

Delegation Will Present Pardon Plea For The 18

Unions, Negro and Fraternal Groups Back Pardon Appeal for 18 "Gag" Law Prisoners

The demand of over 300 labor and progressive organizations, representing more than 2,000,000 members, for immediate unconditional presidential pardon of the 18 imprisoned Trotskyist and Minneapolis Truckdrivers Local 544-CIO leaders, will be presented this week to the Presidential Pardon Authority in Washington, D. C., by a delegation from the Civil Rights Defense Committee.

In conjunction with the formal application of the prisoners, George Novack, CRDC National Secretary, will present many hundreds of supporting resolutions and letters from prominent labor and civil rights leaders.

International unions which are supporting the pardon campaign for the 18 include: the CIO Textile Workers; CIO United Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Employees; CIO United Transport Service Employees and the AFL International Ladies Garment Workers Union. Hundreds of local unions have joined the fight to free the 18, among them 55 locals of the CIO United Automobile Workers, 20 CIO Steel Workers locals and a dozen ILGWU-AFL bodies. The convictions have also been protested by the leading national Negro organizations and the principal labor fraternal orders, the Workmen's Circle and Workmen's Benefit fund, as well as the American Civil Liberties Union and Workers Defense League.

PROTESTS MOUNT

Prominent union leaders who have gone on record against the imprisonment of the 18 include: R. J. Thomas, President of the CIO United Automobile Workers; John Green, President of the CIO Marine and Shipbuilding Workers; Julius Hochman, General Manager of the Joint Board, ILGWU Dress and Waistmakers Union; Irving Abramson, President of the New Jersey CIO Council; John Gibson, President of the Michigan CIO Council. The Presidential pardon authority will also receive petitions

Revolutionary Ideas Cannot Be Killed!

Despite years of effort toward that end by the traitorous Stalinist clique which rules in the Kremlin, the socialist idea of world revolution for the overthrow of capitalism has not been eliminated from the consciousness of the Soviet working-class.

W. C. Heinz, correspondent of the N. Y. Sun in the French port of Cherbourg, now occupied by Allied troops, reports that there are a number of Russians there, who were brought in by the Nazis from the Eastern front to do forced labor.

"In talking with the Russians here," he writes, "the authorities found that they had a quiet appreciation of the second front, but were still interested in world revolution and were steadfast in their assertion that they would have nothing to do with any country in which the workers were abused."

bearing over 12,000 signatures of individuals calling for the pardon of the 18. These signatures were collected by the many CRDC local committees throughout the country.

The campaign to free the 18 is gaining greater support each week. An ever-growing number of labor organizations are coming to recognize the Minneapolis Labor Case frameup as a blow against the hard-won rights of all

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Nazi Crisis Deepens As Red Army Plunges Toward Germany's Border

Steel Wage Demand Kicked Around By WLB For 7 Months

By C. Thomas

It has been announced that a special steel panel of the War Labor Board will hand down its decision on the demands of the United Steelworkers some time in August. The steelworkers are demanding a wage increase of 17 cents per hour, a guaranteed annual wage, vacations with pay, etc.

Volumes of testimony comprising thousands of pages of argument have been taken by the panel. The findings of the panel will be submitted to the WLB for approval. Then if the panel recommends a wage increase, and if the WLB approves, and if Roosevelt's "economic stabilizers" Byrnes and Vinson agree, then it will go to the President as a "recommendation" for a modification of the Little Steel formula.

Seven months have already elapsed since the expiration of the steelworkers contract. In a cry of frustration Philip Murray declared: "We have suffered the inequities of frozen wages for some three and one-half years. We have had wage regimentation since January, 1941. The only portion of the national population which has suffered the effects of these atrocities are the wage earners, and particularly those in the steel industry."

Instead of wailing, wringing his hands; it is time Murray did something to fight for the interests of the CIO membership.

He has enough authority to get the CIO to issue a call for a nation-wide conference of the entire organized labor movement—CIO, AFL, Railroad Brotherhoods, etc.—to draw up a program of action aimed at smashing the Little Steel formula.

Hitler's "Great Future"



GOEBBELS: "Providence had taken the Fuehrer under its gracious protection in that tragic hour, because it wants to keep him ready for a great future."

AMG DISARMS ITALIAN ANTI-FASCIST FIGHTERS

By Harry Martell

A storm of protest has broken out among the workers in Rome over the jailing by the AMG of Rosario Bentivegna, an active participant in the anti-fascist underground movement. Bentivegna, a medical student and member of the Stalinist party, is the first Italian citizen to be convicted by the Allied General Court at Rome.

Significantly enough, his crime is anti-fascist activity. For nine months before the Allies entered Rome, Bentivegna had

is only one dramatic incident in an elaborate system of anti-fascist repression now being practised by the new conquerors of Italy.

DISARM PARTISANS
AMG has issued general orders for the disarming of the Partisans. These courageous anti-fascist fighters carried on the struggle against the Mussolini

GESTAPO AND AMG

For his struggle against the Nazi occupation the Gestapo had put a price of 1,500,000 lire on Bentivegna's head. For his anti-fascist militancy the AMG prosecutor from the United States demanded the death penalty and the kangaroo court railroaded him to a year and a half in jail. The Socialist and Stalinist press have started a public campaign for Bentivegna's liberation. They point out that the general who surrendered Naples to the Nazis is still free; that the fascist executioner who killed the labor leader Bruno Buozzi and 13 other hostages is still alive while this anti-fascist fighter is framed up and imprisoned by the AMG.

The Stalinist supporters of the Allies are extremely embarrassed by this episode. "We do not confuse the traditions and practices of the American democracy with this parody of justice," writes Dr. Ambrogio Donini in the Daily Worker (July 26). "We know however that unless these blunders are quickly rectified, our cause and our men will be doubted by the very friends to whom we appeal for help in these final days of war."

But these "friends"—that is, the revolutionary anti-fascist workers of Italy—have not only already been given many causes for "doubt" concerning the Allied promises of liberation. They have also been given many reasons for active hostility toward the Allies. The imprisonment of Bentivegna

Briggs Auto Local In Protest Strike Over Downgrading

By John Saunders

DETROIT, Mich., July 30—Briggs Mfg. Co. has intensified its anti-labor drive in an all-out effort to smash the militancy of Local 212, UAW-CIO. In the Outer Drive plant the Company proposed to the union a series of transfers and layoffs with no corresponding cut in production. The Shop Committee, recognizing this for the wage-cutting, speed-up proposal it was, refused to agree to any part of it. The corporation, emboldened by the knowledge that labor's hands have been tied by the no-strike pledge and the sell-out policies of their International leadership, ignored the protest and went ahead with the transfers.

The Briggs workers struck on July 23. Unlike the strikes of pre-war days when the workers fought to improve their wages and working conditions, this was a defensive strike—a fight to maintain existing conditions.

NO-STRIKE PLEDGE

At a four-hour union meeting, the issues confronting the workers were brought out with unusual clarity. President Jess Ferrazza and Vice-President Gordon McDonald of Local 212, as well as the whole Outer Drive Shop Committee, correctly pointed out that it was the no-strike pledge and the capitulatory policies of the International which doomed any strike to defeat before it started.

Ferrazza reviewed the part the Briggs delegation had played in the fight to have the Michigan State CIO Convention vote to rescind the no-strike pledge. He said they are now preparing for the UAW Convention and that each Briggs worker should talk to his friends in other locals to have their delegates instructed to vote against the no-strike pledge. "The no-strike pledge has tied labor's hands," Ferrazza said, "and as long as our hands are tied, the corporations will continue their attacks on labor. For every step forward labor takes, it is forced backward two steps."

No Briggs strike meeting would be complete without Melvin Bishop, East Side Regional Director, and after the meeting had been in progress for two hours, he appeared on the scene. "In looking over the Company's proposed plan of transfers," Bishop said, "I can see that there are a maximum of 110 men in-

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Desperate Measures Decried By Hitler To Bolster Regime

Rumblings of Mass Unrest Heralds Approach Of Working Class Resurgence in Germany

By William F. Ward

German imperialism's uninterrupted military successes during the first period of the war have now been turned into a nightmare of defeats, retreats, and catastrophes. Hitler set about to conquer the Soviet Union for German and world capitalism. Instead he now sees the borders of East Prussia itself invaded by the swiftly advancing Red Army. Despite the degenerating influence of Stalin's counter-revolutionary policies, the Red Army has found sufficient resources within the economy nationalized by the October Revolution and in the devotion and sacrifices of the Soviet toilers to drive the Nazis from Soviet territory and to deal devastating blows to their military machine.

The war by which German imperialism hoped to subjugate Europe and conquer the world has been lost. Mounting military disasters have gone hand in hand with a deepening of the crisis of the Nazi regime at home. This crisis has erupted into the open with the attempted coup d'etat of the Junker Generals and virtual civil war within the governing circles. The hopelessness of the military situation, combined with the rebellious temper of the masses, convinced the Junker conspirators that it was imperative to get rid of Hitler and his regime in order to forestall the impending proletarian revolution and, like Badoglio, make a deal with the Allies.

Hitler is compelled to put down this attempted seizure of power and punish its instigators through a continuing blood purge of the Army High Command. Despite savage reprisals, it is certain that Hitler has not ferreted out all the malcontents in the Wehrmacht or ensured its loyalty. On the contrary, Goebbels intimated in his speech last Thursday that much more purging remains to be done.

The growing disintegration of the Nazi regime is no less clearly revealed by the extraordinary and frantic appeals Hitler and his chief lieutenants are making day after day to the German masses and by the new decrees intended to whip forth one final war effort from the weary and tortured German people.

A decree — one more — has been issued to mobilize the Reich

Clenched Fists

"According to information received from occupied Belgium," says the July 29 official bulletin of the Belgium Information Center, "a German sergeant-major, who had just served three months imprisonment for giving the communist salute with the clenched fist, on coming out of prison said in a Flanders village that in Germany six million men were thinking the same way as he. 'As for me,' he added, 'I shall keep my fists in my pockets and wait till the war is over to get my revenge.'"

for "total war." Hitler has appointed Goebbels as a "Plenipotentiary" to administer this new "total war" effort. Goebbels immediately set about to prop up the collapsing Nazi war machine. Training schedules for German troops were shortened so that new cannon-fodder, however poorly trained, can be rushed to fill giant gaps in the Soviet front. Troops are being reduced to the minimum in many parts of German-occupied territories, despite the mounting resistance movements. The last reserves are being rushed to the front. Front-line soldiers are being ordered to do the manual work of bridge building and road repair formerly done by the Todt labor organization. These obvious signs of profound weakness are not lost on the soldiers in the ranks.

At the same time, the Nazi gang is showing extreme concern over the restive and rebellious mood of the workers. The German radio DNB reports that the Nazi Labor Front has been dra-

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Dangers And Tasks Facing The Workers Of Poland

By The Editors

With the Red Army surging across the western Bug River, the frontier established as the "Curzon Line," the Kremlin has proclaimed the formation of a "Polish Committee of National Liberation." This committee is to serve as the civil authority in the territory being occupied by Soviet troops from this line onward.

The proclamation of the new quasi-government has aroused a flurry of diplomatic activity in Allied circles. The premier of the Polish "government-in-exile" at London has flown to Moscow to attempt a conciliation of the two "governments," imposed upon the people of Poland from without.

The dispute between London and Moscow is in the main a dispute over the international alignment of the projected Polish government. London wants to assure its allegiance to the foreign policy of British imperialism. Moscow wants to assure for the Stalinist bureaucracy a friendly capitalist ally on the pattern of the emigre Czechoslovak government of Eduard Benes.

Moscow's declaration explicitly states: "The Soviet government declares that it does not pursue aims... of a change of social structure in Poland." This is the identical language used by Molotov after the entry of the Red Army into Rumania. There this statement of policy has been followed by practical measures upholding the domination of the capitalist-landlord oligarchy and suppressing the most elementary rights of the masses. The Polish declaration forebodes the same kind of counter-revolutionary action by the Stalinist agents in Poland.

The manifesto reportedly issued by Stalin's puppet Polish civil administration further bears this out: "All property confiscated by the Germans will be restored." Restored, that is, to the capitalists.

The machinations of Stalin and his puppets are a clear warning of the dangers facing the people of Poland.

Under the leadership of the great Warsaw proletariat, the Polish masses have fought for five years with unexcelled heroism against Nazi tyranny. They have not taken up arms to exchange one set of oppressors for another. They have not fought for the predatory interests of British imperialism and its Polish henchmen of the London "government-in-exile." Nor have they battled in

order to submit to the reactionary rule of Stalin's bureaucracy and his Polish puppets. They have shown in the course of their tenacious resistance to Hitlerism that they mean to be masters of their own destiny. They intend to strike down root and branch the whole landlord-capitalist system which has heaped interminable misery, starvation and death upon them.

