3 denounced a union steward as "working for Germany and Hitler" and a "liar." The steward demanded a retraction, and when none was forthcoming, he slapped the foreman.

The company immediately sprang into action. It brushed aside the bargaining procedure as established in the contract and fired the steward.

In a meeting of 2,000 workers held on Tuesday, April 18, the membership voted not to return to work until the guilty foreman was removed.

FIRST SHIFT The first shift, which had entered the plant on Wednesday, April 19, refused to go to work. The men resumed work only after the union bargaining committee escorted the foreman out of the plant.

The company retaliated the next day by locking out of the plant the 5 committeemen, Army Air Corps officials, who had been called into the plant in anticipation of trouble, demanded that everybody start working. But the workers, gathered together hundreds strong, shouted back: "No committee, no work!" The Air Corps officials then rounded up the remaining members of the bargaining committee and insisted

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Top CIO Officials Dominate Political Action Conference

DETROIT, MICH. — Over 500 delegates from 112 local unions representing 500,000 CIO workers participated in the organizing convention of the Wayne County CIO Political Action Committee held at the offices of UAW Local 157 at Fourteenth and McGraw on Saturday and Sunday April 22 and 23.

The large turnout of rank and file delegates representing every shade of political opinion including a sizeable group from the Michigan Commonwealth Federation attested to the conviction on the part of Michigan unionists that it was essential for labor to organize on the political front. The top officials of the UAW and CIO carefully prepared for this convention. They centered everything in the convention towards the drafting of Roosevelt, R. J. Thomas, UAW President; Walter Reuther, UAW Vice-President; and George Addees, Secretary-treasurer, as well as J. Raymond Walsh, CIO Research Director representing Sidney Hillman, head of the national CIO Political Action Committee, all delivered addresses calling for the support of Roosevelt and the Democratic Party. The rank and file delegates had little opportunity of making their voices heard.

ONE OPPORTUNITY In the one opportunity they had to voice their opinion, the delegates showed they were far from satisfied with the "company union" politics of their top leaders.

When a resolution calling for a guaranteed annual wage was introduced asking "that candidates endorsed by labor initiate and support legislation which will make this objective possible,"

SWP PROGRESS IS REPORTED AT LOS ANGELES CONFERENCE

LOS ANGELES, Calif. — The semi-annual conference of the Los Angeles section of the SWP opened Sunday April 23 at 1:00 P.M. and closed at 9:00 P.M. Throughout, the conference was marked by discussion of a type that could occur only with a party meeting with success and ground-ness in the mass movement.

The main report of the day was the organization report delivered by J. Bowers, section organizer.

Begging for a Ride

There were other indications that the ranks were as much concerned with independent political action as with drafting Roosevelt for a fourth term. The convention officially went on record for a fourth term. A rank and file delegate from the Dodge Truck Local 140 urged the delegates "to break with company unionism on the political front. Roosevelt is behind the War Labor Board and the Little Steel Formula. The endorsement of Roosevelt is like a stab in the back of the Steel workers." This thought was later repeated by another delegate who made it clear that Roosevelt was also behind the National Service Labor Draft.

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RANK AND FILE ACTION

The Convention was jealous of its prerogatives and refused to authorize the incoming officers to develop a program of action. "We

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Avery Flouts Administration In Order To Force Showdown

Roosevelt Acts in Montgomery Ward Case To Uphold Waning Prestige of Labor Board

On the eve of the invasion of Europe, American Big Business has launched another full-scale offensive — against organized labor at home. The opening of this attack has been signaled by the resistance of Sewell L. Avery, head of Montgomery Ward, to a decision of the War Labor Board and the subsequent compliance order issued by Roosevelt.

A dominant section of the capitalist class is loudly hailing Avery's defiance of the administration's army-occupation of his Chicago plant. Behind Avery's lead, Wall Street is pressing forward on every anti-labor front. It is clear that Avery's actions are part of a deliberate, organized union-busting campaign concerted undertaken by powerful financial and industrial groups.

Roosevelt's belated move against Avery to save the administration's labor relations machinery has evoked a furious reaction from Big Business. In both houses of Congress, leading committees and legislators are pushing for measures to uphold Avery's stand and curtail Roosevelt's powers. The whole capitalist press is leveling a thunderous barrage at the administration, howling about the "rights" of private property. Advancing behind this barrage toward the real objective of the offensive, the industry members of the WLB delivered a rabid denunciation of the WLB policy of granting maintenance-of-membership to the unions, the central issue in Avery's uncompromising opposition to the WLB order.

BEHIND AVERY It goes without saying that Big Business is behind Avery in his campaign to smash the union in the Ward Chicago plant. But this is merely incidental. Wall Street's larger aim, it is now clear, is to exploit and expand the breach opened by Avery on the maintenance-of-membership front.

Since Pearl Harbor, maintenance of membership has become a crucial question for the trade unions. The labor bureaucrats have surrendered one labor stronghold after another. The workers' most powerful means of defense, the right to strike, has been abandoned by the union leaders, who have disarmed labor while Big Business brandishes every weapon from its union-busting arsenal. In return for their subservience, Roosevelt has conceded the union leaders one flimsy barrier against destruction — maintenance of membership, the wa-

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United Party Launched By British Trotskyists

SPECIAL TO THE MILITANT

LONDON, March 12. — To the strains of the Internationale, the Fusion Conference of the British Trotskyists was concluded tonight. The Conference successfully has put an end to the long division of the Trotskyist forces in Britain. The two hitherto separate organizations, the Revolutionary Socialist League and the Workers International League, fused and launched the unified Trotskyist organization of Britain, the Revolutionary Communist Party.

69 delegates and a larger number of visitors from all parts of Great Britain, Eire and Wales assembled for the historic two-day Conference to debate their differences and adopt decisions on questions of policy and tactics which have hitherto separated the Trotskyist forces of Britain. The composition of the conference was almost 100 percent working class—with nearly every important industrial center represented.

The basis for the fusion of the former Revolutionary Socialist League and Workers International League was the common acceptance of the program and statutes of the Fourth International as established by the Fourth International Foundation Conference of 1938. Apart from the Fusion Resolution (printed elsewhere in this issue), the Conference adopted resolutions on Proletarian Military Policy and the War, and Immediate Perspectives.

The Conference also held an extremely spirited and thorough-

ly expose the leadership of these organizations." The resolution explains the necessity and significance of the proletarian military policy of the Fourth International and solidarizes itself with this policy.

A new constitution, combining the best features of the constitutions of both component former organizations was adopted by the Conference, and a new Central Committee elected as the leading body of the new organization. A message of fraternal greetings was delivered from the Fourth International and a message of solidarity was adopted by the Conference to the International. The Conference also sent a message of solidarity to the Socialist Workers Party, 18 of whose leaders are serving prison sentences.

MILITARY POLICY The resolution on military policy and war points out that "The second World War into which capitalism has plunged mankind in the course of a generation, and which has been raging for more than four years, is the inevitable outcome of the crisis of capitalist methods of production, long predicted by the revolutionary Marxists, and is a sign of the impasse out of which Capitalism cannot lead the mass of humanity. . . . It is the duty of revolutionary socialists to patiently explain the imperialist policy of the ruling class and to expose its false and lying slogans of the 'War against Fascism' and the 'War for Democracy.'" The resolution castigates the trade union, Labor and Stalinist leaders for their support of the war and declares, "It is the duty of revolutionary socialists to merci-

fully expose the leadership of these organizations." The resolution explains the necessity and significance of the proletarian military policy of the Fourth International and solidarizes itself with this policy.

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GPU PLOTS PRISON BREAK FOR MURDERER OF TROTSKY

On August 20, 1940, Frank Jackson, alias Jacques Monard, drove a pickaxe into the brain of Leon Trotsky, while the latter's back was turned. On his person, Jackson carried a "confession" which crudely attempted, in typical "Moscow Trial" fashion, to explain his murder because Jackson had suddenly "discovered" that Trotsky was in league with "foreign powers." The "confession" was proved to be a tissue of lies, and in itself conclusive proof that Jackson was a hired GPU assassin who had murdered Trotsky at the instructions of Stalin.

On August 29, Cardenas, the President of Mexico, issued a statement wherein he placed the responsibility for the assassina-

tion of Leon Trotsky on the Stalinists.

On April 16, 1943, nearly two years and eight months after commission of his crime, Frank Jackson was finally sentenced for the murder of Leon Trotsky, to 20 years imprisonment. (There is no death penalty in Mexico.)

Immediately following the sentence, Jackson's lawyers announced that they would appeal the decision.

Throughout the almost two years of court hearings and the interminable legal subterfuges that Jackson's lawyers have undertaken, Jackson has obviously been well supplied with money for a battery of legal counsel. In addition, throughout all this time, Jackson has enjoyed in prison all the comforts and services that money can buy. Stories of

celebrations held in his cell in which officials of the prison participated have been widely reported in the Mexican press. Newspaper reporters who interviewed him in prison all reported of the exceptional comforts in his cell, a library, special foods, etc. The source of Jackson's funds is obvious: Stalin's GPU.

CASE OF SIQUEIROS

The following item, reprinted from the Mexico City Daily, Excelsior, might seem fantastic except for the fact that David Alfaro Siqueiros, self-confessed assassin and incendiary, who organized the first May 24 GPU attack on Leon Trotsky, who jumped bail and is a fugitive from justice, is walking the streets of

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Warsaw Ghetto Anti-Nazi Uprising Of Labor

By Art Preis

The Battle of the Warsaw Ghetto, which began on April 19, 1943 and raged for 42 days, will go down in history as the first great revolutionary act of working-class mass resistance to the Nazi enslavers and hangers of Occupied Europe.

Amid the dark alleyways and crumbling walls of their rat-infested, disease-ridden Ghetto prison, 40,000 men, women and children, the proletarian remnants of the Jewish population of Warsaw, Poland, went to their death battling arms in hand against the massed, trained legions of Hitler.

With weapons sufficient for only 3,000 fighters, the starved and ragged Jewish workers, who were organized and led by the labor and socialist underground movement, for six weeks held out with revolvers, rifles, a few machine guns, home-made bombs, knives, clubs and stones against thousands of trained soldiers using heavy artillery, tanks, flame throwers and aerial bombs.

The battle ended only after the Nazis dynamited and put to the torch every hovel and tenement in the entire area, and when every Jewish fighter lay dead under the ashes and rubble that marked the site where 400,000 Jews once lived.

Three Facts

Only within recent weeks have some of the details of the Battle of the Warsaw Ghetto been revealed outside of the labor and socialist press. But from the still-scanty information now available, three salient facts stand out. The Jewish fighters of the Warsaw Ghetto were overwhelmingly workers, armed, organized and led by the labor and socialist underground. They were inspired not merely by Jewish and Polish nationalist sentiment, but by class solidarity and socialist convictions, hoping that

their struggle, conducted under the red flag, would help to arouse the workers everywhere in Poland and Europe to revolutionary class struggle. And theirs was not a "spontaneous revolt, out of desperation," as bourgeois press commentators would have it appear, but a well-prepared, skillfully planned, organized mass action.

The Gestapo on July 22, 1942, demanded that the Judenrat (Jewish Council) deliver 6,000 to 10,000 persons a day for deportation to the "East," as it turned out, for mass execution in specially designed gas chambers or by machine-gunning. Deceptively, the Nazis broadcast the rumor that the deportees were going to labor camps and even "the machinery of the Jewish auxiliary police was utilized by the Germans to spread rumors about the favorable labor conditions which awaited the deported." (The Battle of Warsaw by S. Mendelsohn.) The Ghetto was a self-contained, isolated world with its own government, police, firemen and public health agencies.

The extermination campaign was initiated because "the German authorities, according to the report of the Polish government representatives, reckoned with the possibility of armed resistance at the time when there were still half a million Jews in the Warsaw Ghetto. They were afraid of it. . ."

Extermination Campaign

Within the Ghetto, a conflict arose. The Jewish leadership from the bourgeois class counseled against resistance, spreading the hope that the deportations were what the Nazis claimed. But the Jewish underground labor organizations, according to an official report to the Polish government-in-exile, "through handbills warned against the trap and called at least for passive resistance."