They cannot accept either the dictates of London or of the Kremlin. With their own armed forces they must continue their independent revolutionary struggle. They must organize and strengthen their workers and peasants councils. They must fight to establish a workers and peasants republic on socialist foundations.

They must confiscate the factories and operate them under workers control. They cannot place any confidence in the promises of land reforms issued from London or Moscow but must proceed to divide the estates of the robber landlords among the peasants. They will have to take measures to prevent the restoration of the landlord-capitalist regime and its military oligarchy. They must establish full equality for all minorities.

The Polish masses can realize this program only in relentless opposition and vigilant struggle against all the agents of the Anglo-American imperialists and of the counter-revolutionary Stalinist bureaucracy. They will find their most powerful allies in the workers of Germany who are preparing to rise against the shaken Nazi-Junker regime, and in the insurgent workers and peasants of Central Europe. They must seek to enlist in their common cause the rank and file soldiers of the Red Army, and forge bonds of solidarity with the millions of Soviet workers who remain true to the internationalist ideas and revolutionary traditions of 1917. Through their independent struggle the Polish workers will inspire the Soviet masses to settle accounts with the hated Stalinist bureaucracy.

Arm in arm with these allies the Polish workers must fight to overthrow capitalism and rid Europe of imperialist domination. Their united struggle will assure the revival and extension of the October Revolution and lead to the firm establishment of the Socialist United States of Europe.

Thirty-Hour Week Slogan Advanced As Labor's Answer To Unemployment Threat

By R. Bell

Production cutbacks and plant shutdowns resulting in the steady growth of unemployment in the midst of war, have given rise to the specter of mass unemployment, insecurity and want, in the period following the military collapse of Germany. The master "plan" of the government, the Baruch-Hancock report, is wholly concerned with the preservation of the so-called "free enterprise" system. Under the Baruch plan the disposal of Government-owned plant and equipment is placed in the hands of Wall Street tycoons and the problem of employment is left to Big Business.

This arrangement heralds a repetition on a much greater scale of the raging economic crisis which scourged the land after 1929. Alarmed by the indifference of the employers and their government to the spread of unemployment, some labor spokesmen are beginning to revive the slogan of the 30 hour week as labor's answer to the unemployment problem.

30 HOUR WEEK

Prior to the war the demand for the 30 hour week had won the adherence of a large section of the labor movement. The slogan: 30 hours work at 40 hours pay, expressed the aspiration of the workers for full employment and improved living standards. It was

Writing on this problem of employment for workers and war veterans in the July issue of the Boilermakers Journal, William E. Walter, secretary-treasurer of the International Brotherhood of Boilermakers, asks the question: "Doesn't it seem logical that the first and foremost step in providing employment for all these people would be to shorten the work day?" Answering this question in the affirmative, Walter estimates that the introduction of the six-hour day would mean the creation of 5,000,000 more jobs and that this step should be just "the starting place for post-war planning."

In an editorial indictment of the government's failure to cope with the problem of unemployment, the Midwest Labor World, (June 14) declares: "In the circumstances, labor's goal of a 30 hour week must be taken off the shelf... The 30 hour week campaign has become a solemn duty." Over a year ago, in the July 15, 1943 issue of the United Automobile Worker, the executive board of the UAW-CIO presented an elaborate program for "full employment" and "security" in the "post-war" period. The pro-

gram called for: "Reduction of working week to thirty hours without reduction of pay, as a result of a full production program."

The demand for a 30 hour week with no reduction in pay for all of industry is in essence a POLITICAL demand because it must be addressed to the employing class as a whole. The political representatives of the employing class, both Democrat and Republican, support the Baruch plan—which is Wall Street's plan for the "post-war" world.

Labor cannot depend on the political representatives of the employers to "grant" the workers so vital a demand as the 30 hour week with no reduction in pay. Nor will articles, editorials or elaborate plans contribute much to a solution of the unemployment problem unless the 30 hour slogan is made part of labor's own political program. To gain such a demand will require stubborn struggle. To fight for it most effectively labor must forge its own political instrument for furthering the program—the Independent Labor Party.

TRADE UNION NOTES

By Joseph Keller

An article in the July 24 CIO News complains about an "alarming shrinkage" of personnel at Los Angeles and San Diego aircraft plants due to "silent layoffs." The companies are forcing workers to quit "by shabby treatment to outright provocation" and "stiff-necked opposition to the over-all wage increase proposals." Grievance cases are "swamping the union's facilities" and union membership is being "swept away in the flood."

The article points out that the companies have bucked the unions at every bend in the road... throwing simple cases into arbitration, blocking arbitration to the WLB, and then appealing WLB awards. Only a policy of union-busting by attrition could account for such stiff-necked anti-co-operation.

This complaint of "silent layoffs" appears, in reality, a lament about the impotence of the CIO auto and aircraft locals to settle grievances because the companies are able to use the government's compulsory arbitration machinery to stall the cases. The unions, having surrendered the strike weapon, are caught in the employer-government arbitration trap. The article is therefore an indictment not only of the companies, but of the servile policies of the union leaders.

The true character of these policies is further revealed by the proposals to combat company provocations. The UAW program calls for the shop stewards "searching out grievance cases before the workers involved can get disgusted and quit." Now, what shop steward ever had to "search out" grievances in a fighting union? This means, the workers are disgusted with the flabby do-nothing policies of the unions and don't even bother to turn their grievances over to them.

What will the unions do with the grievances they "search out"? The only thing the program has to offer is the policy which has caused the situation. It urges only "using all government agencies and decisions." That's the very reason why the companies are able to get away with "silent layoffs." These could be halted in a hurry by a few good doses of old-time militant union action once the "no-strike" pledge is rescinded.

So far, the only effect of the numerous WLB directives and compliance orders against Sewell L. Avery has been to intensify the paper shortage. Last week, Samuel Wolchok, President of the CIO United Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Employees Union, which conducted the Chicago Montgomery Ward strike, once more appealed to the WLB to take action against the recalcitrant Avery, who has successfully defied compliance orders going back from one to two years. Wolchok's latest plea was based upon the Federal court action three weeks ago denying the right of the courts to enforce enforcement of WLB orders in several Montgomery Ward cases.

"The time has come," Wolchok wrote WLB Chairman Davis, "for immediate action to secure enforcement of all outstanding War Labor Board directives involving this firm."

The time has come, Wolchok might more appropriately have written, for an end to appeals to the pro-corporation WLB, which uses a big club against workers, but not open shop employers. The time has come, instead, to mobilize and prepare the workers for fighting union action.

Still more big corporations, following the example of Avery,

are complacently spitting on WLB directives to sign union maintenance of membership contracts. The Humble Oil Company, a Standard Oil of New Jersey subsidiary, has refused since April to comply with a WLB order directing it to sign a contract with the CIO Oil Workers at its Ingleside, Texas, plant.

Last week, the WLB issued another "final" compliance order which the company promptly placed in its "permanent files"—the waste-paper basket.

At the WLB compliance hearing a couple of weeks ago, the company was asked why it refused to obey the WLB directives. Company officials blandly pointed out that the union already has a no-strike contract with the company and they felt no compulsion to sign a maintenance of membership clause since such a refusal could not possibly end—in a strike.

R. J. Thomas, President of the CIO Automobile Workers Union, testified last Friday before the Federal court in New York City in defense of Thomas De Lorenzo, President of the militant Brewster Aeronautical Local 365. The government is trying to railroad De Lorenzo to prison on a charge of making false statements on an application which he filled out in connection with his appointment by Thomas as a temporary representative on a local WLB panel. De Lorenzo's real "crime" was defending his local's militant policy and strike actions when he testified before an anti-labor hearing of the House Naval Affairs Committee last fall.

The government union-busters, obviously intent on "getting" De Lorenzo in reprisal for the fighting record of his local, dug up the "false statement" charge and are ruthlessly prosecuting it. De Lorenzo has pointed out the contrast between the government's ferocity in pressing the case and the charge itself, which is "a misdemeanor, like spitting on a sidewalk."

Thomas, who was granted permission to testify prior to the opening of the trial, scheduled to start August 1, pointed out that the filing out of the application had no legal weight because a post as a union representative on the WLB did not come under the Civil Service laws and requirements.

Reynolds Tobacco Company, which manufactures Camel cigarettes, has continued its long vicious battle against unionism by a frameup against William DeBerry, Negro organizer of the CIO United Cannery Workers which won an NLRB collective bargaining election at the company's huge plant in Winston-Salem, North Carolina.

DeBerry was sentenced by a local police court to 30 days on the road gang when a white woman member of the company union Reynolds' Association accused him of slapping her during a crowded hearing before a WLB panel. Nobody heard any outcry or witnessed any disturbance. But when DeBerry appealed his frameup conviction to the Superior Court, that juridical agency of Southern "white supremacy" Bourbonism raised the sentence to 60 days.

The union is again appealing the case, but it states that "in a city owned lock, stock and barrel by the R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Co., and with their great influence in the state, the outcome is doubtful... The one chance for the city to have any semblance of democracy and freedom depends on the firm establishment of the trade union movement."

Delegation Will Present Pardon Demand; Over 2,000,000 Back Plea To Free The 18

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labor. Last week, William S. Hilger, Assistant Regional Director of District 9, UAW-CIO, wrote to President Roosevelt:

"I would like to add my personal support to the action of my union (UAW-CIO) and I earnestly request you to pardon these 18 members of organized labor who are now serving federal prison sentences. While, personally, I might disagree with many of the things that these defendants or their political party stand for, nevertheless, I feel very strongly that their rights to their own beliefs and their freedom to express these beliefs should be safeguarded by our Nation. I believe that the principle of free speech guaranteed by our Constitution has been violated in the conviction of these men." Hilger appealed to the President "to correct this miscarriage of justice by giving full pardon to these members of organized labor."

SEVEN MONTHS IN JAIL

The presentation of the pardon applications comes seven months after the 18 Minneapolis Labor Case defendants entered prison. This case is the outstanding violation of civil rights during World War II in this country. The prosecution and conviction was under the notorious Smith "Gag" Act of 1940, the first federal law since the 1798 Alien and Sedition Acts to make mere expression of opinion a "crime."



Because of their success in selling 3-month subscriptions during the Militant Subscription Campaign, San Pedro is now concentrating on this method of introducing The Militant to worker contacts:

"The San Pedro Branch has decided to change the nature of its Militant distributions. In view of our success in selling subs in the past period, we feel that it would be wiser to concentrate our forces on this work than on plant distributions.

"With this in mind we have selected only two unions for distributions. We feel that we can achieve more by distributions at these points plus sales as we distribute than in the policy followed heretofore."

All of the branches, realizing the opportunity afforded them through the 3-month subscription offer, are still going out after these 25c. subs. We quote from some of the letters received:

Cleveland: "This week brought in fifteen subs. We expect to intensify our campaign next week by setting a thirty-sub limit and having a complete branch mobilization. Again we are short of sub cards. The branch has authorized me to ask for fifty more. We understand these blanks have a permanent value—like money."

St. Paul: "We all think the plan for the new campaign, to start September 1, sounds perfectly swell. I'm going to check over our publications and see exactly how much we'll need... Was very pleased with the sub results... One more thing. We are out of 25c. cards. Please send us twenty-five cards."

Milwaukee: "We plan to keep on getting subs so send us ten more special sub cards."

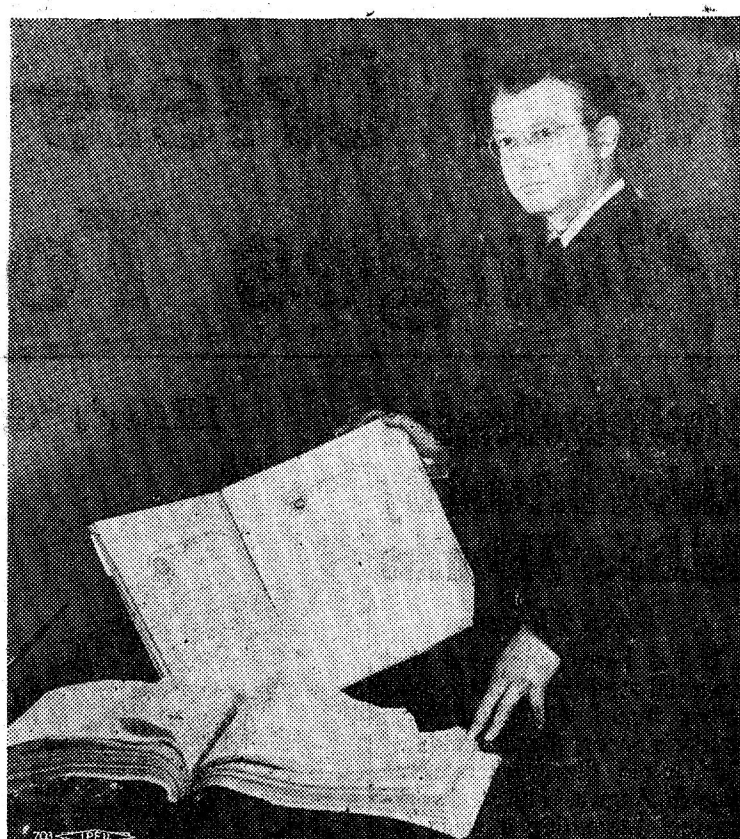
Seattle: "We are out of the campaign cards and therefore had to use regular blanks. I reckon you will accept them just as well... We are almost through

Following the trial and convictions in December 1941, the verdict was appealed to the higher federal courts and finally to the Supreme Court. The latter body, in an unprecedented action, three times refused to hear an appeal or review the convictions. Thus, the Supreme Court itself became a party to this frameup.