The extermination campaign raged un-

abated. By January 1943, only about 40,000 to 45,000 of the original 400,000 Jews remained alive in the Ghetto. During this entire period, the Allied powers and their press scarcely commented on the unprecedented mass slaughter of the Jewish people.

Then came accounts of the first resistance. In the Polish newspaper Przewodnik, Jan. 20, 1943, it was reported, "We extend our admiration to the Fighter Unit (of the Jewish Labor underground) which during the latest liquidation met the Gestapo with gun in hand. Shooting broke out and developed into a real battle on Zamenhofa Street from where the Gestapo agents and German police had to flee and to which they returned only with reinforcements. Jews defended themselves with hand grenades and revolvers. Twenty Gestapo agents and police are dead and many more wounded."

For three months the Nazis drew back from completing their liquidation drive. The Jewish workers of Warsaw used the respite to organize further for armed resistance.

Nazi Attack

When, in the middle of April, 1943, the Gestapo and Nazi military police attempted to renew the "deportation" drive, their orders for an assemblage of the Ghetto inhabitants were defied. Their police detachments tried to enter the Ghetto. "As a reply from the seemingly empty houses came flying bullets and hand grenades. Roofs and attics began to spit fire and to rain death on the German police. Fear descended on Hitler's henchmen. They fled in confusion." (Polska, April 29, 1943.)

From the account of an official representative of the Polish Government-in-Exile, we learn that the Nazis began the attack with "numerous, heavily armed S. S. detachments

on cars mounted with machine guns and on tanks."

"The actions of the defenders were perfectly coordinated," says the report, "and the battles were fought on practically the entire territory of the Ghetto. Jewish resistance was brilliantly planned, so that in spite of the vast superiority in men and materiel on the German side, good results were achieved. In the first days of combat the Germans took severe punishment; hundreds of them were killed and more wounded. Several times they had to retreat behind the Ghetto walls. During the first week the battle had all the characteristics of regular military operations. The din of a tremendous cannonade was constantly heard from the Ghetto." This phase of the battle lasted a week.

Authentic Accounts

Then the Nazis concentrated forces at individual points of resistance reducing them slowly one by one with dynamite, flame throwers and incendiary bombs. The Jewish workers fell back on guerrilla tactics, fighting from cellars, roofs, sewers, sorting out at night to assault the Nazi troops under cover of darkness. "The burning in the Ghetto kept spreading. The fires were becoming intolerable. After six days of further combat, after the Germans had already been using planes, artillery and tanks, they managed to break into the northern part of the Ghetto. . . By April 28th, the Germans had thrown into the battle 6,000 heavily armed troops. Estimates place the number of Germans dead at between 1,000 and 1,200. The Jews lost about 3,000 to 5,000. . ."

According to the most authentic accounts, Nazi occupation of the Warsaw Ghetto was not completed until 42 days after the fight began, and even months later they were meeting unexpected resistance from tiny

hidden groups dug into the ruins and cellars.

Above all, it is necessary to emphasize the working class character of the resistance. The Stalinist swine and the bourgeois nationalist and religious leaders are engaged in a systematic campaign of falsification intended to obscure or deny the class struggle content of the Warsaw Ghetto revolt. While a few middle-class elements did participate, they fought under the inspiration, guidance, organization and leadership of the workers.

"Workers and the working intelligentsia are the heart and soul among the masses of fighting Jews who arose gun in hand against Nazi atrocities," states an appeal of the Polish Labor Movement issued on the second day of the revolt. "Almost all underground publications, as well as the reports of the government representative, speak of the Jewish Fighter Organization which began and led the struggle. . . both the appeal of the Polish Labor Movement and some newspapers indicate that the organization consisted chiefly of workers, most of them young." (S. Mendelsohn, The Battle of the Warsaw Ghetto.)

Underground Manifesto

An underground manifesto from Poland, issued by the Fighter Units, proclaims, "Our activity will still make it possible for a certain number of people to be spared. . . We live in full realization that it is our duty to proudly continue our glorious heritage of Socialist struggle." (PM, April 18.)

That struggle is continuing, inspired by the example of the Jewish workers of Warsaw. In Lodz, the biggest Polish industrial center, 130,000 Jewish workers went on a general strike, halting temporarily the Nazi extermination drive there. Armed rebellions have flared up through all the la-

bor camps. A full scale armed resistance was carried on for a month by the Jews of Bialystok, where 30,000 died in struggle and where the "German losses were high despite the heavy armaments, tanks and fire-throwers thrown into the battle." (PM, April 18.)

Since the Warsaw battle, the British government has closed the last door of refuge for the Jews, in Palestine, while the American State Department and Roosevelt shed crocodile tears in public but deny haven to the Jews in any United States territory. Roosevelt could only mumble evasive statements about "military necessity" and "post-war" plans when asked to intercede with the British government to open Palestine once more for Jewish refugees. And on British soil, Jewish soldiers who resisted the anti-Semitic attacks imposed on them in the armed forces of the reactionary Polish exiled regime are court-martialed and given prison sentences.

Now it should be clear to the Jewish people everywhere, and to all the workers, that the capitalist "democracies" will not save the Jews from fascist barbarism. As the Jewish workers of Warsaw have demonstrated, only the workers themselves in revolutionary struggle will fight fascism to the death.

All honor to the brave Jewish worker dead, who have shown the workers everywhere the revolutionary road to freedom and socialist emancipation from capitalist reaction and fascism. When tens of millions shall rise in the manner of the heroic 40,000 worker-fighters of the Warsaw Ghetto, the forces of Nazism and capitalism will be swept away like chaff before the irresistible might of their onslaught.

TRADE UNION NOTES

By Joseph Keller

The recently-formed Michigan Commonwealth Federation Party, organized by representatives of over 225,000 unionists, has received its baptism in the kind of dirty opposition the capitalist political machines and government agencies are going to use against it.

Right off the bat, the Michigan Secretary of State's office threw out 1,200 petitions, with 25,000 signatures, which the MCFP filed in order to have its name and candidates placed on the state ballot.

Pretext for this trick to keep the MCFP off the ballot was the excuse that the petition blanks allegedly did not conform to the letter with the prescribed legal form. The word "party" had been spelled with a capital "P" instead of a small letter, and "The" was used before the word "candidates" instead of "Our."

A subsequent check of petitions from another party, which have been accepted, revealed that the MCFP petitions were identical. In fact, the MCFP petitions were copied from the accepted ones.

The corporation barons who own the two old-line capitalist parties which control the Michigan government are having chills and fever at the prospects of a new powerful party of workers and farmers rising to challenge their political domination.

The Stalinists are beginning to foam at the mouth about the labor party developments and the increasing receptivity of the workers to the idea of independent labor political action. They are opening up with their own special brand of lies, slander and "Moscow Trial" style of defamations against the labor party advocates.

An example of this scurrilous campaign is contained in an article, "Our Friendly Enemy," written by Alex Ray, Stalinist vice-president of CIO Steelworkers Local 65, South Chicago, for the local's April 25 *South Works Bulletin*.

Ray leads off by stating that "many honest workers were handed a copy of the 'Militant' the mouth piece of the Socialist Labor Party (sic!) last week." He then launched his first big lie.

"This publication made an attack on our organization and its program." The most casual reader of *The Militant* would know, of course, that it has been consistently outspoken in defense of the steelworkers' program and their demands for wage increases.

This initial lie is necessary, however, to lay the basis for the main slander. The mythical "attack" on the steel union is then further transformed by Ray into one that "is no different from that of the American bund." Here then comes the reason for this defamatory. "This friendly enemy, as I shall call it, comes out in an open letter to its Editor for a third party," a reference, no

doubt, to the Militant's campaign calling on the trade unions to break with company unionism in politics and build labor's own party.

What Ray's ignorant mouthpieces indicate is that the Stalinists have started a drive to bury the labor party movement under a garbage heap of vilification by linking the most progressive and militant forces in the trade union movement to the "pro-fascists."

The Stalinists themselves are trying to crawl into the same political bed with the Southern political Democrats, spearhead of the Congressional anti-labor drive, with Jersey City's "Hitler" Hague and Chicago's Kelly-Nash machine.

The Stalinists are concerned, of course, because the ordinary pro-Roosevelt trade union bureaucrats are opposing the labor party movement on the basis of what it really is, an expression of the most advanced and progressive forces within the labor movement. The Stalinists are trying to coach the rest of the labor fakers in their own more "effective" methods of falsification.

15,000 members of the CIO United Automobile Workers of the Ford Motor Company plant in Windsor, Canada, right across the river from Detroit, were on strike last week to compel the company to recognize the contract which management had declared voided. The strike began Thursday a week ago when the company in a bold union-busting move tore up the union contract which has been in effect since January 1942.

When the workers demonstrated by their militant strike and picket lines that they would not tolerate any move to re-introduce Ford's old open shop slave system, the management tried to get the workers back into the plant by promising to negotiate a new contract. This slick move was rejected out-of-hand by the union. The union stood pat on its demand that the contract which it had originally won be reinstated.

The solidarity of the strikers was demonstrated at a huge mass meeting last week in Windsor City Market, where over 10,000 strikers assembled and shouted their tumultuous defiance of the company and government agencies moving in to curb the strike.

A four-man conciliation panel was hastily convened by the Canadian National Wartime Labor Relations Board, counterpart of the WLB in this country.

The industrialists are viewing the Ford strike as a test case. The April 29 *Business Week* states: "American executive circles were generally highly interested in the Windsor maneuver. Should it [cancellation of the union contract] prove a successful means of attaining management ends, it might likely be echoed soon on the other side of the Detroit River."

First Thousand New 'Militant' Subscribers Obtained In Drive

In reporting the progress of the Militant Subscription Campaign last week we wrote, "The Militant Subscription Campaign to obtain 3,000 new readers by June 31 through an introductory offer of 13 issues for 25c has swung into full stride." The increasing number of subscriptions received each week has proved that we were quite conservative in estimating the campaign as having achieved its "full stride." For, last week the branches averaged 52 subs a day. This week they have averaged 70 subscriptions a day. Week by week the number has been increasing. The first week we received 36 subs, the second 190, the third 311, this week 425. If the comrades continued to get subs at this rate we will greatly exceed that number. of 3,000 new readers by June 31, but we will greatly exceed that number.

OUTSTANDING ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE WEEK

Reading continued to hold first place with 120% of its quota.

Buffalo moved from ninth place to second, having hit the 112 percent mark.

Philadelphia moved from seventeenth place to third with 77 percent of its quota.

Although New York Local is only in fifth place, they obtained the greatest number of subscriptions with a total of 188 for the week.

FROM OUR MAIL BAG

Reports from our agents show that enthusiasm intensifies among the comrades as they obtain increasing numbers of subs:

Buffalo: "Will you send us 50 more cards, besides the 30 extra we ordered last week? We have exceeded our wildest expectations. Last Friday night four of us got 32 subs in two hours. With the May Day issue the whole branch is going out, so we will need the extra cards."

Detroit: "The Militant is being read and liked. You would be surprised at the number of workers who know about the paper. I have sold 15 subs at the plant and a friend of mine has sold about 25 so far at her plant."

Texas: "The comrades here think that this campaign is a grand idea and are enthused about it. Needless to say, the sub card is very attractive and inviting and will really help. Our cards will be filled out and returned within two weeks."

San Francisco: "We are anxiously awaiting the 100 additional sub cards. We're running rather short."

Los Angeles: "I enclose rather in our special drive. Ten were sold at a steel plant where we have been distributing. Workers come out of the plant gates in cars, only one or two at a time, so it is possible for us to talk to them for a minute or two. . . The 25c sub offer is a wonderful idea we think for expanding our circulation. And we are very confident that we shall complete our quota of 400."

Minneapolis: "The basis of our campaign involved the institution of a little competitive spirit. We have divided the branch into four teams on an alphabetical basis, with four of the active members as team captains."

Philadelphia: "Twelve of our 25c subs were sold in 1 1/2 hours, when we visited a housing project consisting of 600 Negro and a few white working-class (shipyard and steel) families."

We have fulfilled almost one-third of our quota. If the comrades continue to obtain the high average of 75 subs a day, they will make the successful conclusion of our campaign a certainty.

SCOREBOARD

	Quota	Subs	Percent
Reading	30	36	120.
Buffalo	50	56	112.
Philadelphia	30	23	77.
Seattle	150	87	58.
New York	500	275	55.
Detroit	300	164	55.
Allentown	15	8	53.
Toledo	30	16	53.
Boston	100	44	44.
Milwaukee	15	5	33.
Newark	80	23	29.
New Haven	25	7	28.
San Francisco	150	38	25.
Minneapolis	200	37	19.
Cleveland	50	9	18.
Los Angeles	400	65	16.
Flint	15	2	13.
Bayonne	50	6	12.
Chicago	200	23	12.
Members-at-Large and Friends	355	31	9.
San Diego	50	4	8.
Akron	40	2	5.
St. Paul	50	1	2.
Pittsburgh	10	0	0.
Quakertown	10	0	0.
Rochester	15	0	0.
St. Louis	20	0	0.
Texas	10	0	0.
Youngstown	50	0	0.
TOTALS	3,000	962	33.

Report Of Progress By SWP Conference

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ers reached in the whole history of our local organization.

INSPIRING DEMONSTRATION

"The imprisonment of our 18 comrades which occurred since we last met in conference, was met by our party nationally with a truly inspiring demonstration of our determination to answer this attack on our party in a thoroughly Trotskyist manner. The \$15,000-15th Anniversary Campaign Fund went over the top. A six page *Militant* was launched. A record breaking publication program is under way and we are now engaged in two major campaigns: the drive to get three thousand new readers for the *Militant* and a new membership recruitment campaign."

"The Los Angeles comrades responded by going over the top in their quota in the Anniversary Fund Drive; our section leads the way in the recruiting campaign; and we are now engaged in the work of fulfilling our quota in the national subscription drive. In the first two weeks of the three month campaign, 87 subscriptions have been sold."

Among the highlights of the activity of the past six months was the "Defend Workers Rights" meeting at which over \$500 was raised on the Anniversary Fund Campaign.

The organizer's report had been preceded by a literature department report which analyzed the success of that department as being a reflection of the sound state of the party. Large increases in

the *Militant* and *Fourth International* and bundle order were noted as well as the great increase in distributions and newsstand sales. Main tasks for the coming period were the distribution of thousands of copies of "Socialism on Trial" in the Los Angeles area; distribution of Cannon's forthcoming book, "History of American Trotskyism;" increased correspondence with the *Militant* and *F. I.*; and a general intensification of the successful work of the past.

PAMPHLET SALES

One of the most interesting sections of this report dealt with the sales of pamphlets in large quantities and the sales of subscriptions to the *Militant*, at the plant gates of several factories. Another interesting point was the effect of the trial subs on the regular subs. "Not only is there no tendency to receive less full time subscriptions, but the general effect has been to increase the amount of these."

This report was followed by the reading of messages of solidarity from the other West Coast sections of the party and a report from the representative of the San Diego Branch.

During the intermission, a hard working food committee served a splendid meal for those attending the conference. The conference adjourned at 9 P.M. after the election of a new State Executive Committee.

The Conference had been preceded on Saturday night by a very successful social attended by over 60 people.

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Ask Your Shopmate to Subscribe to *The Militant*



The *Militant* is being read by an ever-increasing number of workers for the answer to problems confronting them in their daily lives. Every letter we receive gives further proof of this, as you will see from those quoted:

Detroit: "At several of the meetings of my local, issues of *The Militant* have been distributed. As one auto worker, I would like to inform you that we look forward to the paper as do scores of other workers. We see in *The Militant* the only true voice of militant labor. It is coming, if it is not already, the only authentic expression of organized labor's problems and their solution."

"Without any hesitation I may say that *The Militant* has helped in clarifying to the members of our local the necessity of withdrawing labor's no-strike pledge. In the wilderness of reaction that has surrounded the labor movement *The Militant* has cut a path, a road of hope, an avenue of escape. We in labor's ranks do not only offer thanks and speedy success in your campaign for 3,000 new readers, but we will help by getting as many subs as we can."

Omaha: "Enclosed is \$2 to extend my sub and \$2 to be used to help or aid the families of the 18 that are in prison. I get my paper and sure like it as I get posted on things you never see in the daily press."

Reports from our agents show a general increase in activity. For instance, Detroit asks that their "Militant bundle be increased" by 100 copies per week. Cleveland ordered a supply of subscription blanks, *Militant* and *Fourth International*. Our Los Angeles agent comments about the increase in their regular subscriptions: "As you will see, not only will you get the 3,000 new readers but the effect of the campaign on the regular subscriptions is already apparent. One of the six-month subs to *The Militant* was obtained by someone who gave his street car conductor the paper for three weeks in a row. . . An important observation that can be made on the subs that we have been getting out here is that many of them are obtained from former Peoples World (local Stalinist paper) readers."

How Badoglio Regime Was 'Democratized' By Stalinists, Social Democrats, Liberals

By Ralph Graham

A fresh swindle has been perpetrated on the people of southern Italy by the formation on April 17 of a "new" and "broadened" government described as "representative of all the parties." The Italian people wanted an end of the Badoglio regime. What they have got is a Badoglio regime with its face lifted.

It is the same old rotten regime, the same police-military dictatorship which took power at the time of the Italian armistice last August, the same puppet of Anglo-American imperialism which has been propped up by Allied bayonets all these months against the manifest will of the masses. The only difference is that it has been dressed up by the inclusion of the Stalinists, the Social-Democrats and the Liberals, it has been lightly covered with a "democratic" veneer.

The monarchy, hated by the masses, is still there, with just a vague promise that the king will retire in favor of his son, Prince Humbert, when the Allies capture Rome. Badoglio is still premier, and also foreign minister. Two generals and an admiral who adorned the first Badoglio cabinet still hold the portfolios of war, air and the navy, key posts in the government. A banker has become finance minister. The capitalist class continues to rule through the "new" government and behind the capitalist class stand the Allies with their armies.

THE MINISTERS

The least vital of the ministries have been parcelled out among the parties of the so-called "Opposition," comprising the Italian Committee of National Liberation, The Liberals Sforza and Croce have become ministers without portfolio. Similar posts have been given to a Christian Democrat, a Social-Democrat and the Stalinist GPU agent Togliatti (Ercoli). The Stalinists were also given the ministry of agriculture.

Negotiations between Badoglio and the "Opposition" parties took place behind locked doors, in the utmost secrecy, away from the eyes of the watchful, dissatisfied masses, and in close consultation with the Allied authorities. The masses had not the slightest part in choosing the new government. The whole thing was signed, sealed and delivered behind their backs. They have no more control over the "new" Badoglio regime than they had over the old. Yet the Allies with the brazen cynic-

ism which has characterized their every move in Italy, announce with fanfare that it represents a "step" toward democracy because the old government has now been "broadened" to include representatives of all the parties.

The "new" Badoglio regime is a miserable caricature of a "democratic" capitalist coalition, in comparison with the tradition of the capitalist "democracies" of the West, or even the late but unlamented "People's Fronts" so beloved of the Stalinists. There is not even an assembly or parliament of any kind. The government rests on a police-military dictatorship supported by foreign bayonets. As in the past, it will rule by autocratic decree. Even the monarchy has been left intact.

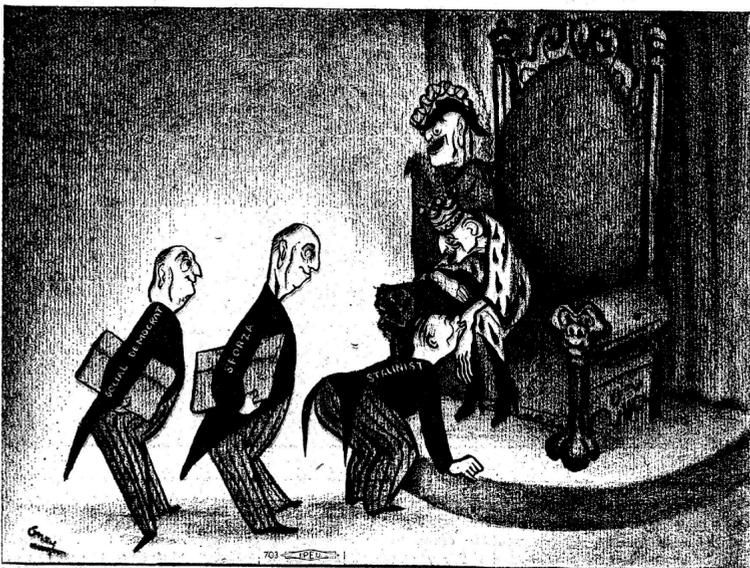
REGIME ISOLATED

During months of futile endeavor by the Allied authorities to "sell" the old Badoglio regime to the Italian people, the regime remained isolated, without a shadow of popular authority. The masses detested it and would long since have swept it into the garbage can had it not been upheld and protected by Allied arms. The parties of the "Opposition"—Stalinists, Social-Democrats and liberals—all swore at their Bari Congress that they would have no truck with Badoglio and the King.

To the rescue, finally, came the Stalinists with their decision to "break the deadlock." The Kremlin recognized the Badoglio government and the Italian Stalinist leaders promptly forewore their opposition to it. They announced that the King was merely an institution and that they desired no change of institutions until after the war. They also proclaimed their readiness to enter a reorganized Badoglio cabinet which should include representatives of all the parties.

This turned the trick. The deadlock in which Italian reaction found itself was broken. The rest of the parties, thirsting for ministerial posts and fearing they might be left out in the cold, hastened to climb on the Badoglio

His Majesties New Ministers



bandwagon. The noisy, spurrilous opposition was converted into servile capitulation to reaction, REFURBISHED REGIME

REFURBISHED REGIME

It can be said with certainty that the refurbished regime will prove no more acceptable to the masses than its predecessor. Not only is it transparently reactionary in its essential composition, but its policies run counter to the will of the masses. Above all the masses want peace, an end to the slaughter, but the main aim and purpose of the reactionary governing clique and its Allied sponsors is to harness Italy to the war chariot of the "democratic" imperialists.

This was made abundantly clear, not for the first time, by the Naples correspondent of the N. Y. Times who reported that the new cabinet would be "entrusted (by the Allies) with the job of putting Italy more fully and efficiently behind the work of driving the Nazis out" of northern Italy. The declaration of

policy of the new government has put "the expulsion of the Germans from Italy and winning the war as paramount to all domestic matters." And the wishes of the Italian people? They simply do not count with this "democratic" coterie.

ITALIAN ARMY

There is not only the problem of harnessing the unwilling civilian population to the Allied war plans in the midst of growing hardships, but also the problem of the Italian army which is immobilized behind the Allied lines and regarded as no trustworthy that it can be utilized only for garrison jobs of the most menial kind. It is admitted by the N. Y. Times correspondent that the morale of the Italian soldiers is so low that "it is gravely doubtful whether out of the currently existing army morale and spirit there can be drawn a true 'fighting spirit' commensurate with the plans of the new Government to 'really get Italy into the war'."

However, the Allies have now secured helpers in the Stalinists, the Social-Democrats and the liberals—those "spokesmen of the people" who spend their whole time and energy in helping the oppressors of the people to frustrate the popular will. In this dirty work the Stalinists have become the most valuable tools of the capitalist reaction. They have probably a greater mass following than any of the other parties, for the radical-minded masses still associate the Communist Party with the great tradition of the Bolshevik Revolution which freed Russia from capitalist rule. Despite the "all-inclusive" character of the coalition, nobody holds out any high hopes for the stability of the new government. Robert D. Murphy, American political adviser in Italy, and one of the main architects of the new "coalition," announced that he was sure that the new cabinet would last until Rome is occupied by the Allied forces!