The Civil Rights Defense Committee then launched a campaign to secure a presidential pardon. Today, the demand for the freedom of the 18 has been carried to the White House itself by the voices of over 2,000,000 defenders of workers rights. The liberation of the 18 will be won only through the united support of all labor and liberal forces. A still greater volume of protest must be mobilized to the fullest extent while the pardon appeal is under consideration.

During the past week, additional support has been expressed by resolutions and contributions from the following unions: Radio Accessory Workers, Local 105, UERW, Philadelphia; UAW-CIO, Local 267, Elizabeth, N. J.; United Dairy Workers, URWDEA-CIO, Local 83, Detroit; United Warehouse Employees, URWDEA-CIO Local 543, St. Louis, Mo.; Brewery Workers, Local 227, San Francisco; and the following locals of the Workmen's Benefit Fund: Local 4, Brooklyn, N. Y., Local 316, Belleville, Ill., Local 70, Bronx, N. Y., Local 275, Portland, Oregon.

CRDC Secretary



George Novack, National Secretary of the Civil Rights Defense Committee, examines the bound volumes of petitions and resolutions urging pardon for the 18 Minneapolis Labor Case prisoners. These will be presented to the Presidential Pardon Authority on August 2.

MEXICAN STALINISTS RENEW ANTI-TROTSKYIST CAMPAIGN

The Stalinist slander machine has opened a ferocious campaign against the Mexican section of the Fourth International. By inciting a lynch spirit against the Trotskyists, Stalin's agents are aiming to put pressure upon the Mexican government to persecute the Trotskyist leaders and to clear the way for the murderous activities of Stalin's secret police, the GPU. Similar campaigns of poisonous lies preceded the assassination of Leon Trotsky in August 1940.

The mid-July issue of Lucha Obrera, organ of the Mexican section of the Fourth International, exposes the Stalinist efforts "to disorient the workers and the Mexican authorities, by presenting the Trotskyists as 'fifth-columnists,' 'pro-Nazis,' and finally as 'in league with the Sinarquist activities'."

Lombardo Toledano, head of the Stalinist-dominated Confederacion de Trabajadores Mexicanos (Federation of Mexican Workers), in an article published in Mitin de

Bellas Artes, "identified" the Trotskyists with the Sinarquist movement, a Catholic-fascist group. Utilizing Toledano's falsehoods, the Communist Party of Mexico on June 29, issued a statement to the Mexican Secretary of State, demanding that he "investigate to the hilt" the activities charged by Toledano. This is the culmination of a continuous stream of slanderous articles appearing for several months in the Stalinist papers of Mexico City.

Lucha Obrera, pointing out that the Stalinist incitation in Mexico coincides with similar attacks of the Stalinists upon working class organizations in England and the United States, calls for a united front of all workers' and farmers' organizations against the attack. It warns: the Stalinists "are on the other side of the barricades, the side of the exploiters of the working class... Today they try to destroy our organization; tomorrow they will attack your unions."

LATEST F. I. CELEBRATES 10 YEARS OF PUBLICATION

The July issue of Fourth International, now on sale, celebrates the tenth anniversary of the Trotskyist monthly theoretical magazine. The leading editorial in this issue gives an account of the decade of political struggle waged by the magazine for the ideas and program of unfalsified Marxism. The editorial declaration which first set forth the purposes of the periodical, then called The New Internationalist, is reprinted in full to demonstrate how faithfully the magazine has adhered to its original program.

"The present issue rounds out ten years of the consistent publication of the Marxist theoretical magazine," write the editors. "In the annals of the revolutionary movement it would be difficult to point to a comparable achievement. The Trotskyists have been able to attain this magnificent record in a period of unprecedented reaction, of enormous working class defeats, of degeneration within the working class movement. This is a tribute to the unshakable strength of our ideas. It is another augury of the invincible power which will carry our movement forward to the victory of world socialism in the stormy days ahead."

Featured in the current issue are four articles dealing with the labor and revolutionary socialist movements in different countries. J. B. Stuart contributes an article on the recent elections in Cuba which placed the Grau San Martin government in power. The London correspondent of Fourth International analyzes the crisis confronting the British Labor Party. A worker participant in the 1934 revolt in Austria summarizes the lessons of this catastrophic defeat for the Austrian and European working class. The second installment of the manifesto of the Australian section of the Trotskyist movement, entitled "The Australian Working

Class and the War," rounds out the group.

The editors' review of the main events of the month includes an account of the tasks confronting the Italian workers one year after the fall of fascism; comment upon the imprisonment of the British Trotskyists for violating the anti-labor Trade Disputes Act; and an exposure of Stalin's reactionary policy in Roumania.

The last section of Leon Trotsky's brilliant articles on the military problems of the Soviet state is published in this issue. Also the second part of Felix Morrow's analysis of the social role and roots of religion.

Single copies of Fourth International may be obtained for 20 cents, a yearly subscription for \$2, by ordering from the Business Manager, 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.

JAILED BRITISH TROTSKYISTS ISSUE PARTY BUILDING CALL

Issuing a statement from their prison cells, three of the four British Trotskyists jailed by Churchill's Tory government, called upon their comrades of the Revolutionary Communist Party of Great Britain (Trotskyist) to continue the work of building the Fourth International. Ann Keen, fourth of the convicted British comrades, has been released upon completion of her 13-day sentence.

The statement, reprinted from the July issue of the Socialist Appeal, organ of the British Revolutionary Communist Party (Trotskyist), reads:

"We have been convicted and imprisoned because of our advocacy of the program of the Fourth International. The trial has demonstrated clearly that evidence or no evidence, the capitalist class will condemn revolutionaries to persecution. We affirm that such persecution and imprisonment will not shake our faith in the correctness of our program. On the contrary, we believe that the working class will not have any alternative but the leadership of the Fourth International for its emancipation.

"At this critical juncture in the history of our party in Britain, the main task of our comrades is to close their ranks, to knit the party together and march forward united, in a spirit of comradeship and with that singleness of purpose which alone will gain us the leadership of the British working class.

"The watchword of the members of the Party must be: UNITE THE RANKS! BUILD THE PARTY! FOR THE VICTORY OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL!"

GAINING SUPPORT

The Trotskyist leaders, convicted of aiding workers on strike under the vicious Trade Disputes Act of 1926, are winning the support of widening sections of the British working class. Their militant defense of revolutionary socialist principles on the witness stand has made it clear that these views were the primary reason for their imprisonment, and their

participation in the struggle of the Tyneside Apprentices, only the pretext for persecution. Leaders of the apprentices who had struck against the Pit Ballot Scheme of drafting youths for labor in the mines, testified for the defense.

"We ask readers and friends of The Militant to give full support to our British comrades victimized by Churchill's government. The \$1,000 Solidarity Fund, launched on June 24, is now just \$176.60 short of its goal. Send your contribution today to the Business Manager of The Militant, 116 University Place, N. Y. 3, N. Y.

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Soldier Fighting On Anzio Beach-head Protests Imprisonment of Trotskyists

The following letter was written by a soldier in a dugout on the Anzio beach-head, protesting against the imprisonment of Trotskyist leaders by the Churchill and Roosevelt governments. It appeared in the July issue of the Socialist Appeal, organ of the British Revolutionary Communist Party (Trotskyist).

"Dear Comrade, "My friends and I have read the press attacks, and their demands for strong action. A similar attack has gone on against the 18 American Trotskyists. "They, the 18, showed what stuff they were made of. They are an inspiration to all who fight for workers' rights and who will defend those rights regardless of boss-class attacks.

"Let the workers take note of whom the bosses attack and seek to suppress. As in all past history, they attempt to get rid of the real leadership. They will not succeed, no matter how ruthlessly they lash out. Their attacks are a sign of your strength and their weakness. I send you my very best wishes for the fight in which you are about to engage.

"I also send ten pounds to help you in these difficult days. I write this letter in a dugout on Anzio Beach-head, to the sound of violent artillery fire; all hell seems to have been let loose—the music of an outworn system!

"Greetings from this dugout on Anzio, and a warning to trade unionists, that to fail to come to your defense now, is to open the way for the big anti-labor drive of the boss-class. Today it is you in the vanguard; tomorrow they will attack the whole labor movement.

"Here, we vow in our dugouts: 'Never again.' An independent working class movement is the greatest assurance that this time it will be 'Never again,' and that the working class will not only end this bloodbath, but will establish a decent and a sane society.

"I'm sorry that I cannot write more, and must apologize if this letter is a little disjointed, but, as you know, we are in the throes of an attack. I suppose that there is a good menu at the Savoy tonight, and nice clean beds for those who make the millions out of this. WE SHALL NOT FORGET THEM!

"Success in the fight. Yours fraternally,

"From a dugout on Anzio."

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How The German Revolution Of 1918 Began

By Ruth Johnson

The capitalist-Junker ruling class of Germany is once more shaking in mortal fear before the specter of the workers revolution. Deadly conflict among Germany's rulers, reflecting the irrepressible insurgence of the masses, is a product of their panic. They know the forces that are preparing to spell their doom — for they remember 1918. In the fall of that year, the workers, soldiers and sailors rose up in their revolutionary might, sweeping aside the monarchical and militarist scum, and proclaimed the Socialist Republic of Germany.

The German Revolution, signalized by the great Kiel mutiny, had its origins in far earlier events. The revolution was heralded on May Day, 1916, when 10,000 German workers assembled on the Potsdam Platz to hear Karl Liebknecht, revolutionary Socialist member of the Reichstag, shout "Down with war and down with the government." For his militant opposition to the war, Liebknecht was sentenced to two years and six months of imprisonment at hard labor. On the day his sentence was proclaimed, 55,000 workers left a munitions factory in Berlin, in a tremendous protest strike which threatened to cripple the Kaiser's war machine.

German militarists combed the ranks of the strikers, sending thousands of the strike leaders into the front-line trenches. For months it appeared that the army had successfully smothered the anti-war movement of the German working class. But the militarists had only banked the fires of revolution. In April, 1917, a new surge of strikes, inspired by the February overthrow of Czarism in Russia, crippled the munitions factories of Germany. All over the nation, workers were pouring into the streets; 300,000 went on strike in Berlin alone.

FACTORIES PURGED

Once again the factories were "cleaned out," and the strike leaders sent to the fronts. Once more the German General Staff banked the fires at home, by sending the militant workers to the blood-soaked battlefields.

And once more the respite was a brief one. The great October Revolution establishing the workers' state in Russia in 1917, followed by months of fraternization of Red Army soldiers with the German troops on the Eastern front, dealt a death-blow to the morale of the German army. Hundreds of thousands of deserters streamed back to their homes. In turn, they added to the demoralization of the war-weary civilian masses. Factories became centers from which radical workers began propagating the ideas of the socialist revolution.

Hindenburg and Ludendorff, terrified by the temper of the workers and soldiers, demanded that the Kaiser make peace proposals to the Allied rulers, in order to turn all forces against the growing rebellion at home. Simultaneously, a joint conference of the revolutionary Spartakus League under the leadership of Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht, and the "left wing radicals," intensified their agitation amongst the troops, initiating

Firing Line of the Spartacists



Armed workers of the Spartakus group, shown in the streets of Berlin as they took their posts to defend themselves against the counter-revolutionary attack.

the formation of workers' and soldiers' councils.

In a desperate effort to preserve capitalist control under the monarchical regime, a new "parliamentary" government was formed with Prince Max of Baden at its head to replace the discredited Kaiser Wilhelm. Paul Froelich wrote, in his biography of Rosa Luxemburg, "The introduction of democracy into the whole of political life was announced; but at the same time, troops the government thought still reliable were concentrated in Berlin to crush any rising of the people. Freedom of assembly was proclaimed, but police prohibitions made it a farce, and demonstrations were fired upon. Each new measure, each new act of violence, and each new concession completed the process of dislocation."