As is traditional in all "coali-

SWP BRANCHES HOLD MAY DAY CELEBRATIONS

NEW YORK CITY—Two hundred members and friends of the Socialist Workers Party attended the May Day Meeting held at Irving Plaza on Saturday, April 30, under the auspices of the New York Local.

Margaret Schoenfeld, wife of one of the imprisoned Trotskyists, read greetings of solidarity from the 18 class war prisoners.

Rose Karsner reviewed the history of May Day struggles and explained its present day significance. She concluded her speech with these inspiring words:

"Though Europe is soaked in blood; its cities atomized; its countryside devastated; its people decimated, starved, reduced to beggary and forced into submission with only a promise of bread after the war — bread sliced by a sword, and liberation at the point of a gun — the handwriting of the impoverished masses is already clearly discernible on the wall. We on the outside are working hard to advance the ideas for which you have been imprisoned. We shall work harder. We shall hold the fort until you return to our ranks.

"Be patient, comrades, be patient.

"All the tomorrows are ours."

The main speaker of the evening, C. Thomas, stressed the internationalist character of May Day. He scored the perversion of May Day by the Stalin regime, which has so distorted its meaning that in Moscow, "the workers who in 1917 gloriously marched to victory under the banner of International working class solidarity, are now lashed within the strait jacket of the GPU, and are compelled to march through the streets shouting made-to-order slogans of praise and dedication to the butcher in the Kremlin."

The speaker paid tribute to the long list of labor's martyrs:

"To those who have died in the struggle, we owe a debt which only the fulfillment of their hopes for a better world can repay. We vow to carry on in their tradition. From the ranks of our comrades, in Hitler's concentration camps, in Stalin's isolators, in the black holes of British imperialism in India and Ceylon, the prisons of the American capitalist class, will come the leaders of the International Working Class."

A May Day Chorus, an interpretive dance portraying "Forward, Forgetting Never," and mass singing by the audience, set the spirit of the meeting in the traditional May Day manner.

bourgeois liberals is already being exposed by their open support of the monarchy. As these capitalist agents reveal their true colors, the masses will understand, they will turn to Trotskyism.

Stein continued: "We hear of a secret Trotskyist conference in Germany. We hear of the Parisian Trotskyists publishing a weekly paper. We hear of Trotskyists in India, in Egypt, in Iraq, in South Africa and in the Latin American countries.

"The English Trotskyists who recently fused their forces are making headway and throwing fear into the hearts of the Tories. Our own party has been singled out for persecution by the capitalist rulers. Why? Because the American imperialist giant has feet of clay and can stand up only so long as the working class remains docile, only so long as the labor bureaucracy, the Stalinists and the Social-Democrats can mislead the workers and betray them.

"We have been persecuted because we tell the truth." Stein explained how the Party has intensified its work since the imprisonment of the 18. "The work of our party should be convincing proof that a movement built on the granite foundation of Marxism, with disciplined ranks, will not be crushed so easily. We know the truth and this is what makes us strong. On this May Day let us rededicate ourselves to the most glorious of all struggles—the struggle for a world free of war and exploitation, the world of free men, the socialist world. The meeting sent a resolution of solidarity to Kelly Postal and the 18 imprisoned comrades. The meeting adjourned with the singing of the Internationale.

DETROIT, Mich.—There was standing room only at the May Day celebration held last night by the Detroit Branch of the Socialist Workers Party. Over sixty workers including officials and stewards from a number of UAW locals, joined with the Trotskyists to keep alive the May Day tradition of international working class solidarity.

They heard the main speaker of the evening, Arthur Burch, report on the progress made by workers all over the world since May Day a year ago. And in contrast to the renewed upsurge of labor, touched off by the overthrow of Mussolini last summer, Comrade Burch also described the growing despair and lack of confidence evinced by the capitalists, who realize that they can no longer divide and exploit the world as they have done in the past.

The speaker pointed out that American workers have the duty not to permit American imperialism to crush workers' uprisings abroad. We must also show our internationalism by keeping up the struggle here, and by building a strong party to lead this struggle.

After Comrade Burch's speech, the chairman took up a collection of \$34 and the meeting closed with the singing of the Internationale. Refreshments, a social hour, and informal discussions followed the meeting. One of the auto workers present applied for admission to membership in the party.

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Post-War Plan Of The AFL Bureaucrats

By Norman Daniels

Plans for a post-war world are now in season. The press is full of them and so are the air-waves. These plans are inundating the country. Not a day goes by without more books, more speeches, more newspaper articles being produced on plans for a "post-war world." Politicians and preachers, newspaper correspondents and columnists, professors and industrialists, are all ready, with or without provocation, to rattle off, at a moment's notice, another "plan" for a post-war world.

The American Federation of Labor has kept pace with the times. Through its leading spokesman, it recently broke into print with its own "plan" for a post-war world. Backward though these labor bureaucrats may be in clinging to archaic craft forms of trade union organization, reactionary though they may be in their general political outlook, they have reached a point where they could no longer hold up their heads unless they too had a "plan." These labor "statesmen"—William Green, Woll, Meany—have for some time been clamoring for a place at the peace table. They want recognition beyond the role of government cops, who are kept busy weeding out militants in the trade unions. In their anxiety to prove that they deserve a place at the peace conference, if and when it is ever held, they present their "plan" long enough in advance, so that everybody can truly estimate their stature.

AFL FORUM The "plan" was first presented at an AFL forum-conference at New York's swanky Hotel Commodore on April 12. It was printed in full in the metropolitan press the same day. The "plan" is couched in terms of pious platitudes and capitalist democratic cliches. It declares that "war is the enemy," that "lasting peace must rest on social justice and include all peoples," that "the only safety from war is the international organization of peace," that "world-wide economic health is essential to security," etc. etc. These phrases, which have served as a standard sugar-coating for the present war, as well as for World War I, do not, however, in themselves answer the question: How is it all to be achieved? We shall confine our remarks here to the one point in the plan which forms the crux of the problem: the emphasis on the preservation of the capitalist system, the so-

bor, mouth phrases about the "democratic way of life" but will not consult the millions of workers in the AFL for their ideas on the post-war world, nor for that matter, for their views on anything else. It would seem that democracy, like charity, should begin at home. The democratic way of life should necessitate a free discussion in the plants and in the local unions, to be followed by a democratic decision which would truly express the workers' viewpoint on the plans for a post-war world. But the Greens and the Wolls and the Meany's have no interest in the workers' viewpoint. They fear the workers' viewpoint just as much as Johnston and Gaylord fear it. To Johnston and Gaylord the "democratic way of life" is the way of life which enables them to exploit the working men, extract super-profits for themselves, throw the workers out into the street when that serves their purposes, and, in general, to have a free hand for the "60 families" to run things as they please. Green and Meany are interested in the "democratic way of life" insofar as it enables them to get the per capita which pays their huge salaries and makes it possible for them to lead a banker's life.

creative genius of mankind has been able to devise. America ranks first among nations in ingenuity when it comes to producing ghastly weapons of war.

But on the social plane, one is baffled by the concepts that are being palmed off as post-war plans.

NO ANALYSIS

None of these "plans" ever start from an analysis of the causes of the last two world wars. Yet it would seem elementary that in order to assure peace and rid the world of the pestilence of war, the causes of the wars must first be understood. If there is a repeated breakdown in a machine, a mechanic who is worth his salt will trace the basic cause for the breakdown. A decent physician will not prescribe a cure before he has made a thorough diagnosis of the disease. The organism of human society has suffered periodically cataclysmic breakdowns which find their expression in devastating economic crises, followed by the slaughter of millions on the battle fields. No plans for a post-war world which fail to fearlessly analyze the crisis of society and establish its causes can possibly offer a solution. Moreover, no plan presented by the men who have been at the helm of the ship of state at the time it suffered shipwreck can offer themselves once more as the helmsmen in the post-war world, especially since they propose to steer the same course which has led to previous disaster.

FREE ENTERPRISE

Where does this fraternity get the effrontery, the unmitigated gall to peddle the moth-eaten wares of "free enterprise" in this year 1944 — the fifth year of the second world war — as if it were something new, as if it were a newly discovered road for eternal peace and prosperity. Under what system have we had two devastating world wars thrust upon humanity within the life of one generation? Wasn't it the system of "free enterprise"? Are these blessings of death and destruction and devastating wars to be continued? Neither can we forget the scourge of poverty, unemployment, bread-lines, evictions — yes, suicides and death from undernourishment — between the two wars. All of this took place under the system of "free enterprise."

All the weapons of destruction in the present war are vastly improved over the last war. They answer all the specifications of the latest technical inventions that the

The multitude of the post-war plans that have been presented represent a gigantic effort to drag humanity backwards and to start the tragic cycle all over again. There is a macabre ring to the AFL plan for a post-war world when it says:

"We reaffirm this principle set forth by Mr. Gompers at the close of the first World War in the constitution of the International Labor Organization. This principle has now to be incorporated in the peace settlement at the end of the second World War."

"POST-WAR" PLANS

The general council of the American Federation of Labor, in all its wisdom, has labored and labored and they have produced—a reaffirmation of the principles of Gompers at the end of the last war. The new generation of working men and women is to be guided in its quest for a free world by the dead hand of Sam Gompers. No, not guided, but dragged by the dead hand of Sam Gompers back to 1918 and a new era of unemployment and misery on the road to World War III. All in the name of "free enterprise."

Our generation of working men and women will answer: "Thanks, but we don't need your guidance." And just as these workers have not been consulted by Green and Company on their views for a post-war world, so they, in turn, will not consult Green and Company in the building of the post-war world.

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The Fusion Resolution Of English Trotskyists

[The following resolution was adopted by the Fusion Conference of the British Trotskyists, March 12-13, 1944.]

For the past ten years, whilst in fundamental agreement on the principles and program of the Fourth International, the British Trotskyists have been split on questions of tactics. These splits took place during a period of great defeats for the international working class and consequent reaction within the workers organizations and were mainly a product of the isolation of the British Trotskyist movement.

But this period is now at an end. The war has led to the beginning of a new stage of the class struggle and in the development of the international labor movement. Once again the workers are gathering their forces for great class battles. Trotskyism, as a tendency, is beginning to merge with the rising tide of militancy and socialist aspirations of the working class.

In Britain, this new upsurge has resulted in favorable conditions for the growth and development of the Trotskyist movement. To utilize these favorable conditions to the full, the forces of the Fourth International must be unified into one organization, under a single and united leadership, and with a firm and resolute policy based upon the Principles, Program and Statutes of the Fourth International, and reinforced by majority decisions on the political and tactical questions which separate the comrades.

Together with the International Secretariat of the Fourth International the members of the two existing Trotskyist organizations have decided to end the splits in the British movement and to unite all Fourth Internationalists under one banner. At this Conference the assembled delegates of the hitherto separate organizations —

the Revolutionary Socialist League (British Section of the Fourth International) and the Workers International League — declare the fusion of these two organizations into one single party — the Revolutionary Communist Party, British Section of the Fourth International.

The past clashes on the political questions engendered deep cleavages between the leading personnel, and embittered the relations between the members of the organizations. An important task for the leadership of the new organization is to introduce a real comradeship into the political discussions and life of the party, and to sweep away all the vestiges of the bitter disputes of the past. In the interests of the fusion, this Conference therefore dissolves all past organizational conflicts and disputes and closes the discussion on these questions in the British section.