Under the unrelenting pressure of the masses, an amnesty was issued for political prisoners on October 20, 1918. Among the prisoners released was Karl Liebknecht, who was triumphantly greeted by the workers of Berlin. Three weeks later, Rosa Luxemburg too was released.

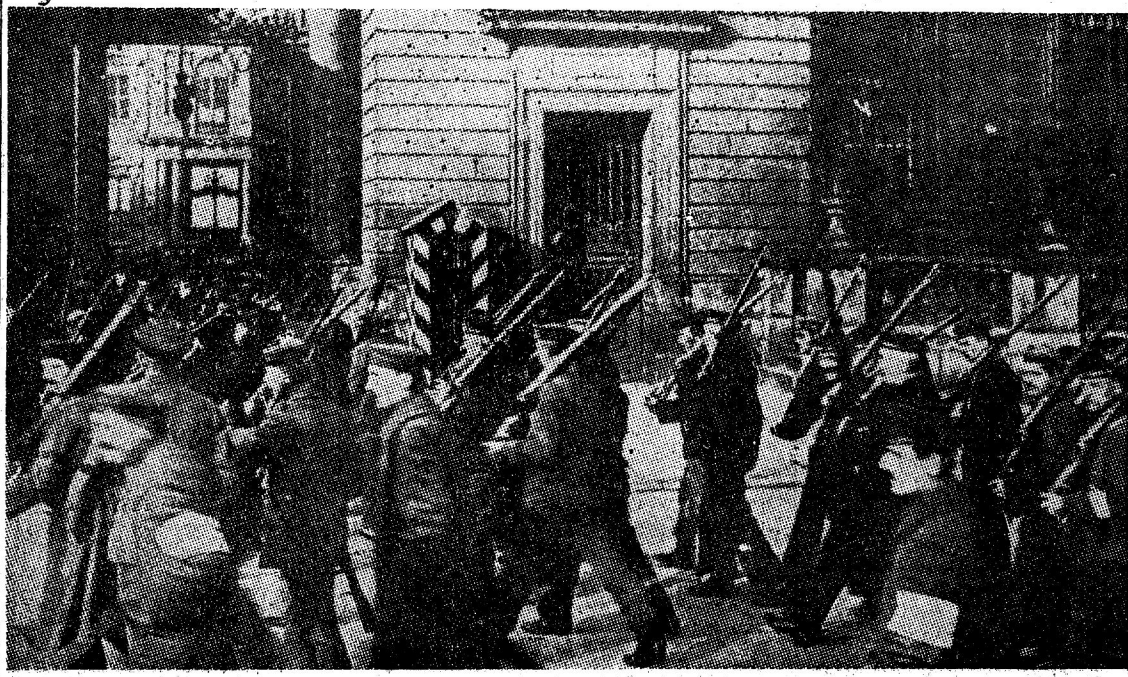
THE REVOLUTION BEGINS

Day by day the fronts were collapsing. On October 26, Ludendorff fled the country. On October 28, the German Admiralty, in a final burst of desperation, ordered a "decisive" battle in the North Sea. But there were revolutionary Councils on the vessels. The sailors answered the order "Action Stations" by raking out the fires in the boiler-rooms and immobilizing every ship in the harbor of Kiel.

Froelich reports, "On board, the officers had already lost command, but on land they made a last attempt to crush the rising by arresting 200 sailors. The others then . . . joined forces with the workers of Kiel. Within a day or so the movement had developed into a general strike in ships and in factories. On November 4, the Governor of Kiel was forced to resign, and the Workers' and Sailors' Council made itself master of the town . . . it was the German Revolution, and now it spread from town to town like fire through stubble."

On November 9, hundreds of thousands of workers poured into the streets of Berlin. Kaiser Wilhelm fled to Holland. The Crown Prince, terrified, renounced his "right to succession," and handed over the office of chancellor to the Social Democrat, Fritz Ebert, who had openly announced that he "hated revolutions." Liebknecht proclaimed the Socialist Republic, while councils elected in the factories and barracks asserted their right to the power of government. Work-

Revolutionary Sailors in Berlin



Revolutionary sailors, whose brothers-in-arms initiated the German Revolution by the uprising at Kiel, take over the Castle of Berlin after the Kaiser fled the country.

ers occupied Government buildings; political prisoners were freed.

The German bourgeoisie, its own leadership bankrupt and desperate, followed the lead of the monarchy and placed its fate in the hands of Ebert and the Social Democracy. On November 10, Ebert was elected head of the government by the Berlin Workers' and Soldiers' Councils. On November 11, the Armistice was signed with the Allies, and Ebert made his own agreement with the General Staff to crush the revolutionary workers of Berlin.

The next two months were busy ones for the official heads of the Social Democracy, preparing plans for the counter-revolution. By November 30, the Ebert government had raised an army for the struggle against Bolshevik Russia, the source of inspiration for the German workers and the deadly threat to capitalist rule in all Europe. The ranks of this newly formed army melted away, as the revolutionary mood of the workers took hold.

But in December, Ebert had ready a corps of 15,000 men financed by the capitalists, and made up largely of "dependable" sons of the Junkers. On December 6, a group of these mercenaries occupied the offices of the revolutionary paper Rote Fahne,

edited by Rosa Luxemburg to spread the propaganda of the Spartakus League. Rote Fahne, written to prepare the workers for the taking of power, while holding them back from any premature putsch, was the greatest obstacle to the counter-revolution which hoped to crush the revolution in its first stage of development.

The Social Democratic scoundrels continued their provocations to drive the revolutionary workers into unprepared action. On the very day of the raid on Rote Fahne, a second group of mercenaries fired upon a revolutionary demonstration, killing eighteen workers. On December 7, they attempted to kidnap Liebknecht. Every day they issued new incitations against Liebknecht and Luxemburg, offered rewards for their capture "dead or alive." Barely a month later, both Liebknecht and Luxemburg were arrested and assassinated, in the January, 1919 reign of terror that left the proletariat leaderless at the moment of crisis.

The revolution was crushed, the victorious Social Democracy restored control of the government to the bourgeoisie, and robbed the young Soviet Union of what would have been its greatest ally, a Soviet Germany. The murderers of Liebknecht and Luxemburg,

never punished by the Social Democracy which incited their deeds, were rewarded by high posts in the police courts of Hitler after the 1933 events.

Today, the German ruling class is once more split asunder by military defeats and by the growing rebelliousness of the workers and soldiers. The Junkers seek to replace Hitler, as they did the Kaiser, with a new figurehead and a new dictatorship capable of holding together the crumbling capitalist regime, until a new deal may be made with the Anglo-American imperialists. In Italy a year ago, it was the seething discontent and demonstrative opposition of the masses which forced the militarists to depose Mussolini. In Germany, too, only the threat of the advancing proletarian revolution could drive the Junkers to risk their heads.

But the vanguard of the German working class has assimilated the harsh lessons of their struggles since 1918. The utterly decadent capitalist system which has imposed so much misery upon them is far weaker today and has very few inner resources left with which to stem their revolutionary upsurge. When the workers arise this time, they will have every possibility to realize the goal of their first great revolution, the Socialist Republic.

The Allied Military Government's Plan To Preserve Decayed Capitalist Order

By Lydia Bennett

It is now clear even to the most backward that the invasion of Europe confronted the "United Nations" strategists not only with the task of organizing the "greatest military maneuver in history" but with a colossal (and in the last analysis unsolvable) political problem. Granted the military victory, practically assured by the superior resources of men and materiel at the disposal of the "United Nations," the problem of the political consolidation of the conquered territory immediately arose as the big issue.

The delicate question of adapting governmental forms to the new needs is at once posed. When fascistically organized countries are invaded, the consolidation of the civilian populations should (for purposes of morale) be predicated upon the overthrow of the existing regime without a disturbance of the basic capitalist forms of economy.

AMG POLICY

A recognition of this is given in the handbook of the Allied Military Government in Occupied Territory (Manual of Land Warfare) when it declares that the primary task of AMG is to re-establish the rule of law. This involves two tasks: (1) the purging of the body of the law of fascist and national socialist accretions and modifications, and (2) the strengthening of the authority of the regular courts.

Now, regular courts can mean only one thing in the Manual of the AMG: courts operating for the purpose of safeguarding and stabilizing the private property relationships of a capitalist society. In other words, the old laws must be maintained but the governmental superstructure, the shape of which is fascism, should if possible be eliminated.

When one recognizes that the forms of the fascist state organization come naturally into existence in a capitalist society which is undergoing rapid economic decay and stands in mortal fear of the punitive uprising of the proletariat and peasant masses, then it is clear that the form can be finally and irreparably smashed only when the content which demands that form (decadent capitalism) has been eliminated. This can be done only by the proletarian revolution which would abolish private property relationships in economy and establish socialism.

But the politicians of capital-

ism cannot and will not abdicate to the proletariat even if they recognize the insurmountable nature of the problem they face. Hence their futile and desperate attempts to employ all kinds of instruments—governmental forms, food, promises of land reform, etc.—to placate and ultimately disarm the masses in the invaded territories.

The Manual of Land Warfare exhibits, sometimes almost ludicrously, the basic irreconcilability of the announced purposes of the AMG and the real task which it must accomplish. Its first difficulty arises when it feels called upon to reconcile the dictatorial nature of a military government with the loudly advertised promise of self-government extended to the "liberated peoples." It declares military government to be a step toward self-government, the latter state to be granted only when the masses have been trained—through the forms of military dictatorship?—to exercise self-rule. Thus is raised once more the old canard circulated especially against the revolutionary proletariat that the masses cannot govern themselves.

MILITARY RULE
The declared purpose of military government in occupied territories is two-fold: to aid the war and to harness the civilian population to the war effort. This of course requires civil peace and naturally also strong local governments. But government is a relationship among people and the question of personnel arises at once to haunt the makers of government. Are members of the invading armies to be used as officers of the government; or are native elements to be pressed into service? And if the latter is recognized as the better alterna-

tive, what kind of natives are to be chosen and who is to choose them?
It is obvious that no matter what answer is given to these questions, endless difficulty ensues. If the question were the simple, naked one of walking in, armed to the teeth, smashing all opposition and setting up a ruthless dictatorship, it could be solved with no great difficulty. But it is the problem of forestalling revolution and not the lesser one of maintaining peace by terror which confronts the invading armies.

It is recognized even by the not-so-bright military experts that once the repressive weight of fascism is removed from the body of a society, instantaneously all the artificially "resolved" political disagreements inherent in any capitalist society will spring to the fore to prove they had never been absent. The schism to right and left and the schism between reformism and revolution on the left will at once become distinct and probably violent. Therefore not only does the nature of the government to be installed arise, but also the question whether to recognize governments established by anti-fascist elements who of their own volition replace fascist regimes.

WORLD WAR I
An interesting precedent for the last-mentioned difficulty is to be found in the policies pursued after World War I by the Allied armies of occupation in effecting the conditions of the Armistice. A United States official statement (Hunt Report, 1943) has the following to say on the occupation of the Ruhr Valley:
"When the Allies entered Germany in December, 1918 they found that the duly constituted local authorities had in many places been Soldiers' and Workmen's Councils which had sprung up during the revolution. It was then and there decided that the military authorities referred to in the Armistice were the officials chosen under the then existing German Law. The Soldiers' and Workmen's Councils were therefore not recognized."

CONFESSIONS OF A DRONE

What A Press Magnate Once Thought of Himself

By Ralph Graham

One of the most powerful newspapers in America is the New York Daily News. It is also one of the greatest profit-makers in the world. Housed in a \$10,000,000 building, it has a circulation of close to 2,000,000 on weekdays and 3,000,000 on Sundays. It was founded 25 years ago by Joseph Medill Patterson of wealthy Chicago parentage. He owns the tabloid today and dictates its policies.

Like the rest of the big press, the Daily News is a staunch upholder of capitalism, the so-called system of "free enterprise." It is anti-labor and anti-socialist. As a big business institution, it has close ties with big business as a whole and its multi-millionaire proprietor naturally moves in the social circle of the capitalist parasites who collectively own and dominate America.

YOUNG REBEL

There was a time, however, when Patterson did not think as he thinks now. When a young man he became a Socialist. That was back in 1906. Patterson had inherited a fortune and lived the life of a useless social parasite like the rest of the sons of the rich. But like a few others of his class before and since, he came to realize the iniquities of capitalism and temporarily rebelled against them. He proclaimed himself a Socialist and wrote a series of articles entitled "Confessions of a Drone" which appeared in the Chicago newspaper, The Independent. The confessions caused quite a flutter among the idle rich, for they constituted some of the most telling Socialist propaganda of that time.

When Patterson left college he went to work for the Chicago Tribune, just as many other wealthy young men get themselves jobs when they become aware of their parasitic life and seek to ease their consciences. But he had no illusions about what he was doing.