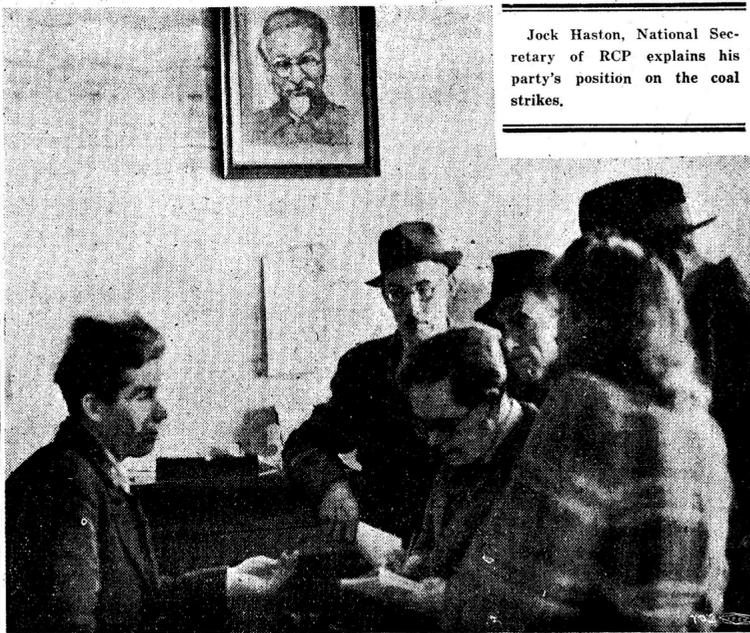
The unification of the British Trotskyists is a great step forward for our national and international movement and will be heartily welcomed and endorsed by the members of the Fourth International the world over.

The members of the Revolutionary Communist Party, British Section of the Fourth International, appeal to all isolated comrades who stand on the platform of the Fourth International, to join its ranks and take their place in deciding the outcome of the great historic battles which open out before the working class.

The unification of the Fourth Internationalists takes place in the period of the dissolution of the Third International, and when the open degeneration of its national sections into agencies of the ruling class is shattering the unity of the Stalinist ranks. In ever-increasing numbers these militants are finding their way into the ranks of the Fourth International.

In uniting our forces at this Fusion Confer-

English Trotskyist Leader At Press Interview



Jock Haston, National Secretary of RCP explains his party's position on the coal strikes.

ence, the assembled delegates appeal to all who genuinely seek to achieve the international socialist emancipation of the working class, to join the Revolutionary Communist Party and fight under the banner of the Fourth International.

Socialist Workers! Communist Workers! The

Fourth International is the World Party of Socialist Revolution. It is the ONLY international socialist or communist party of the working class. On its banner is inscribed the slogan of the First International — "Workers of the World Unite! You have nothing to lose but your chains — You have a world to gain."

WORKERS' FORUM

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

The British Trotskyists

Editor:
Greetings from Birkenhead and Wallace comrades, and sympathies for your temporary loss of the praiseworthy eighteen. The object of this letter is to ask for assistance which you alone can give.

A group of young Trotskyists formed a local in this district some months ago. Against great difficulties we have been trying to struggle on with our own education and that of our contacts; and it is impossible to fully explain how tremendously handicapped we are by the lack of Leon Trotsky's works.

London very consistently supplies us with *The Militant* and *Fourth International*, but due to the extreme shortage of the Old Man's books and the growing demand, the cannot possibly assist us in this regard.

Distance separates us from the most advanced comrades in the country and we are therefore left to our own resources to work out solutions on vital day-by-day problems with what little education is at our disposal.

When in London at the Fusion Conference, I discussed this question with one of the comrades and he explained that whilst you endeavored to centralize all distribution of literature to this country, nevertheless, he felt sure you would favorably consider our position, and do all in your power to supply us with whatever material you might have to spare.

The Fusion Conference fulfilled a long felt need and has opened up a significant phase in the history of British Trotskyism; and whilst we, in this area gain no numerical advantages, the party as a whole will, without a doubt, be strengthened as a result of the Conference decisions.

The situation in Britain becomes daily more promising. Workers who hitherto showed little interest in politics, today discuss major issues. They are somewhat confused and cannot clearly see the correct road. Nevertheless, a definite left turn is clearly evident and we have every reason to be hopeful of a rich harvest in the coming periods.

The waves of strikes spreading throughout the country increase in tempo and the Government has every cause to be bewildered and afraid to take any really drastic steps to crush the self-expression of the war-weary workers in their disgust for the Government's policy.

The By-elections reveal Churchill's waning support for, in spite of personal recommendations, testimonials, advice notes and letters from the British Prime Minister, supporting the Government's candidate, Independents after Independents drop

into the seats in the House of Commons which have for years been warmed by the spacious posteriors of the Tory die-hards. In no uncertain manner the masses are expressing their disgust for the present Government which from day to day is more openly revealing its reactionary character.

It therefore behooves every member of the new party, The Revolutionary Communist Party of Great Britain, to gather in as much fruit as possible in the political orchard. To do this our own members must educate themselves to the greatest possible extent.

We in Birkenhead and Wallace depend on you to assist us in this direction.

S. Wallace
Cheshire, England

Brewster Local

Editor:
As a member of Brewster Local 365 UAW-CIO, I want to express my thanks for your warm and sympathetic articles dealing with our union and the indictment of our president, Tom DeLorenzo.

Our union has long been the butt of general anti-labor attacks because it has consistently opposed any interference from the company, the Navy and the government, and because of the progressive character of our Bushnell program which calls for rescinding the no-strike pledge; an independent labor party; a labor daily newspaper, etc.

The reactionary forces have failed in the past to disunite our ranks and thereby smash the union. But they have one more card to play. We have just been informed that the present contract with the Navy for Corsair fighters has not been renewed. The contract will terminate in a few months. This step, as drastic as it may appear, represents the Navy's determination to wipe us out.

The Navy Brass hats have previously tried every means of "coercion." The first attempt was personified in the form of Van Dusen who held the presidency of the company for a short time. He failed miserably and was so discredited that the Navy saw fit to take the company over personally. Then came Mr. Riebel who later admitted at the Vinson Committee hearings in Washington that his first aim was not to increase production which was at a 37 percent level but to break the might of the union. Despite this confession the reactionary Vinson Committee laid the fault of the low production almost entirely on the union.

Today Tom DeLorenzo is under indictment. The actual charges made against him are "failure to state all instances of arrest" (every summons for a traffic violation is an arrest according to the law) and (2) "Stating that

he had been employed by Seversky Aircraft." Both these charges arise out of an application he signed to serve as a labor member of a War Labor Board Panel.

I can say with certainty that the only people in the shop not supporting DeLorenzo in this obvious frame-up are the Stalinists. Today we are 27 percent ahead of our production quotas. Yet, despite the Navy's cry for ever-increasing "production," five Brewster plants, we are told, containing all the necessary tools, jigs and skilled manpower will be shut down.

K.
New York City

Likes "Militant"

Editor:
Congratulations on the 6-page *Militant*! With so many leading Trotskyists in prison it is an achievement to get the paper out at all. But like real Bolsheviks you and your staff have not only carried on under difficulties, but have forged ahead, and made improvements. I am sure that Farrell Dobbs, the former editor, would be proud if he could see the paper today in Sandstone penitentiary. And Albert Parker would feel very heartened, wherever he is in the army, if he could see what splendid work Charles Jackson is doing with his old column, "The Negro Struggle." It keeps strictly to the class line, and has more mass appeal than ever. You can "hear the workers talking" in the paper.

The *Militant* of April 15 was particularly good. I got an extra kick out of Henry Jordan's article on that great Democrat, the tub-thumping, race-hating Senator Bilbo. And like all issues, especially the recent ones, it just breathes internationalism.

S.
Buffalo, N. Y.

Salvemini

Editor:
Dr. Gaetano Salvemini, noted Italian liberal anti-fascist, characterized the role of the Allied Military Government and the Stalinists in Italy in no uncertain terms when he spoke to the student body of the University of California at Los Angeles on April 19th.

Blaming the AMG for the retention in power of the monarch, King Victor Emmanuel III, Prof. Salvemini went on to say that the support the Stalinists have given to this degenerate regime has only served to "disrupt and confuse the Anti-fascist efforts of the Italian populace." He said that no one, "from the conservatives to the most radical," supports the king with the exception of a few military stooges.

"I make a distinction between Communists and Stalinists," he explained, "Many Communists I can respect while disagreeing with

them, but the Stalinists with their eternal vacillation from one program to another, now supporting the House of Savoy, have no principles but the will of Stalin."

During the discussion period following the speech, Dr. Salvemini, in answer to a question concerning the split of the Italian Communist Party, stated that the split had occurred not only in Southern Italy but also in the German held industrial north, where, despite the obscuring of the fact by the American press the Italian people were putting up a valiant fight against fascism.

Even though Salvemini retains a hope that the allied powers will somehow change their spots and express bewilderment as to the reasons for their actions, it is obvious to him that the role of the Allies in propping up the Badoglio puppet regime is a shameful one. As an immediate response to this talk, his scheduled speech before the Stalinist-dominated American Writers Congress was cancelled by them.

Dan Dreiser
Los Angeles

Shocking Expressions

Editor:
"Store teeth," "his new snappers," "porcelain choppers" — what a shock to read expressions like those in the pages of *The Militant*! I refer to Henry Jordan's article on Senator Bilbo in *The Militant* for April 15. And does the fact that Bilbo has "the staring eyes of a maniac and a natural expression as though he had been suckled on lemons" prove anything other than that he is a most unhandsome creature?

If the above expressions had been omitted, the article would have been convincingly forceful and worthy of space in *The Militant*. As it stands, it smacks of the type of journalism one finds in *The People's World*. I have heard it said of the Stalinists that since they can't defend their unprincipled position with sound argument they must resort to name calling. We don't have to gaze up from the gutter with the Stalinists in order to "talk down" to the level of the workers.

The Militant is like a banner

unfurled at the dawn of American working-class consciousness. Let us keep it bright and unsoiled!
K.
Los Angeles, Calif.
P. S. I have my own teeth.

Novack Addresses Seattle Meetings

(Continued from page 1)

this case contains the gravest threat to labor, liberal and minority groups and their right to free speech and press. We wholeheartedly support this case and have sent a copy of the resolution passed by our organization to the President of the U. S."

CONTRIBUTIONS

Among the recent contributors to the CRDC are: Laundry Workers Joint Board, Amalgamated Clothing Workers-CIO, N. Y., International Association of Machinists, Lodge 68, San Francisco, Millinery Workers Union, Local 24-AFL, N. Y., United Steelworkers of America, Local 2719, CIO, Reading, Pa., Amalgamated Clothing Workers Local 24-CIO, Newark, N. J., Workmen's Benefit Fund, Branch 245, Brooklyn, N.Y., Accion-Democrata Espanol, San Francisco, Calif., International Fine Arts Galleries, Miami Beach, Fla.

Recent Workmen's Circle contributors include Branches 493, San Francisco; 214, Brooklyn; 79, Cleveland; 118, Philadelphia; 107, Newark; 93, Bronx; 808, N. Y. C.; 252-B, Chicago; 252, Chicago; 989, Minneapolis; 441, Jacksonville, Fla.; 51, Bronx, N. Y.; 404, Chicago; 20, N.Y.C.; 580, Passaic, N. J.; 355, Bronx; 178, Chicago; 181, Detroit; 29-B, Buffalo; 705, Dorchester, Mass.; 207, Atlanta; 29, Buffalo; 530, Houston, Texas; 242, Waco, Texas; 286, Brooklyn, N. Y.

In Detroit, Mich.
You can get
THE MILITANT
at the
FAMILY THEATRE
NEWSSTAND
opposite the theatre

2nd EDITION
NEGROES in the POST-WAR WORLD
by ALBERT PARKER
PIONEER PUBLISHERS
116 University Place
New York 3, N. Y.

American Labor Needs Its Own Political Party

By C. Thomas

It is becoming more obvious to a growing section of the labor movement that the problems confronting labor cannot be solved by the methods of pure and simple trade unionism. It is no longer a case of the unions confronting an individual employer or even an association of employers, but the employers as a class organized and functioning through their most powerful class organization — the government. The workers struggle for a living wage, the right to sell their labor power to the highest bidder, the observance of the union contracts and even minor grievances brings them smack up against the government — the organized political power of the employers. Thus the "economic" struggle of the unions against individual employers and groups of employers for a more equitable distribution of the national income becomes generalized into a political struggle in which the workers confront the government functioning as the executive committee of the employing class as a whole.

CLASS CHARACTER

The class character of the government has been revealed in a whole series of measures designed to enslave the workers and ensure the privileges, profits and position of the employers. Profits have soared to higher levels each year, while wages remain frozen by executive decree, workers are frozen to their jobs by administrative order, an increasingly heavy load of taxes has been thrust upon those least able to pay, the cost of living continues to spiral upward, while the full repressive machinery of the government is used against those workers who offer any resistance. The Democrats and Republicans have vied with each other in their sponsorship and support of anti-labor, repressive legislation. The two major political parties stand exposed as direct agents of Big Business in the drive to throttle the labor movement and regiment the American people.

The experience of the past few years has tremendously accelerated the political development of the advanced workers. They see that the unions, disarmed by the no-strike pledge, are rendered incapable of offering effective resistance to the combined employer-government attack. They increasingly recognize the utter futility of placing any dependence on the promises of the "friends of labor" to defend the interests of the workers. They are coming to the realization that a political struggle requires a program and that the instrument for advancing the program is a political party. Against the political organizations of the employers it is necessary to counterpose the political organization of the workers. To support the boss-controlled Democratic and Republican parties is nothing more than political company unionism.

LIP SERVICE

The sentiment for a decisive break with company unionism on the political field, has become so pronounced among militant sections of the labor movement, that even the opponents of labor's independent political action have been compelled to give lip service to the IDEA of a "third party." When the Michigan Commonwealth Federation was in the process of formation, George F. Addes, secretary of the United Automobile Workers, CIO, wrote several untoward articles in the union's paper acknowledging the urgent need for political action by labor but each time concluding that: Now is not the time! The MCF, said Addes, should "merely lay plans for a Third Political Party on another happier day." And how and by whom is this "happier day" to be ushered in? Addes does not say.

"Yes," says Addes, "labor's immediate and foremost task in 1944 is to elect a liberal president. That will require an all-out effort on the part of everyone. Nothing must be allowed to detract from this all-out effort." Therefore, the organization of an Independent Labor Party must be indefinitely postponed so that "everyone" can unite in an "all-out effort" to elect the man whom Addes loudly proclaims as "the greatest liberal

of them all, Franklin Delano Roosevelt." For a union leader to hang that label on Roosevelt in this year of 1944 sounds like mockery! But Addes along with the Stalinists, and Murray, Hillman and their Political Action Committee, are hell-bent on dragging the workers into supporting "their friend" by hook or crook. If the whole record of the Roosevelt administration belies their words, the labor fakery are not reticent about falsifying or effacing the record.

SOCIAL GAINS

"Labor and the common man," says Addes, "have made their greatest social gains during the past twelve years." The impression Addes attempts to create is that the social gains made by labor in the past decade were due primarily to the efforts of the "greatest liberal of them all, Franklin Delano Roosevelt." Even Addes isn't foolhardy enough to enumerate a specific list of the "social gains" of the last four years because the memory of these years is still too fresh in the minds of the workers. Instead, he lumps Roosevelt's three administrations together and concocts a fairy tale that has no relation to reality. The true story is far different.

Here is how Francis J. Gorman, head of the United Textile Workers Union in 1935 summed up the experiences of the unions with Roosevelt during their heyday of the "New Deal." Speaking at the 55th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor in support of a resolution for the formation of an Independent Labor Party, Gorman stated,

NAIVE FAITH

"We looked with what now seems to us naive faith to the proponents of a 'New Deal'—believing, I guess, that it meant a New Deal for labor as well as a New Deal for industry. We have been sorely disappointed. We do not impugn the honesty of the President of the United States, because whether or not Franklin Delano Roosevelt is sincere is of little consequence here. He cannot, out of the very nature of our economic and political machinery, do other than what he has done. We know, for instance, that his electoral success depends on the 'Solid South,' and the Southland is composed of the most bitter anti-labor, most viciously unmerciful employer groups in the United States. The Administration has done nothing effective about protecting the Southern workers against the cruel persecution of the Southern boss—not because the New Dealers revel in the blood spilled on the economic battle front, but because Franklin Delano Roosevelt must have the Southern employer in order to be re-elected President of the United States. So, what difference does it make if he be the most ardent of the so-called friends of the working man? There is nothing he can do and at the same time stay within the limits of our present order."

MILITANT STRUGGLE

The truth is that the social gains won by the workers in the first and second administrations of Roosevelt, were achieved through their own militant struggle and were a by-product of that struggle. The auto workers certainly do not have Roosevelt to thank for their union although Addes would like to have them believe they do. They fought through some of the most militant strikes in the history of the labor movement to build their union. The truth is that the gains achieved by the independent action of the workers have been steadily whittled away by the Roosevelt administration, not without the aid of labor bureaucrats such as Addes and Company. To safeguard those remaining gains, to preserve their unions, to defend their standard of living, the workers have only to draw the lesson from their experience in building and defending their unions. The workers can depend upon no one but themselves. Translated into the language of politics, this means that a real "all-out effort" is required for the building of an Independent Labor Party and the time to begin is NOW!

BROOKLYN CRDC PARTY

Proceeds to Minneapolis Prisoners Relief and Pardon Fund
SATURDAY, MAY 6, 8:30 P. M.
Subscription: 25c
Special Auction!
Rare copy of "AMERICAN CITY", by Charles R. Walker
Entertainment, Refreshments, Dancing
Auspices: Brooklyn School of Social Science
571 PACIFIC ST., at 4th Ave. (only 10 min. from Union Sq.)
Take BMT Sea Beach or West End Express to Pacific Street

The Negro Struggle

By Charles Jackson

For some time, now, the Army has been making a practice of expelling those men who object to the undemocratic and insulting system of maintaining separate, Jim Crow units for Negro soldiers.

These expulsions have taken different forms. The men may be judged physically unfit, mentally deficient or morally lacking in the qualifications for making a "good" soldier.

As reported in the capitalist press, Lt. Col. A. R. De Bolt and Lt. Col. Charles A. Gayle charged the defendant with being disrespectful.

What puzzles us is the lightness of the sentence after such a defiant statement. No dishonorable discharge, no fine, no time in the jug; just dismissal from the service.

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PIONEER PARAGRAPHS

LEON TROTSKY'S POSITION ON THE DEFENSE OF THE USSR

"Defense of the USSR," as interpreted by the Comintern, like yesterday's "struggle against fascism," is based on renunciation of independent class politics.

We are not a government party; we are the party of irreconcilable opposition, not only in capitalist countries but also in the USSR.

the war profits made by some big business baron, it may be termed a "revolutionary" uprising and the soldier will be expected to carry out a command from his superior officer to machine-gun his fellow men and thus protect the profit-hog even though his own brother or father should happen to be in the aroused group of workers.

As to the soldiers' actual statements or beliefs about revolution, we do not know. We do know, however, that a successful working class revolution that will put us on the road to Socialism will only occur when a majority, not a minority, of the people are convinced that such a change would be of benefit to society.

SELFRIDGE FIELD

All indications point to the fact that Milton Henry had been an efficient, conscientious young man, with the courage of his convictions. He had enlisted in the army under the common, false impression that by fighting for "democracy" over there—he would receive his rightful portion of it over here.

As an example of what he had to put up with look at Selfridge Field—the beautiful base for the advanced training of American fighter pilots. . . pardon me, my error. I meant Negro fighter pilots.

These militant elements which the army is finding necessary to purge serve to reflect the seething, simmering, potentially explosive feeling that is present in the masses of Negro soldiers.

The segregated, second-class Jim Crow army "for Negroes" is a dead give-away to the hypocritical character of the high-sounding phrases such as "liberation of oppressed people," "four freedoms," etc., which are being applied to this world-wide slaughter.

The Henry case merely represents another ugly bump on the army's angelic face. It is an external symptom of the inner, rotten poison of Jim Crowism.

UNEMPLOYMENT

If, in the inevitable "post-war" unemployment, a group of workers becomes resentful enough of

and not even through the government of the USSR, but exclusively through the education of the masses through agitation, through explaining to the workers what they should defend and what they should overthrow.

The defense of the USSR coincides for us with the preparation of world revolution. Only those methods are permissible which do not conflict with the interests of the revolution.

(From "In Defense of Marxism," by Leon Trotsky, pp. 17-18; Pioneer Publishers, 1942; 212 pp., \$1.50 paper, \$2 cloth. Order from Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Pl., N. Y. 3, N. Y.)

Wall St. Opens Attack On Unions

(Continued from page 1)

no difference over fundamental aims. It is a conflict over tactics, over which methods are best to keep the working class disarmed, impotent and submissive.

But will this present "seizure" operate any more favorably for the workers than those which were of a more obviously strike-breaking character? The Ward workers are already learning to the contrary. Ward's profits continue, while the old management continues in actuality to operate the plant and carry out its anti-labor policies.

The CIO News, of May 1, days after the government moved Avery out, complains: "Latest report from officials of Local 20, United Retail, Wholesale and Department Store employees, CIO, representing Montgomery Ward workers, indicate that certain executives and supervisors of the company are continuing Avery's fight against the Government."

The Ward case should be an alarm signal for American labor. The workers already witnessed how Roosevelt has moved further and further to the right.

ALARM SIGNAL Once the Wall Street masters are convinced that Roosevelt has succeeded in completely sapping labor's fighting powers, they will move with ruthless speed to destroy the flimsy structure of Roosevelt's guarantees of "union security."

Everyone recognizes that labor has been steadily losing ground, yielding one position after another, beating an ignominious and shameful retreat all along the line.

QUESTION FOR LABOR The question labor must now ask itself is: What are we going to gain from Roosevelt's theatrical move in the Ward Case?

MEASURES OF DEFENSE Mexico, while no attempt is even made to apprehend him.

Escape Plotted For Killer Of Trotsky

(Continued from page 1)

Several weeks ago, a sensational story appeared in Time Magazine. Siqueiros announced that he was planning to come to the U.S. to paint a number of murals, under the auspices of Nelson Rockefeller's Latin American Committee.

WHY WE ARE IN PRISON

Farewell speeches of the defendants in the Minneapolis Labor Case.

"We were obliged to tell the truth. We saw the abomination of the imperialist war and we were under compulsion to fight for it at all costs and despite all hazards."

56 pages, paper 10 cents

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

Detroit A New Series of Classes in Basic Marxism

First Session Tuesday, May 9, 8:00 P. M. Detroit Branch, Socialist Workers Party 3513 WOODWARD AVENUE, Room 21

It is said, moreover, that inside the penitentiary the atmosphere is one of unusual tension.

As a significant detail and one which strengthens the hypothesis that the escape of Monard is almost certain, is cited the fact that a Mexico City periodical has posted, permanently, outside the penitentiary gates, several photographers, with the evident view of getting a "scoop" when Jacobson escapes.

It is said, moreover, that inside the penitentiary the atmosphere is one of unusual tension. The prisoners know that something "big" is going to happen soon—"something" in which one of them—another prisoner: Monard?—will be the principal character.

necked attitude and because Roosevelt was so clearly impelled to act, despite the resistance of the company, in order to save the prestige of the WLB.

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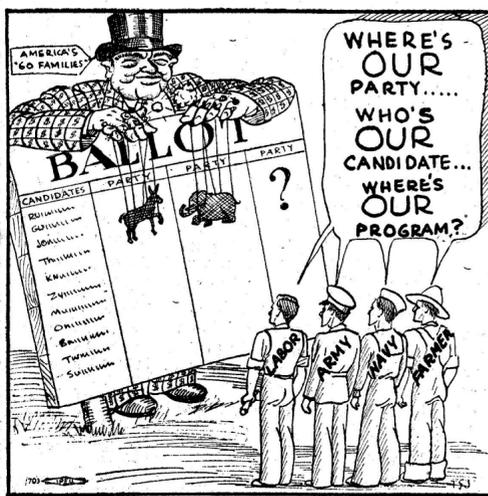
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Reprinted from leaflet issued by Flint Chevrolet Local.

Flint UAW Urges Labor To Organize Own Party

By Policy Committee, Chevrolet Plant 3, Local 659, UAW-CIO, Flint

It is a cruel paradox that in the United States, a democratic nation, we permit a group of less than 200 families to control our destiny for their own enrichment, while we, the common people, the toilers, do not use our political power, and as a class get less and less of what we produce.