"I started at the bottom," he related—at \$15 a week—like his college friends who went into the Wall Street offices of their fathers. "But I knew it was playing-act all the time, just as they did. I was not living on a \$15-a-week basis and they were not living on a \$3-a-week basis. I wasn't afraid of losing my job. . . I got an 'allowance' in addition

are left for them the shoddy things of life—hard work and small reward. I have little or no work and the earth's best for reward.

"The work of the working people, and nothing else, produces the wealth, which, by some hocus-focus arrangement, is transferred to me, leaving them bare. While they support me in splendid style, what do I do for them? Let the candid upholder of the present order answer, for I am not aware of doing anything for them.

"It is said that I supply a wage fund out of which their wages are paid. Nonsense. If every bond and stock certificate and every real estate abstract were burned today in a huge bonfire, the vacated titles of ownership falling naturally to the community, trains would pull out on schedule time tomorrow."

EXPLODES CAPITALIST PRETEXTS

Demolishing the hoary argument of the defenders of capitalism that the workers are less able to appreciate and therefore less deserving of the good things of life, Patterson had this to say:

"That my life is so much completer than the lives of the workers who support me has been excused on the ground that they are less 'cultivated' and, therefore, less fitted to enjoy things which please me. But that seems a little like begging the question. . . I don't think it was entirely natural aptitude that marked me out for a university education, since I remember that frequently I had to pay money to tutors to drill into my head information of a remarkably simple character."

The young capitalist rebel against capitalism had no doubt whatever as to what was wrong with society and what should be done about it. Said he: "Insofar as they (the capitalists) receive interest, profit and rent, they are economic idlers, taking toll of the labor of others and returning nothing; insofar as they actively further business, by superintending or otherwise, they are laborers, worthy in many cases of their hire. The wealth appropriated by capital through the agencies of rent, profit and interest is obviously appropriated from the working people, the creators of all wealth. Therefore it is to the working people that Socialism addresses itself, urging them to veto their own further exploitation."

All this was written nearly forty years ago. Today as then, Joseph Medill Patterson is a wealthy capitalist, though much wealthier today than then. His additional great wealth has come from that very robbery of the working-class which he denounced. In addition to ownership of the Daily News, he has huge real estate interests and owns stocks and bonds of great industrial and commercial corporations. But his parasitic existence bothers him no more. Where once he preached Socialism, he now defends capitalism.

PRODUCERS AND PARASITES

Contrasting the lives of capitalists and workers, Patterson wrote: "For instance, it takes twenty times as much as it takes to support an average workman or farmer. And the funny thing about it is that these workmen and farmers work hard all year round, while I don't work at all. I have better food, better clothes, and better houses than the workers who supply me with money to spend. I can travel oftener. . . I have horses to ride and drive, domestic servants. . . the best physicians. . . My children will never go to work in a cotton mill or a sweatshop.

"In short, I lead a far more highly civilized life than the working people. I have offered me the choice of all the best things that man in his stay upon this earth has discovered, evolved or created. The working people do not have this choice offered them. There

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Pioneer Paragraphs

4th INTERNATIONAL STANDS ON PRINCIPLES OF MARXISM

The Fourth International does not search after and does not invent panaceas. It takes its stand completely on Marxism as the only revolutionary doctrine that enables one to understand reality; unearths the cause behind the defeats and consciously prepares for victory. The Fourth International continues the tradition of Bolshevism which first showed the proletariat how to conquer power. The Fourth International sweeps away the quacks, charlatans and unsolicited teachers of morals.

In a society based upon exploitation, the highest morality is that of the social revolution. All methods are good which raise the class consciousness of the workers, their trust in their own forces, their readiness for self-sacrifice in the struggle. The impermissible methods are those which implant fear and submissiveness in the oppressed before their oppressors, which crush the spirit of protest and indignation, or substitute for the will of the masses the will of the

leaders; for conviction—compulsion; for an analysis of reality—demagoguery and frame-up. That is why Social Democracy, prostituting Marxism, and Stalinism—the antithesis of Bolshevism—are both mortal enemies of the proletarian revolution and its morals.

To face reality squarely; not to seek the line of least resistance; to call things by their right names; to speak the truth to the masses—no matter how bitter it may be; not to fear obstacles; to be true in little things as in big ones; to base one's program on the logic of the class struggle; to be bold when the hour for action arrives—these are the rules of the Fourth International. It has shown that it could swim against the stream. The approaching historical wave will raise it on its crest.

(From "The Founding Conference of the Fourth International," page 51. Published by Socialist Workers Party, 1939; 128 pp. 25c. Order from Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Pl., N. Y. 3, N. Y.)

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Do The Two Capitalist Parties Really Differ?

The essential question raised by J. M.'s letter is: What is the extent and character of the differences on major issues between the two parties of American capitalism, the Democratic and Republican? How significant are these differences for the American working class?

J. M. is not motivated by any illusions of his own regarding the identity of class aims of the two parties. He is seeking a more precise answer to questions raised by the workers. The Militant is glad of this opportunity to amplify its position in the light of J. M.'s criticisms.

THE FUNDAMENTAL QUESTION IS THE WAR

Today, the fundamental and decisive political question is the imperialist war. The position of the various parties on this question determines in general the basic character of their policies on both domestic and foreign affairs.

On this key question, the war, there are no appreciable differences between the Republican and Democratic Parties. The question of "isolationism versus internationalism" raised by J. M. does not alter this basic fact. The terms "isolationist" and "internationalist" were applied before the war to two conflicting tendencies within the camp of the American imperialists. They covered differences not in fundamental aims, but in the immediate objectives and the timing and tempo of American imperialist moves.

Thus a certain section of the capitalists thought their interests could best be served by a war first against Japanese imperialism for the conquest of the Pacific area, postponing to a later stage the military conflict with Germany. Roosevelt represented bolder sectors of Wall Street who determined to make the bid for world domination in one grandiose sweep. Today the developments of the war have largely wiped out even these differences. The term "isolationist," misleading to begin with, remains only as a convenient epithet for Democrats to hurl at Republicans.

In domestic policies, Roosevelt and his party have taken the lead in imposing Wall Street's program on the people. That course has been dictated by the very nature and needs of total war itself.

CHIEF EXECUTIVE OF WALL STREET'S WAR

It is Roosevelt, as the chief executive agent of Wall Street's war, who has pushed through the basic measures that have hamstrung organized labor, stifled the struggles of the workers, and imposed the full burden and costs of the war on the masses. Roosevelt clamped the unions into the strait-jacket of compulsory arbitration. He enforced the wage-freeze and job-freeze and decreed forced labor. He has pursued a ruthless policy of government strikebreaking through plant seizures and the use of troops.

At the same time, Roosevelt has protected and strengthened the monopoly and profit interests of Big Business. He turned the war production program over to the corporation "dollar-a-year" agents. He filled the leading posts in his cabinet and war agencies with outstanding Wall Street representatives, including such influential Republicans as Stimson and Knox. He intervened to scuttle all anti-trust suits "for the duration." His Baruch-Hancock reconversion plan is paving the way for the gigantic corporation steal of billions worth of government-financed plants.

As one proof that "important differences" exist on domestic issues between Roosevelt and the Republicans, J. M. cites a few selected instances when more Democratic than Republican Congressmen took a "progressive" position on bills of a secondary nature. These show merely that certain Democrats (and Republicans) are occasionally compelled on purely secondary issues to take a more "liberal" position for reasons of political expediency, especially when they are under great pressure from the workers in their constituencies.

ROOSEVELT'S REPUTATION AS A "LIBERAL"

Roosevelt has the reputation of being "more liberal" than the Republicans. It is a reputation which the liberal and labor handmaidens of Roosevelt assiduously nurture. Their arguments are based almost exclusively on the record of Roosevelt's reforms during the 1933-37 "New Deal" period. The apologists for Roosevelt attempt to place a halo over the long-dead "New Deal," exaggerate its accomplishments, conceal Roosevelt's motivations and the actual forces and circumstances which compelled him to act as he did. They continue to peddle the fiction that Roosevelt acted out of no other interest but "love of the common man."

Roosevelt first took office in the midst of the greatest capitalist crisis in American history. He was obliged, in order to save the capitalist system, to make certain concessions to the workers. But the principal actions of Roosevelt during the New Deal period consisted of measures directly designed to preserve capitalist profits and rule, like the bank moratorium and subsequent bank legislation, the price-fixing National Industrial Recovery Act, the Reconstruction Finance Corporation and similar measures which strengthened the shaky financial and industrial monopolies.

His much-vaunted social reforms were of a limited character, incidental measures extorted from him by the struggles and pressure of the workers. They were doled out in direct proportion to the intensity of the class struggle and were intended to dampen that struggle when no other means availed. Thus, his relief appropriations rose and declined in direct ratio to the mass actions of the unemployed and the proximity of national elections. Roosevelt's minimum existence relief program came under the heading of "riot insurance and political expediency."

The same is true of his other concessions to the workers. The "right to organize," which the labor fakers claim Roosevelt "gave" the workers, was only the formal recognition of a right which the workers themselves had to wrest from the bosses through thousands of bitter and bloody strike struggles. Roosevelt "gave" the workers only what they could wring from him.

ROOSEVELT IS ERASING EARLIER CONCESSIONS

Since the war began, however, even the appearance of Rooseveltian "liberalism" has been increasingly erased. The war economy does not permit him to grant the most meagre concessions. On the contrary, he has been snatching away many of the concessions he had previously yielded in the New Deal era under pressure of the workers. Roosevelt last December even risked a possible break in his "coalition" with the union bureaucracy rather than concede the major wage demands of the railway, steel and other unions during the crisis following the mine strikes.

If major differences exist between the Roosevelt administration and the Republicans, how does it happen that they are working together so closely in the agencies where the decisive policies are determined and carried out — the State Department, the War Department, the Navy Department, the War Production Board? In all these agencies, the corporation agents of all capitalist political hues are functioning together under the guiding hand of Roosevelt for the common purpose of carrying through Wall Street's war program and imperialist objectives.

BIG BUSINESS AIMS TO END REFORMS

The question is raised why, if Roosevelt has done so much for the capitalists, do so many of them persist in their hostility toward him and prefer Dewey or a similar type to Roosevelt? The capitalists are not noted for gratitude. They vent on Roosevelt their fury for having had to yield, through him, concessions to the workers in the past. The crisis of capitalism itself forced the owning class to make concessions, which Roosevelt granted as the executive director of the capitalist government. But the plutocrats

To The Editors Of The Militant:

The lead article on the Republican Convention in the July 8 issue of The Militant takes an approach with which I must express strong disagreement. Apparently in an effort to show that both major parties are simply tools of the big capitalist interests, the article takes as its point of departure that there are no real or major differences of policy between the Republicans and Roosevelt. It says: "On all the major issues, the Republicans cannot find in their political larder a single crumb of difference with Roosevelt's major policies which might nourish a vigorous and aggressive opposition."

This is the main theme running through the article and in my opinion it is wrong and should be corrected. If this false analysis of the Republican and Democratic parties should be pursued in our press, it will impel an intelligent worker to put his paper down with at best an indulgent smile, perhaps never to pick it up again.

REPUBLICANS AND DEMOCRATS

The fact that both the Republican and Democratic parties are capitalist parties, controlled by the capitalists and serving the interests of the strongest and dominant section of the capitalists, does not mean that there are no important differences between them. Neither should the fact that we refuse to support either party induce us to close our eyes to these differences. We must frankly recognize and deal with these differences and show that despite them the workers should nevertheless build their own Labor Party.

The Republican Party is controlled by the most powerful sections of Wall Street and for popular support depends upon small business men, professionals, white collar workers, farmers, shopkeepers and a sprinkling of workers in industry and commerce.

The Democratic Party in reality consists of two distinct sections: the landowners and capitalists of the south and the workers in the cities of the north, sections of the party however being led and dominated by the big capitalist interests of the country. The rise and descent during 1932 to 1944 of the vote-getting power of the New Deal and the Democratic Party was determined by the attraction—and now lack of it—which it held for the middle classes, i.e. shopkeepers, farmers, white collar workers, professionals, etc., who in other years supported the Republicans.

This dual composition of the Democratic Party meant that so long as the New Deal was holding the middle classes and the workers, Roosevelt had the upper hand in his party over the southern reactionaries. But as the years brought disillusionment to the middle classes and to many workers the New Deal lost—and is still losing—its attractiveness to them and the southern wing of the Democratic Party became relatively stronger.

THEIR DOMESTIC POLICIES

So far as domestic policy is concerned, no one can deny that in recent years the Republican Party has consistently followed a more reactionary program than the Democrats. The Republicans—at first in small numbers and later in ever larger numbers—have opposed nearly all concessions to labor and social legislation. In the last three or four years, as Roosevelt's hold on the middle classes has weakened, the southern Democrats joined the Republican opposition.