When our leaders are asked about a Labor Party they invariably reply, "Yes! Eventually we must have our party if our problems are to be solved—but, now is not the time."

We are in politics whether we like it or not. Every problem today is political. The government decides wages, prices, rent, rationing of food and other necessities.

NO DIFFERENCE Any pretense of difference between Democrats and Republicans is vanishing rapidly. They work together at the top, and the top is Wall Street and Washington.

WHY WE ARE IN PRISON Farewell speeches of the defendants in the Minneapolis Labor Case. The vital words of people condemned to prison for their courageous defense of Socialist ideas.

"We were obliged to tell the truth. We saw the abomination of the imperialist war and we were under compulsion to fight for it at all costs and despite all hazards."

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Briggs Local Calls For A Strike Vote

DETROIT, Mich.—In answer to the bosses' anti-labor drive, the workers of Briggs Mfg. Co., UAW Local 212, voted overwhelmingly Sunday, April 23, to notify all governmental agencies concerned of their intent to strike under the provisions of the Smith-Connally Act.

Jess Ferrazza, President of the union, opened the meeting with a report of the company's recent attempts to housebreak the union. He introduced to the meeting the question of taking a strike vote, and opened the floor for discussion.

In rapid succession, rank and file members took the floor to speak on the motion. They described many specific instances where the company had refused to discuss justified grievances, had high-handedly fired stewards and other active unionists, and more recently engaged in a deliberate program of wage-cutting.

The wage-cutting is put through in the following manner: the company informs the union that a certain job is improperly coded (code rates of pay are set in the contract) and proceeds to cut the rate to conform with the "proper" code classification.

LACK OF CONFIDENCE

Melvin Bishop, East Side UAW Regional Director, rose to present the International's viewpoint on strikes during wartime, and was greeted by a round of boos by the Briggs workers.

Top Officials Dominate Michigan CIO Conference

(Continued from page 1)

clarified next week when the MCF State Committee meets in Flint to prepare for its convention which is scheduled to open on July 28-30 at Grand Rapids.

ELECT OFFICERS

William C. Stevenson, UAW executive board member and West Side regional director was elected by acclamation as president of the Wayne County Political Action Committee and Tracy M. Doll president of the Progressive Labor League.

10 Years Ago In The Militant

MAY 5, 1934

NEW YORK—In a pamphlet entitled "An Appeal to the Membership of the Socialist Party," a group of 47 Socialist Party members issued a programmatic statement of aims and principles in which they attacked the traditional reformist policies of the Socialist Party.

"Under the impact of the second historic debacle of social reformism on the international field—Germany and Austria—and the sharpening of the class struggle in America, the ferment in the Socialist Party is deepening and a process of differentiation along principled lines is clearly evident.

KANSAS CITY—The sudden death of Comrade A. A. Buehler, beloved veteran of the American communist movement, one of the founding members of the Communist Party and an active member of the Communist League (Trotskyist) since its inception, was announced by the Kansas City Branch.

NEW YORK—The Madison Square May Day Demonstration was described in The Militant as "by far the largest and most impressive that New York has seen."

THE MILITANT

Published in the interests of the
Working People

VOL. VIII—No. 19 Saturday, May 6, 1944

Published Weekly by

THE MILITANT PUBLISHING ASSN
at 116 University Place, New York 3, 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 MILITANT 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 the main fortress of the world proletariat, against all assaults of world imperialism and of internal counter-revolution, is the most important duty of every class-conscious worker.

— LEON TROTSKY

JOIN US IN FIGHTING FOR:

1. Military training of workers, financed by the government, but under control of the trade unions. Special officers' training camps, financed by the government but controlled by the trade unions, to train workers to become officers.
2. Trade union wages for all workers drafted into the army.
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' Government.
9. The defense of the Soviet Union against imperialist attack.

On Pacifism

Pacifist ideas, or more correctly, pacifist illusions played a considerable role in the last war. As a matter of fact, one of the central slogans of the first world war — “the war to end all wars” — the fostering of the illusion that peace can be achieved under capitalism, was a deliberate piece of demagoguery designed to exploit the pacifist illusions of the masses on behalf of the war governments. Similarly the demagoguery of Woodrow Wilson was shot through with pacifist verbiage and hypocrisy. The entire previous background of the relatively peaceful development of capitalism, particularly in Europe and the United States, provided a rich soil for the growth of pacifist illusions and for employing these illusions to dupe and deceive the masses.

Far different were the conditions preceding the outbreak of the second world war. The capitalist rulers launched the current slaughter bereft of a single idea that could really grip the minds and hearts of the masses. Isn't it a pathetic commentary on pacifism and its role that the humanitarian opponents of the war had to wait until the fifth year of the greatest blood bath in history before raising their voices to bleat in protest. And even now, these moralists do not protest against the war, much less propose to do anything about it; they are merely protesting against one aspect of it, the bombing of cities and civilian populations.

If it is wicked to kill human beings, why protest simply the killing of civilians by aerial bombing? What about sailors drowned at sea? What about soldiers shot in the field? Why not protest against these horrors? The utter bankruptcy of pacifism is revealed not only in their fantastic attempt to isolate one piece out of the whole bloody mess, but the fact that the pacifists wholly base themselves in their argumentation on the point of view of the war lords. What are their reasons for demanding a cessation of bombings — because the war aims of the Allies are reactionary? Because the human race is being slaughtered over the question of what imperial powers shall dominate and exploit the world? No, not at all! The pacifists have converted themselves momentarily into military experts and find that the bombings are inadvisable from a military point of view.

Stephen Early, in making public Roosevelt's reply to the protesting clergymen, cedes his critics nothing. Roosevelt is as “horrified” as they are.

Roosevelt likewise takes his stand on the grounds of humanitarianism. The bombings, he assures the clergymen, will shorten the war. Therefore, in the last analysis, they save human lives, “democracy,” “culture,” etc., etc.

Whether these pacifist clergymen are sincere or not, we do not pretend to know. It is not too important. What is important is that pacifism reveals itself today in all of its bankruptcy, its impotence, its cowardice. War, as Lenin once stated, exposes and destroys many things that are rotten, and in this war, the whole philosophy of pacifism, as well as its practitioners are doomed to disappear from the political scene, hardly leaving a trace.

While it is true that the actual arguments of the pacifists are devoid of any real seriousness, their action has an important symptomatic significance. The crowing of the rooster does not bring the dawn, but it does herald its approach. So it is in this case. The fact that the pacifists are beginning to whimper more audibly, the fact that their protests have evoked such important repercussions on both sides of the Atlantic, points infallibly to the fact that the masses are growing weary of the slaughter, that they are becoming increasingly conscious of the blind alley into which the capitalist rulers have led mankind, that they are preparing to break out of the bloody ring.

Free Speech

The destructive role of Stalinism in the labor movement was highlighted this last week by two recent incidents involving the right of free speech which one would imagine have already been sufficiently trampled underfoot in the course of the war by the “democrats” in Washington.

In the first of these instances the Stalinists tried to muzzle Gaetano Salvemini, noted Italian scholar, liberal, and anti-Fascist, at a lecture he was scheduled to deliver before the Hollywood Writers' Congress. This Stalinist-dominated outfit threatened to cancel the lecture unless Salvemini gave them “definite assurances” that he would refrain from any criticism of Allied policies. Salvemini indignantly rejected this demand and told the Hollywood Writers' Congress to “keep their money and go to hell.”

Meanwhile a Stalinist gang in Minnesota utilized the Hennepin County CIO Council, which is under their thumb, to demand that Norman Thomas be barred from speaking at a post-war planning conference held at the University of Minnesota.

It is interesting to recall in this regard that both Salvemini and Norman Thomas are supporters of the Allies and their war, although in the case of Norman Thomas, he is somewhat shame-faced about it. The fact that the Stalinists campaign to gag even liberals of the Salvemini and Norman Thomas stripe serves to bring sharply into focus the truly invidious character and unabashed, all-out reactionary aims of these political degenerates. They want to stifle every critical voice, every sign of opposition within the labor movement. They want to transform the American workers into a herd of cattle at the disposal of the war machine.

Inside the labor movement Stalinism is today in the very vanguard of reaction which seeks to destroy the elementary democratic rights of the workers. Every blow at free speech, every attack on the democratic rights of the workers, is a blow at the heart of the organized labor movement. That is why the struggle against Stalinism is the struggle for the preservation of the labor movement.

May Day

The Stalinists are repeating today the treachery of the Social-Democrats during the first world war. No wonder they are trying to destroy the revolutionary traditions of May Day, just as their historic predecessors in perfidy attempted to do in 1914-1918.

In his May 1 Order of the Day Stalin carefully avoided any reference to the class character of this working class holiday and its glorious traditions of socialist struggle. The self-proclaimed builder of “socialism — in one country” did not have a word to say about socialism, either inside the Soviet Union or outside of it. Instead he raised the dirty rag of chauvinism. He did not pledge solidarity with the working class of Europe, above all, of Germany. No, he virtually called for the extirpation of the German workers, by lumping them together with the Nazis, under the epithet of “German vermin.” Stalin's words of friendship and solidarity are reserved for the capitalist overlords of the “democracies.”

The Stalinists in this country, continuing their sell-out of the American workers, called for increased production on May Day in place of the traditional slogan of: Down Tools on May Day. They hope to cement “national unity” by moving to destroy every one of the traditions of the class struggle.

Two decades ago, the yellow socialists proved the main bulwark of rotting capitalism. The Stalinists have today taken over this perfidious job. But in their cynicism, their brazenness, their contempt for the masses, their unbridled treachery, they have already surpassed the Social-Democratic betrayers.

But the Stalinists will fail just as did their Social-Democratic predecessors. The October Revolution which emerged from the last war revived the glorious traditions of May Day under the Communist International of Lenin and Trotsky. The proletarian revolution which is coming as the inescapable consequence of the second world war will again raise high the banner of working class solidarity that May Day symbolizes, this time under the spotless banner of Trotskyism.

Workers' BOOKSHELF

THE RUSSIAN ARMY, ITS MEN, ITS LEADERS AND ITS BATTLES by Walter Kerr. Arthur Knopf, Publishers, 1944, New York, N. Y. \$2.75.

Stalin's autocratic regime has been adept in one sphere; it has set up a dense smoke screen about the Soviet Union, an almost impenetrable fog that surrounds and makes vague the sharp outline of reality. Thanks to the watchfulness of the GPU, the truth has come out of the country in a mere trickle. If any aspect of Soviet life is shrouded in secrecy, it is the military. That is one reason why the Soviet defeats first suffered in the war against a small nation (Finland) were magnified out of all proportion to their actual significance. Bourgeois commentators thought it definitely shattered the “myth” of the great strength of the Red Army.

Walter Kerr, correspondent for the N. Y. Herald Tribune, had the unusual opportunity of observing the Red Army in action first from across the lines on the Finnish side, later from the Russian side in the war against Hitler's mechanized armies. His account is an honest even though limited one. He is concerned mainly with explaining the military strategy which led to the defeat of the German armies at Stalingrad and at Leningrad. This is not a definitive work since it deals not with the inner life of the Red Army, the real thoughts and feelings of the Red Army soldiers, but rather with the plans of the new leadership of this army and the manner in which those plans were executed.

The book, however, is of value for throwing some light on conditions in Russia during the war. Naturally everything was subordinated to the war and the needs of the army. Production of civilian goods came to a halt. No coal, clothing or shoes were available to the population at all during the first year. Food was strictly rationed. Even so, there existed a terrible shortage of rationed foods. “Unrationed foodstuffs” were sold by the peasants in the

open market at exorbitant prices. Apparently, the impact of the war has expanded the sphere of peasant private trading.

The nature of the bureaucratic regime is exemplified on every hand. “In the factories labor had few of the rights that it enjoys in American industry.” Strikes were out of the question, the penalties are conviction for treason, and shooting. The worker's lot is a hard one. Harsh penalties are inflicted for the slightest infractions in matters of lateness or of producing the “norm,” even where infractions are unavoidable. Several revealing incidents show the attitude of the bureaucracy towards the masses. Describing one bit of brutality observed by the correspondents, Kerr concludes: “There always seemed to be things like that in Russia, but side by side with them were many examples of courtesy and kindness, usually by the people towards other people, rather than by government officials toward the people.”

Every army reflects the regime under which it exists. The Red Army is no exception. Stalin has made every effort to build up a separate officer caste, enjoying extensive privileges. The officers have power of life and death over the privates. Punishment for disciplinary infractions are drastically severe. The GPU commissars still exist as a spy service, although their power has been considerably reduced in relation to the officers.

Who are the leaders of this army? Kerr has a chance to talk to all but one of the new men. They were all young men and “that was easily explained. Most of the generals were in their early forties for the simple reason that the older officers had been killed off or eliminated in the great purges of 1937 and 1938.” These new officers no doubt feel the need of placating Stalin, their titular commander-in-chief. Kerr describes a meeting with Malinovsky in which time after time when a toast was

given, this commander instantly dragged in the name of Stalin “who organized the Red Army and is leading it to victory.”

The one general who could not be seen by the correspondents was Rokossovsky. Of him, Kerr remarks: “Rokossovsky turned out to be one of the most capable officers in the Red Army. I do not know whether the story is true, but most people in Moscow said that at the time of the German invasion this general was either in retirement or confined to quarters as a result of the purge of the Red Army generals in 1937 and 1938. It is said by many observers that when the war began Marshal Shaposhnikov, then Chief of Staff of the army, asked Stalin to release Rokossovsky because he was needed at the front and that Stalin agreed.”

Kerr gives an account of the bureaucracy's indifference to the terrible fate of Russian prisoners of war. Stalin has consistently refused to sign the Geneva Convention. Stalin does not want to permit anybody inside Russia to investigate the condition of prisoners. The Geneva Convention would require that the International Red Cross be allowed to send in investigators. The results of Stalin's indifference to the fate of Russian prisoners of war can be appraised in the press accounts which relate the brutal treatment that is meted out to Red Army captives.

Kerr explains the amazing victories of the Red Army over the mightiest army of invasion ever assembled, in these words: “I found its strength in the fighting heart of its soldiers, in their training, their discipline, and the civilian support behind them.”

The victories came in spite of the bureaucratic regime and its reign of terror inside Russia. In spite of the rule of the murderous Kremlin bureaucracy, the Soviet masses gave their all to defend the remaining conquests of the Russian revolution. The results of these victories have been to hearten the workers of all lands.

Reviewed by A. Roland

Trotskyists Unite In England

(Continued from page 1)
Military Policy. The Conference made provisions for the continued discussion of these questions, within the new united party.

In adopting the name of the Revolutionary Communist Party, the British Trotskyists seek to wrest the banner of Communism which has been so foully besmirched by Politt (the British Earl Browder) and the other Stalinist leaders. Our party name reflects our tradition. Trotskyism is Communism and we have the duty of salvaging not only the ideas but also the name which is identified with the Russian and the World Socialist Revolutions.

The new party sharply poses to the British workers seeking the revolutionary road, the difference

between His Majesty's “Communist” Party — which supports the imperialist war, which has tied the workers to the government of the class enemy, which has betrayed their daily struggles throughout the country and which is preparing further betrayals—and the Revolutionary Communist Party, which opposes the imperialist war, which supports every manifestation of independent working class activity and which fights for the program of Communism — the only program which can solve the problems of the toiling people.

While the Third International has been dissolved, the forces of the Fourth International are gathering and solidifying. The period of splits and differences is

at an end. The period of unification and regeneration is beginning.

The Fusion Conference of the British Trotskyists represents a historic step forward. The united party steps on the scene at a period of general upsurge of the working class movement. The objective conditions are favorable for the rapid growth of the new party.

The British Trotskyists, having closed ranks, will now surely force rapidly ahead.

The assembled delegates and members of the Revolutionary Communist Party left the Conference with confidence that a new great chapter had opened in the history of the British working class.

International Notes

JAPAN

War-weariness has been evident among Japanese soldiers for many years, which is not surprising when one considers that Japan has been at war almost continually since 1931 when the invasion of Manchuria began. Back in 1938, an entire Japanese regiment mutinied in North China, demanding to be sent home on furlough. Now come reports on the war-weariness and its manifestations among civilian aides of the Japanese army in North China.

According to the Tokyo newspaper *Nichi-Nichi*, quoted in a London dispatch to the *Chicago Sun*, peace “gossip” became so rife last autumn that the chief of the press section of the Japanese army in North China issued an order for such talk to cease. “To our dismay,” the *Nichi-Nichi* stated four months later, “popular rumors of this sort were not wholly suppressed.” The paper reported two characteristic incidents.

A 27-year-old Japanese railroad clerk in Tientsin, Yutaka Kano, was asked by the Japanese soldier whether it was true that the Soviet Union and Germany had signed a separate peace. He also sought confirmation of a rumor that the Chinese government at Chungking had agreed to switch to Japan's side in the war. A military court sentenced Kano to 10 months in prison for spreading the rumors among his friends.

Similar rumors were spread aboard a train carrying 700 passengers between Peiping and Pukow. The Japanese train-master, stated the *Nichi-Nichi*, used the train amplifier to broadcast news that peace was at hand and this created quite a lot of excitement.

The man was arrested and a military tribunal sent him to prison for six months.

ENGLAND

Although the Allies are still only at the beginning of their campaign to “liberate” eastern Asia from the grip of their Japanese rivals, they are already casting about for someone in Japan who could fill the role of a Darlan or a Badoglio. One indication of the still quite tentative search for a puppet is the action of the British Broadcasting Corporation in banning broadcasts “criticizing Emperor Hirohito of Japan.”

The reason given for this action, says *PM's* London correspondent, “is that denunciation of the Japanese dynasty as an institution is undesirable because Japan's monarchy might be useful in a postwar settlement.”

Translated into intelligible English, this simply means that the “democratic” imperialists, fearing that revolution will follow the military defeat of Japan, are preparing to head off such a development by the same means now employed in Italy. They intend, if possible, to set up and support a reactionary regime which will defend capitalism against the angry Japanese masses. Hirohito seems, at the moment, the most suitable candidate to head such a regime.

ITALY

“Facts From Italy,” a weekly bulletin issued by the Committee for a Democratic Foreign Policy, carried the following item in its issue of April 24:
“The King and Umberto are taking every possible advantage of the official support given them

by the Allies. A captain close to General Clerici reports that strong measures are being taken in the 9th Army Corps to persuade anti-monarchist officers to rally around the king. . . . The Bari headquarters of the U.N.U.-C.I., which comprises all Italian officers on the retired list, has sent the following memorandum to all sections in the Bari area:

“It has come to my knowledge that various officers, ignoring the high merits of the House of Savoy, and in spite of their oath of allegiance, nourish sentiments hostile to His Majesty the King and to the present government. It will be a highly meritorious act if commanding officers will persuade said officers of their groundless injustice of their attitude. Please inform me without delay of the names of those who show themselves recalcitrant to persuasion.”

“The Army Corps of Naples has issued a confidential circular, copies of which have secretly reached the United States, which offers further evidence of this monarchist policy. It accompanies a detailed questionnaire which must be filled in, signed and sworn to by every officer as a condition of his admission to officers' mess. Allegiance to the King is thus made a matter of blackmail, for no officer who is rejected from officers' mess can share the rations of enlisted personnel.

“Prince Umberto, according to the same source, has appointed a Lt. Giacomelli as his secret propaganda agent, and has given him 5 million lire as first installment on a larger sum to be spent exclusively on propaganda.”

California Farm Workers Face Anti-Labor Terror

While Roosevelt is mouthing about an export trade for the “four freedoms,” tens of thousands of agricultural workers in California's sunny valleys continue their intolerable existence under the brutal terror maintained by the corporation-financed “Associated Farmers.”

The La Follette Senate Civil Liberties Committee just two weeks ago released a report on the activities of the “Associated Farmers” of California which reads like a page out of the Black Book of Hitlerism, with special American trimmings.

“Its record,” charges the Senate committee, “is one of conspiracy—developed on a far-flung scale, covering an entire region. That conspiracy, designed to prevent the exercise of their civil liberties by oppressed wage laborers, was executed ruthlessly with every device of repression that anti-unionism could muster. In many cases these violations were aided, abetted or ignored by local government officials who made a mockery of law and order and equal justice under the law.”

The “Associated Farmers” and similar Big Business anti-labor terroristic groups “have proceeded with impunity to perpetuate a system of economic tyranny which should be the cause of national shame and concern.” The “factories in the field” of corporation industrial farming are an “economic porthouse for the unfortunates who have no other means of livelihood and a political breeding ground for violence and undemocratic philosophies. . . .”

The activities of the “Associated Farmers” are directed against industrial as well as agricultural labor. Organized not by farmers but the land-owning banks and corporations, this terroristic outfit, which has murdered scores of workers attempting union organization, “stands in opposition to employe organizations and collective bargaining in the field, factory and transportation,” states the Senate report.

“In labor disputes, in which waves of violence broke out, the leaders of the Associated Farmers occupied prominent places in the front ranks of bands of armed deputies and vigilantes participating in the riots.” These vigilante gangs provide the industrialists with a “backlog of rural opposition to trade unionism” which helps to spearhead anti-union legislation and repressive drives against all labor.

Corporations Want to Keep Profits Secret from OPA

Corporations are more secretive about their books and records than a school girl with a diary. However, the matters Big Business is so shy of revealing are scarcely of as innocent a nature.

It is therefore not at all surprising that among the proposals advocated by the Smith Committee of the House to pull the teeth from even the present mild and inadequate price control law, is an amendment that would prohibit the Office of Price Administration from examining corporate books and records for the period prior to 1939.

This would prevent access to information on production costs and profits in “normal” times as a basis for establishing price ceilings. Padding of Costs, monopoly price-fixing and other profiteering practices are standard with the corporations. An examination of their peace-time records would only serve to highlight all the more fully the extent of these practices during the war.

Under the heading of “business secrets” the corporations are enabled to conceal their connivery and thieving. The workers will gain a real weapon in their struggle against capitalist corruption and exploitation when they win the right to have their union committees examine the books of the corporations.

The “Modern Brand” of American Imperialism

Big Business leaves it to the liberal journals and mass consumption propaganda sheets to pour out the blah about how the American ruling class is conducting this war for “democracy,” the “four freedoms” and other high-sounding phrases. In its own house-organs, Wall Street prefers to state the real score on its war aims.

Thus, the United States News, a weekly devoted to providing its big-money clientele with brass-tack political information and analyses, mimes no words in stating the real nature of Wall Street's war objectives. In the March 24 issue, United States News discusses the Saudi Arabia oil deal with relation to the whole program of American Imperialism.

“This country's sphere of interest rapidly is being extended to every corner of the globe. As this sphere expands, there is growing up what has come to be recognized as a modern brand of American imperialism, modified but nevertheless real.”

The article then relates the real scope of this “modern brand” of imperialism. “American interests now are being extended to another far corner of the earth in the Middle East. . . . acquiring stakes in two more large bodies of water—the Mediterranean Sea and the Indian Ocean. Thus, as matters now stand, there is no quarter of the globe in which the United States as the world's leading power, has not asserted herself.”

Concluding frankly with the real explanation for the Middle East oil grab, the United States News admits that Roosevelt “sees the U. S. role at the peace table and in the world of the future as based fundamentally on military power.” Oil is a prerequisite of military power. “The President is taking out U. S. claims to oil, so that this Government's hand will not be weakened when the nations of the world sit down to write the peace.”

All of which carries the stench of the “peace” conferences after the last war, which were nothing but the formal recognition of control over lands and resources already secured by military means. The only new factors of Wall Street's “modern brand” of imperialism are the unbridled character of American imperialism, the colossal scale of its ventures and its huge appetite.

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