That the concessions to the mass of people embraced in the New Deal were only the method

hold him responsible for the continued disturbances of the system and the consequent aggravation of the class conflicts which forced limited concessions from the Roosevelt administration in the past.

Now Big Business, in its all-out drive to smash labor, wants to put an abrupt end to the chapter on reforms. It doesn't want anyone associated with the period of "New Deal" reforms to remain in office. Although Roosevelt himself is aiding Big Business in this aim by purging "New Dealers" like Wallace and shoving into a corner his labor supporters, Big Business is not satisfied. It wants to wipe the whole slate clean — and that includes Roosevelt as the symbol of the "New Deal."

The fact that Willkie chose to compete with Roosevelt in his own sphere of "liberal" demagoguery was sufficient reason in itself for the capitalist overlords of the Republican Party to discard him. They prefer a man like Dewey, completely pliant, who does not peddle "liberal" illusions which the masses might seriously act upon.

Roosevelt continues, while putting over his main reactionary measures, to maintain the liberal pose. He seeks again to exploit this fiction that has served to tie the American workers for the past twelve years to the political domination of the capitalist ruling class. To explain this fiction and dispel this dangerous illusion is one of the main political tasks of the Marxist party in the United States today.

LABOR LACKEYS EXAGGERATE DIFFERENCES

The liberal and labor lackeys of Roosevelt, on the other hand, deliberately inflate and distort whatever minor differences crop up between the Roosevelt administration and the Republicans. They



adopted by one—and perhaps the more intelligent—section of Wall Street to keep alive the fast dying American capitalism; and that the New Deal could not solve the problems of the workers and the middle classes is beside the present point. The important thing is that there was a real difference in the program to resuscitate capitalism in two sections of the big capitalists, those controlling the Democratic Party favoring concessions and those controlling the Republican Party opposing concessions and wanting to smash the organized labor movement, the quicker the better.

When the Senate passed the requirement that labor unions, cooperatives and political organizations file reports of their income and expenditures, the Senators of both parties divided as follows: Democrats, 22 for the requirement and 26 against; Republicans, 22 for and 7 against. These are but a few of the bills which indicate the general alignment of forces in Congress. A large number of Republicans plus the southern Democrats on the reactionary side against a handful of Republicans plus a larger number of Democrats from the northern cities taking a somewhat better position.

VOTES IN CONGRESS

With the coming of the war and the increasing strain on the economy as well as the greater dependence on big business to produce armaments, Roosevelt's domestic policies have veered to the right. But the policies of the two camps have not yet merged. The policies of the Republicans have likewise moved rightward and although the difference is not as great as it formerly was, there is no doubt that it still exists. It is very necessary to look at the voting of the present Congress to see how the Republicans and southern Democrats have generally joined to take a more reactionary position on the important bills.

On the vote in the House which repealed the \$25,000 salary limitation, of the Congressmen who voted against the repeal, 81 were Democrats and 12 Republicans. In connection with the Rural Electrification Administration the vote in the House against increasing its appropriation by \$100 million was 134 Republicans and 59 Democrats; and for the appropriation 111 Democrats and about 50 Republicans.

When the House voted to prohibit labor unions from contributing to political campaigns, the 238 votes which passed the measure consisted of 142 Republicans and 96 Democrats and of

these 96, 84 were from the South. Of the 94 Congressmen who voted against continuation of the Dies Committee, 13 were Republicans and 78 were Democrats.

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This does not mean that we did or should have supported these bills or that these bills would have gained for the masses what their advocates claimed, but it does mean that a difference exists between Roosevelt's domestic policies and those of the Republican Party, diminishing it is true as the war continues and as the balance of power within the Democratic Party moves toward the southerners, but as yet, nevertheless, real.

POST-WAR FOREIGN POLICY

The one issue at the convention which came nearest to creating an open dispute was the "post-war" plank. Everyone knows that in order to satisfy the isolationist middle-west as well as the internationalist minded sections of the country, an ambiguous plank was written which says exactly nothing—or as close to it as they could get. Out of a plank "meaning all things to all men" the Militant article makes a plank expressing the views of the internationalists and thus establishes an identity between the Republicans and Roosevelt on this question. If this is not intellectually

dishonest then it is certainly stupid. There is no use attempting to deny that there is an isolationist wing of the Republican Party. American capitalism and its Republican Party spokesmen are still imperialist to the core even though the latter made real concessions to the isolationists in the party platform. These matters should have been discussed in the article and not completely evaded by an obviously false misidentification of the views of Roosevelt and the Republicans on post-war policy.

In connection with both the domestic and post-war policy, it is remarkable that the article does not even mention Willkie. From the purely journalistic standpoint, if no other, Willkie's role in the party should have been touched on. If there is no difference between the Republican platform and Roosevelt's on either domestic or foreign policy, as the article says, then what is the basis for Willkie's sharp criticism of it; and why was he—an obviously stronger vote-getter personally than Dewey—not selected by the party leaders as their candidate? It is precisely because Willkie in both domestic and post-war policy follows more closely Roosevelt's policy that he was shunted aside.

To discuss Willkie would have destroyed the false premise on which the article was built. So it was simply omitted.

Why do some capitalists prefer Dewey to Roosevelt? In answer to this question, the article gives two reasons: first and foremost, to maintain the two-party system and "in addition"—as a sort of after-thought or something thrown in for good measure—because they would feel more at ease with him, for he is completely compliant.

Here again is a striking example of how the false premise compels first the assignment of a false reason but, this being a little too unpalatable, the correct reason is then slipped in without

Tobin Spreads More Slander Against Framed Trotskyists

Daniel J. Tobin, boss of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, is calling for the cops again in his vindictive campaign against the militant leaders of Minneapolis Truckdrivers Union Local 544-CIO and of the Socialist Workers Party he helped railroad to prison in the Minneapolis frame-up. He smears the pages of the July issue of his personal organ, *The International Teamster*, with more slanderous attacks upon the men in jail.

In the form of a response to numerous inquiries "from labor unions; the painters, bartenders, waiters and others asking us to tell them what we know of the case," Tobin states that the "Political Committee (meaning the Civil Rights Defense Committee) Spreads Lies to Raise Funds" for the defense of the 18. "In some of these letters they have stated," says Tobin, "that the Teamsters International Union was responsible for sending them to prison. The truth of the matter is that the International Union had nothing at all to do with the case and no one representing the International Union appeared at the trials."

THE REAL FACTS

Here are the facts to show who is lying and who tells the truth. When in June 1941 the majority of the members of Local 544 voted to disaffiliate from Tobin's International and join the CIO, Tobin telegraphed to Roosevelt for help. This is a matter of public record. Stephen Early, Roose-

velt's secretary, issued the following statement to the press: "When I advised the President of Tobin's representations this morning he asked me to immediately have the government departments and agencies interested in this matter notified." (N. Y. Times, June 14, 1941.) The raids and indictments followed a few days later.

Tobin brazenly declares that "no one representing the International Union appeared at the trials." Here is a partial list of the prosecution witnesses: James Bartlett, Roy Wienecke, Tom McCue, Tobin appointees as 544-AFL organizers; John Novack, one of Tobin's goons; Joe Williams, Mrs. Violet Williams, Karl Barth, John Majersky, participants in the reactionary Committee of 99 which was Tobin's instrument within the union against the democratically elected and trusted 544 leadership.

TOBIN'S AIMS

Just as he previously called upon Attorney-General Bidle for aid, so now Tobin turns to the Federal prosecutor in the Minneapolis frameup trial. To back up his falsehoods he prints a letter written to him by prosecutor Victor Anderson obligingly denying that the 18 "were indicted because they were organizers of labor unions."

Alarmed by the influence of *The Militant* among progressive unionists, Tobin's assistant editor, Lester M. Hunt, writes a special article demanding our suppression. "It is very difficult to understand why our government permits this kind of subversive propaganda to go through the mails." It is not so difficult to understand why Tobin and his stooges emit such bellows of rage.

This is Tobin's way of retorting to the widespread protests in labor's ranks against the frame-up of the 18 and to the demand of over two million organized workers many of them within the AFL, for their release. Tobin is vainly trying to clear himself of complicity in the frameup, to intimidate the supporters of the 18 by further threats of invoking the federal authorities. By lies and slanders he aims to mislead and confuse those honest unionists who want to aid the victims of his crime against the labor movement.

In this poisonous campaign Tobin works together with the Stalinist slander machine. Most of the Stalinist publications, the *Daily Worker*, *The New World*, and certain union papers controlled by the Stalinists such as *Minnesota Labor*, have reached his lies. Tobin can't get support for his stool-pigeon actions or much of a hearing for his false accusations in the ranks of the union movement. His principal allies are capitalist politicians, federal prosecutors, and Stalinist finks.

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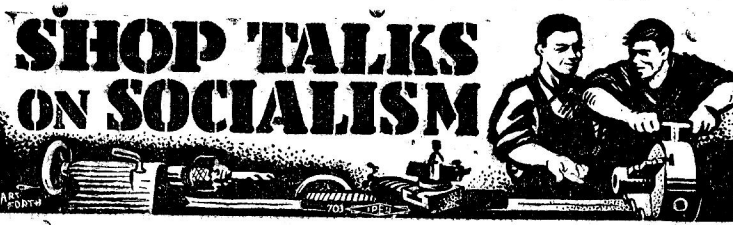
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SHOP TALKS ON SOCIALISM

By V. Grey
'People are never satisfied. Give them \$50 a week and they want \$60. Give them \$75 and they ask for a hundred. How are you going to have a socialist society when human nature works like that?'

This is not an argument against socialism, but rather against capitalism. It's true that people are constantly looking for something better. But under capitalism, they very seldom find it.

But even when people are getting along so-so under capitalism, working fairly steady, buying new furniture and all that, they still demand more for themselves.

Production and Wages

Well, take a look around you in the shop. You see a lot of new machinery, don't you? Most of it put in by the government, paid for by our taxes.

Workers see the enormous and ever-increasing output of their labor. And it doesn't seem right to them that a handful of parasites should have so much of it, while they, who work so hard, just barely get by.

Progressive Discontent
It's that way everywhere you turn. The richest and finest clothing could easily be made in quantity enough for everyone.

But a lot of people think that this dissatisfaction is sort of a disease of "human nature" that makes one person want to knife another for his own advantage.

The Answer to Jim Crow: The Struggle for Negro Equality
a new pamphlet by John Saunders and Albert Parker
32 pages Five cents

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

Crisis Of Hitler Regime Deepens As Soviet Armies Plunge Toward Boundary Of Germany

(Continued from page 1)

grooming the workers into thousands of plant mass meetings where Robert Ley and other functionaries are exhorting them to "remain loyal" and squeeze out more production.

RESTRICTIONS INTENSIFIED

More and harsher restrictions are being imposed on civilian life. Nearly all the theatres, movies and other places of entertainment have been closed.

Living standards are being even more drastically depressed. "All must live now as do those who have been bombed out," is the Nazi slogan of the day.

What are all these actions but a public admission of bankruptcy by the Nazi dictatorship? Such drastic measures can emanate only from a terrified, panic-stricken clique who hope to overcome the mortal crisis of their regime by redoubling the terror against their internal antagonists.

WILL NOT SAVE REGIME

Savage reprisals, boastful declarations, more belt-tightening decrees, draconic measures will not suffice to turn military defeats into victories.

The fighting men will lose the last shreds of respect for their commanding officers. Discipline must inevitably disintegrate.

AMG Disarms The Italian Anti-Fascist Partisans

(Continued from page 1)

dictatorship long before the Allies set foot in Italy and during the long years when the Allied imperialists were bolstering the fascist regime with financial and moral support.

Now the Allied Military Government is exerting all its efforts to deprive them of their arms. Among the first tasks assigned to the Allied troops entering a "liberated" city is to disarm the Partisans.

The Allies want to disarm the Italian anti-fascist workers for the same reasons that Hitler and Mussolini tried to disarm them.

rule and to promote progressive democratization in all spheres.

While the twofold Nazi and Allied censorships prevent accurate and detailed news, the Junker Generals' revolt in itself indicates that demoralization within the armed forces is rapidly deepening.

REPORTS OF REVOLT

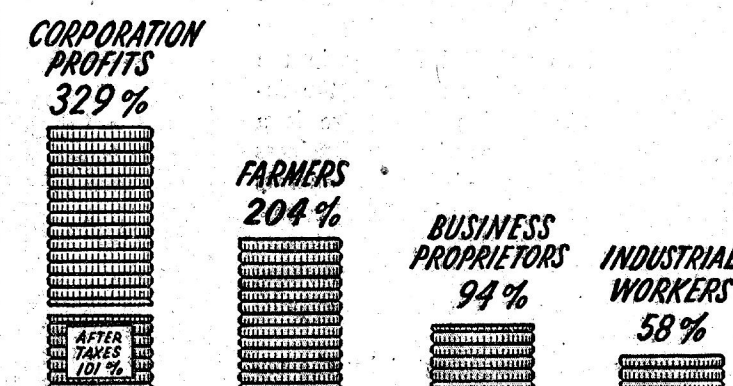
Vehement Nazi disclaimers to the contrary, rumors of violent clashes and disorders in Germany persist. The July 24 N. Y. Times discloses: "Reports of disorders in Germany continued to circulate, such as street fighting in Berlin and Frankfurt, mutinies by commanding officers at Munich, Bremen, Stuttgart, Schweinfurt and Linz, in Austria; various disorders in East Prussia, Bavaria and Polish Silesia; strike propaganda in war factories; a raid in Upper Silesia by Partisans, who freed seven prisoners from the Bokau concentration camp."

Reports received by the International Transport Workers Federation and published in the July issue of the British Trotskyist organ, The Socialist Appeal, indicate the rebellious mood of the German workers and soldiers in the months before the present momentous events.

A trade unionist who speaks German fluently returned in April from a two years' stay in Berlin as a foreign worker, which he undertook in order to study German conditions. He reports that in a factory where he was employed, the forty German workers included two Nazis, two Communists and three Social Democrats.

RIISING MASS PRESSURE

"Reports which have come independently from four German districts tell the same tale. Clan-destine Soldiers' Councils are said to have formed in these reserve battalions. They have even begun to act. They started quietly with success against the cancelling of warm meals; this was how the revolt in the Fleet started in 1918.



The big corporations are making the big money out of this war at the expense of workers' wages, asserts the AFL in the current issue of "Labor's Monthly Review." Even AFTER tax payments, corporation earnings were 101 percent higher than pre-war figures.

those which were formed a good deal earlier in Norway.

These slim accounts, the few that have managed to trickle through a most air-tight censorship, can be only a pale reflection of the actual state of unrest within the German working class and the armed forces.

How joyously the German workers would have welcomed the Red Army as their own-class comrades-in-arms if it were still guided by international communist aims as in the days of Lenin and Trotsky.

But the coming German revolution, which will rapidly merge with the revolutionary struggles already exploding in Italy and elsewhere in Europe, will possess an irresistible sweep and titanic power.

Ask Your Shopmate to Subscribe to The Militant

Repudiating the bureaucratic action of their international executive board in establishing a receivership over the local, the members of Chrysler Highland Park Local 490, UAW-CIO, have reacted by overwhelming majority the local leadership ousted by the Thomas-Reuther-Ades-Frankensteen clique for alleged violation of the "unconditional no-strike pledge."

UAW Purge Backfires

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IN NORTH ITALY

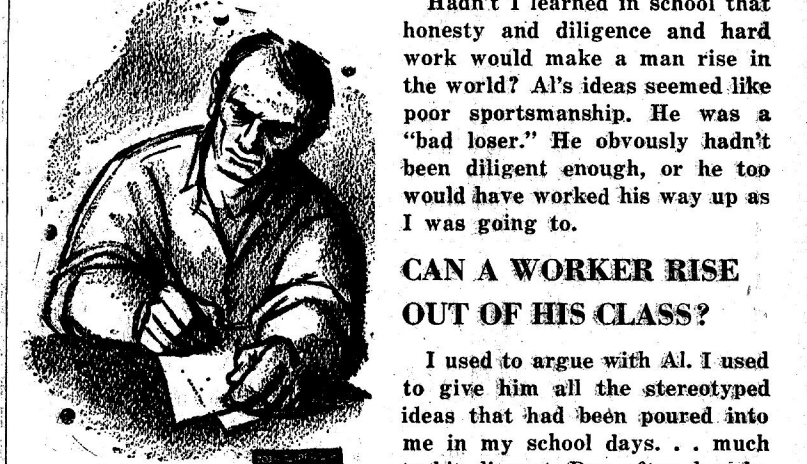
But the Italian workers will not permit themselves to be disarmed without the fiercest struggle. As the Allies approach the great revolutionary centers of northern Italy they will find that the anti-fascist working masses there will not be easily tricked by hollow promises or by the treachery of the Stalinists and the Social-Democrats.

The resistance movement is especially active in the Ligurian region and around Bologna, Modena, Reggio, Parma. Strikes in the Ligurian industrial cities of Genoa, Spezia, Imperia, and Savona have increased the striking power of the armed patriots.

Diary Of A Steel Worker

By Theodore Kovalesky

I wonder what ever became of old Al. When I was a young kid on my first job, I used to work at the same bench with him and argue most of the day. It seems funny the ideas that I had then.



Briggs Auto Local In Protest Strike

Involved, and not all of those men will be transferred. Will somebody please tell me what the rest of you are doing out of the shop? They would and they did "Because it's a union, brother, that's why." "We're one for all and all for one."

ROLE OF WLB

Bishop finally gave up and turned the meeting over to his assistant, Hutchinson who promptly wheeled out the old song-and-dance. "I think you people have a justifiable grievance. We'd like to go in there and straighten it out for you, but we can't do a thing until you people are back in the shop. We want to help you but you aren't giving us a chance; management won't even talk to us as long as you are on strike."

THE MOVEMENT WOULD GROW UP AGAIN

And now, I often think of old Al and wish that I could see him again and tell him what I have learned and what I am doing. And I often think how, if a terrible repression were to come upon the workers and revolutionists, if all the books on politics were burned in the marketplace and all the militants were shot by the oppressors or thrown into dungeons and left there to rot in the darkness;

10 Years Ago In The Militant

AUGUST 4, 1934

MINNEAPOLIS — As General Drivers Local 574 entered the third week of its strike for enforcement of its contracts, martial law continued to reign in Minneapolis. Said The Militant: "The National Guard, called out by the Farmer-Labor Governor (Olson) to protect the citizens of Minneapolis is issuing permits on a wholesale scale for the operation of scab trucks under military protection."

Again Local 574 set an example for militancy and initiative in issuing a stirring call for a general protest strike to force the end of martial law.

"Military tyranny has reached its peak in Minneapolis," the call said. "For the first time in decades, a trade union headquarters has been occupied by military forces and trade union leaders have been arrested and imprisoned in a military stockade. Picket cars are ordered off the street while every scab truck gets a permit."

"But the Citizens Alliance and the infamous band of assassins commanded by (police chief) Bloody Johannes sought in vain to break our strike. . . We are still fighting. And as far as we are concerned, our answer to the attempt to suppress our strike and our Union by the military force of the National Guard is the same reply we made to Bloody Mike Johannes. . . 'We shall not be slaves!'"

READ 'THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL'

THE MILITANT

Published in the interests of the Working People

VOL. VIII—No. 32 Saturday, August 5, 1944

Published Weekly by

THE MILITANT PUBLISHING ASS'N
at 116 University Place, New York 8, N. Y.
Telephone: ALgonquin 4-8647
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.

Political Action

The 1944 electoral campaign is characterized by the usual division among the labor bureaucrats who foster the illusion of a democratic choice by volunteering their services to one or another political agency of the employing class. John L. Lewis (United Mine Workers) and William Hutcheson (Carpenters Union) have plumped for Dewey and the Republican Party. Hillman-Murray (CIO Political Action Committee) and Daniel J. Tobin (Teamsters Union) are beating the drums for Roosevelt and the Democratic Party. Again, as so many times in the past, the "labor statesmen" limit the choice of the workers to the program and candidates of the two major parties, both of which represent the interests of the ruling capitalist class.

The labor lackeys thus serve to keep the working class politically atomized and incapable of defending its interests against the class enemy. "The class, taken by itself," wrote Leon Trotsky, "is only material for exploitation. The proletariat assumes an independent role only at that moment when from a social class in itself it becomes a political class for itself. This cannot take place otherwise than through the medium of a party." The "labor statesmen" play a perfidious role by helping to perpetuate the hoax that the interests of the American working class is best expressed by remaining politically atomized "material for exploitation."

Those who pay lip service to labor's independent political action and then proceed to drag the workers into supporting the candidates and parties of the employing class are guilty of monstrous demagoguery. In essence these demagogues practice the discredited Gompers policy of "rewarding friends and punishing enemies." This policy has succeeded in keeping the American workers in bondage for decades to the political deputies of wealth and privilege parading under the banner of the Republican and Democratic parties.

Speaking at the recent Michigan CIO convention on the subject of labor's independent political action, James B. Carey, secretary of the national CIO, told the delegates that "there is not a man serving in Congress today who can be considered a working man." What an abject confession of political bankruptcy for a leader of a labor organization representing some six million workers to make! Labor is today numerically the largest and potentially the strongest organized group in the country. Yet a leader of the most militant and progres-

sive section of the trade union movement is forced to complain that not one single representative in Congress can truly be called a working man.

Carey, of course, limits labor's independent political action to the Hillmanized version of Gompersism as practiced by the CIO Political Action Committee. This policy can lead only to a continuation of the condition against which Carey complains. It has led to political futility in the past — it can achieve no better result in the future. By furthering the illusion that there is a fundamental difference between the Big Business and boss-controlled parties the labor bureaucrats relegate the workers to the status of political camp-followers of the employing class. They promote the aims of reaction by preventing the working class from playing an independent role in the political life of the country.

This has been freshly demonstrated by the experience of the Hillman-Murray group at the Democratic Party convention. On every vital issue concerning the interests of the working class the political bosses turned a deaf ear to the pleading of Hillman and Murray. The platform did not contain one clear commitment to any of the demands involving the fundamental aims and interests of labor. How could it be otherwise? The inclusion of labor's demands in the Democratic platform would involve the repudiation of their own policies — wage freeze, forced labor, price and rent gouging, taxing the needy instead of the greedy, poll-tax, Jim Crow discrimination against Negroes in and out of the armed forces, anti-strike legislation, etc., etc. The "short platform" was devised precisely to dodge these issues.

This masterpiece of evasion and deceit has been hailed as a great victory for independent political action by Hillman-Murray and Co. What mockery! The political bosses kept a tight rein on the convention, manipulating and controlling the entire proceedings. The Political Action Committee was never permitted to be anything more than a tail to the Democratic kite. They were whipped into line on every important question by the political agents of Big Business which dominates and controls both major parties.

It is futile and reactionary to try to transform the Democratic or Republican parties into instruments serving the interests of the workers. In reality the policy of the labor bureaucrats, both of the Lewis-Hutcheson and Hillman-Tobin variety, binds the workers as captives in the enemy camp. In this there is no shadow of "independence."

Labor can play an independent role only by formulating its own political program. The program can be advanced only by organizing labor's own political party. Labor's independent political action is predicated on the formation of an Independent Labor Party. Only by breaking decisively with the parties and program of the employing class can the lusty giant of American labor reach political maturity and enter the political arena with its own program, its own candidates and its own party.

Imperialist Wars

This August 1 marks the thirtieth anniversary of the beginning of the first world war. That war, which cost 10,000,000 dead and 25,000,000 other casualties, was to bring an "end to all wars" and a "world safe for democracy." That capitalist war really brought: the rampant spread of the fascist scourge; intensified reaction everywhere; unemployment and hunger; a new and more terrible blood-bath.

Today, the imperialist rulers claim to be engaged in a "better" world war, which is to bring the "Four Freedoms" and "peace by force." But this is only the fraud of 1914-1918 in differently-worded slogans.

Capitalism itself is the source of war. Imperialist war will cease to torture the peoples of the world only when capitalism is brought to an end. Socialism alone can bring enduring peace and real democracy.

Peace By Force

American capitalism's role in the "brave new world" of the future was plainly delineated in the platform of the Democratic Party adopted at the Chicago convention. The platform projects a system of collaboration between the victor states "endowed with power to employ armed force to ensure peace."

No such brazen declaration of imperialist aims and purposes has ever been made by any political party in America at any time in the country's history.

The platform asserts almost in so many words that American capitalism intends to dominate the world, rule over all the peoples, and exploit them for the benefit of American monopoly capital. The very notion of keeping the peace by the use of armed force is an absurd contradiction. In actuality it means not peace, but perpetual war — war by the Wall Street money bags and their government against the rest of the world.

Woodrow Wilson sought to "keep the peace," that is, assure the hegemony and domination of American imperialism, by means of a League of Nations. Roosevelt drops the pacifist camouflage and comes out boldly for the use of "armed force" to achieve the same end. The method has been changed but the greedy appetites of the Wall Street barons remain and find expression in a policy which means war without end.

This, then, is the "peace" which American capitalism offers to the American workers and the war-weary peoples of Europe and Asia. It is a predatory "peace" which will merely mark an uneasy interlude between wars, for it sows the seeds of still further and more terrible conflagrations.

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.

Bosses' Column

Editor:
I see where a union paper has added a bosses' column. The paper in question is New Voices of Local 65, and the name of the column is "Our Employers Say." It isn't enough that the bosses have the radio, the press, and the movies, but they have a voice in the union paper, too.
Since the beginning, unions have had a bloody struggle for existence. Even now unions are being hamstrung by government agencies. As far as I know this is the first time that union columns have been open to the bosses. With conditions as they are and growing worse in general, I don't see how this project will succeed. With the workers' interests opposed to the bosses' interests, there may yet be protests to eliminate the bosses' column.

A. D.
Brooklyn, N. Y.

The "Deep South"

Editor:
The atmosphere here in the "Deep South" fairly crackles with the leashed fury of the Negro people at generations of degrading repressions. And more Negro blood has flown in the South since Pearl Harbor than you would know about from reading the papers. The following "incidents" reported to me never saw print:
Louisiana, white woman: "Why, them niggers are trying to take over the South. 150 of them marched on our town a while back, were going to take it over. We got word they was coming, and a crowd of white MPs and the town's strong men went out to meet them. They got as far as the depot there. Our men stopped them with bullets." I asked were the Negroes armed. She said sure, "but we shot first." I remarked that I hadn't read that in the papers. "Sure not," she said. "A lot of other things like that aren't in the papers, either. Them niggers'll learn that this ain't the north!"
Mississippi, farmer: "Why the other day, one of them niggers got on the bus and set right down by a white woman. The bus driver told him to get up and he refused to do it. The bus driver called ahead to have the sheriff meet the bus at the next stop and a squad of armed men met the bus and ordered the nigger to get off and he just set there. They had to drag him off the bus and they filled him full of lead on the spot. But that won't cure them. We got

to do more than kill one nigger to cure them."

All bus drivers, I was told, carry guns now. "They have to, the niggers has got so bad."
I got on the bus at Alexandria, La., and there were no empty seats. As I was standing in the aisle, perfectly willing to take my turn at standing, the driver came back and ordered a Negro sailor to get up and give me his seat. I protested that I didn't want to take another's seat, but the driver again rudely ordered the sailor to get up and move back. I had to take the seat; I knew that if I protested again it might make trouble for the Negro.

It is practically worth a Negro man's life to be seen talking to a white woman, so I couldn't even apologize to him. It was a very uncomfortable ride for me; but I noted that the Negroes didn't take it uncomplainingly. They muttered among themselves quite audibly, and I heard one man say distinctly that "in some parts of the country, service men of all colors get the choice of seats," and there was a general murmur of approbation from the Negroes. It is a new thing in the South for Negroes to dare to publicly state their discontent.

Another time I was riding on an almost empty bus. I had a seat towards the rear of the coach, and across the aisle from me two Negro men sat quietly talking to each other. Suddenly the driver stopped the bus and strode furiously back and ordered the Negroes to move back. "Can't you see there's white folks sitting there?" he shouted, meaning me.

I quickly got up, and said, "Why don't I move up? There are plenty of empty seats," and started to take another seat. The driver blocked my way and said "Keep your seat. They kin move back." I pushed him out of my way and took a forward seat, saying I didn't want to inconvenience other people needlessly. The Negroes sat there. The driver slouched back up front and looked his hatred at me into the mirror.

One significant thing I have noticed. There is more friendly, easy talk between whites and Negroes, in spite of the terrorism, than there ever was in the days before the war. I have seen white boys and men talking to Negroes on the buses many times, talking as men talk to each other. In Baton Rouge I spoke to a friend about the "Negro menace." This friend, certainly no radical, replied that the situation is due almost solely to the fear that has taken hold of the white people, and their reaction to it. They are treating the Negroes so badly that

they are making inevitable the explosion that seems imminent.

D. S.
Baton Rouge, La.

PAC Politics

Editor:
Here are a few more footnotes about the Massachusetts State CIO Convention held some weeks ago.

Most of the time at the convention was spent listening to speeches about Political Action, so it is very interesting to note the results of the primaries held two days after the convention. Five candidates—all Democrats—were backed by the PAC. Two of them were victorious, the other three were beaten.

The PAC, if it takes a stand on the elections in November, will find itself in a contradictory position. It will have to support candidates it bitterly attacked in the primaries, or the Republican candidates, and the Republican program has also been severely criticized by the PAC.

The workers, and I include the CIO members, were apathetic in the primaries. The only chance the PAC had was to get them to register and vote, and in this they failed dismally. The primary vote was very light and the regular Democratic machine voters controlled the election. The candidates repudiated by the PAC campaigned on this very basis and rang up impressive pluralities.

The great majority of the workers voted with their feet, stayed away from the polls. To them, even candidates with CIO endorsement were nothing to get excited about — just more politicians fighting for office.

The results of the primaries show that working within the Democratic and Republican parties did not help the workers. In Massachusetts, we are faced with the fact that the men the workers support are not even nominated. Now in the November elections, the workers, in many contests, have nobody they can conscientiously vote for. All the candidates have been labeled as anti-labor, months in advance of the election!

This has caused many workers to think about elections in a new way. The idea of a labor party, with men they know really represent labor as candidates, finds them in a more receptive mood. It is entirely possible that within a year there will be many demands put upon the CIO for formation of a labor party.

J. M.
Boston, Mass.

A Financial Editor Sees Rosy Future -- For Bosses

Workers think of a depression as a period of low wages, unemployment, hunger. Not so the capitalists. To them depressions exist only under one circumstance—when their profits decline.

The trained seals of the capitalist press usually slick over this attitude of the bosses. But Ralph Hendershot, Financial Editor of the N. Y. World-Telegram, sometimes speaks out in less guarded fashion, because his remarks are addressed to business men. On July 26, in discussing "post war" prospects for the aircraft corporations, Hendershot gives us a real glimpse of the capitalists' point of view on what constitutes "good times" and "bad times."

He writes that "financial and business circles" have been unduly pessimistic about the "post-war prospects" of the aircraft manufacturers. "A closer examination of prospects... according to the experts" gives considerable reassurance. "When it is considered that the capitalizations of our major manufacturing companies have not been materially increased in the meantime (during the war) it must be granted they will not fare so badly from the earnings (profits) standpoint."

"True," Hendershot concedes as an after thought, "all of these companies will make sharp reductions in their working forces immediately after peace. It is estimated, in fact, that cuts may be as high as 80 per cent." But that's nothing for the aircraft moguls to worry about.

"As already pointed out, a reduction in working force will not seriously affect the earning power of those companies based on their small capitalization. And they will not be hampered because of productive facilities. In fact, they will have the most modern plants in existence—plants they never could have built without government help. These plants unquestionably will be offered to them at attractive prices."

Hendershot concludes on a note of hearty optimism. "All in all, the situation appears much brighter than it did a few months ago." Not, of course, for the 80 per cent of aircraft workers who will be walking the streets. But, then, think how nice it's going to be for the bosses in their "Post-War Paradise of Profit." They hope.

NAM Uses Trick Method To Conceal Profiteering

According to the National Association of Manufacturers, war profiteering is just a myth. This "closed shop" organization of Big Business is currently engaged in a high-power propaganda campaign to "prove" that the capitalists are really the "forgotten men" of this war.

Last week, the NAM issued an elaborate "study" designed to show that Wall Street corporations are making a lower rate of profit than before the war. To demonstrate this, the NAM simply changes the method which business men themselves use to compute profit rates. An NAM press handout, giving a resume of its "study," explains:

"American business is making money, but at a lower rate than it was before the war. . . . Although the dollar volume of corporate profits was considerably higher in 1943 than in 1939, last year's net earnings were low when considered in relation to the tremendously increased volume of production — \$298,000,000,000, as against \$131,000,000,000 in 1939. The rate of profit declined from 3.1 in 1939 to 2.8 in 1943. Production increased 127 per cent and profits 101 per cent. Profits are staying in line, even in wartime, when they don't go up as fast as output."

Of course, profit rates are figured not in relation to production, but to capital investment. If a business man invests \$1000 and receives \$100 profit, that is 10 per cent. If his capital remains fixed and his profit goes up to \$200, then his profit is 20 per cent, or double the year before. According to this method, the corporations have grabbed profit increases, after taxes, since 1939 of from 50 to 1000 per cent, and more. That's what the NAM calls "staying in line."

Immigration Laws Based On Nazi-Like Race Code

America's immigration and naturalization laws are based on a vile racial code that has its closest counterpart in Nazi Germany, it was charged by Earl G. Harrison, U. S. Commissioner of Immigration and Naturalization, in his report recently submitted to Attorney General Biddle.

Harrison resigned in disgust with the failure of Congress to enact measures, which he and others have proposed, to remove the racial exclusion features of the immigration and naturalization laws. The present laws exclude Hindus, Filipinos and other Oriental peoples, and limit the entry of immigrants from Southern and Eastern Europe on the grounds that they are "inferior peoples."

Speaking for the speedy enactment of his own proposed reforms, Harrison declared: "The only other country that observes racial discrimination similar to that reflected in our laws in matters relating to naturalization is Nazi Germany."

Instead of democratizing the existing laws, Congress is now considering further reactionary measures looking toward a completely "closed door" policy. Harrison charged that it is "totally unnecessary, most undesirable and certainly not in accord with our previous history and our present world position to adopt any 'closed door' policy."

When American capitalism was young, vigorous and expanding, immigration was encouraged to provide a large supply of workers who could be readily exploited. Then it was the politician's boast that America was a refuge and haven for the hungry and oppressed of other lands. Three-quarters of the American working class are either immigrants or the descendants of immigrants going back no more than four generations.

Now in its decline and decay, American capitalism shuts the door to those compelled to flee suffering and persecution in other lands. In support of its vicious, anti-democratic laws, the American ruling class resorts more and more to the most reactionary racial theories — theories on which the German capitalists through Hitler, erected their slave regime.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES

INDIA

The Indian revolution, which last surged into world prominence with the bloody events of August 1942, is by no means crushed. The population remains "sullen and uncooperative," reports Louis Fischer, the Nation's well-known foreign correspondent. Ghandi and his Congress Party leadership did not want and even opposed, the mass movement which followed their arrests and thus left it a prey of the sanguinary six months' campaign of the British military.

As leader of the conciliatory Indian capitalist class, Ghandi fears the independent action of the colonial masses. Instead, he prefers to compromise with imperialism, even after he is thrown into prison. To his jailer, Viceroy Wavell, (Fischer reports) he addressed letters beginning with "Dear Friend" and urging a "searching of hearts in British high places."

After a period of recuperation following his recent release, Ghandi came out on July 8 with a plan to do away with the main alleged "obstacle" in the way of Indian independence: the Hindu-Muslim conflict. In applying its divide-and-rule policy to India, British imperialism has always fostered the religious differences and supported Ali Jinnah's Moslem League as a counterweight to Ghandi's Congress Party. Jinnah dressed this policy up with a slogan—Pakistan—which called for separate Moslem and Hindu states. Ghandi's new move is designed to take the wind out of Pakistan's sails.

In essence Ghandi calls for the immediate formation of a "transitional" government by his Congress and the Moslem League and for a plebiscite after the war to determine whether the Moslems desire a separate state. He pledges the participation of India on the side of the "United Nations" in the war, leaving military affairs where they are now, in the hands of the imperialists.

These proposals have so far fallen on deaf ears. The Raj has merely reiterated that it stands by the Cripps Plan—which centers all its arguments around Pakistan. Meanwhile, the Viceroy has refused repeated requests by Ghandi that he be allowed to discuss his proposals with the jailed members of the Working Committee of the All-India Congress.

Churchill has already said: he did not become the King's first minister to liquidate the British empire. Ghandi's proposals further expose the specious arguments in which imperialist rapacity is dressed. But they do not bring the Indian masses one step further towards independence. Only the resurgence of the revolution under proletarian leadership can accomplish that.

Since September, 1942 a National Liberation Movement is known as the Levizija National Chirintari has been in action. It has been clashing continually with guerilla troops that stand for the restoration of the monarchy under the deposed King Zog. The L.N.C. is for a Balkan

Federation with which an independent Albania is to be affiliated. It pursues the policy of replacing the old civil authorities with newly elected committees in all territory under its control.

As in Yugoslavia and Greece, the Stalinists provide the main organized leadership. As in these other countries, the Allies find their efforts toward conciliating the contending guerilla factions extremely difficult. No doubt the Stalinists will here too attempt to utilize their organized strength to behold and betray the movement. But the very fact of its existence in Albania is renewed evidence that all over Nazi-occupied Europe the revolutionary class struggle is bursting through to the top in the fight to shake off national and social oppression.

SOUTH AFRICA

From South Africa we have recently been getting regularly the new Trotskyist publication Workers Voice, printed in English and Afrikaans. The paper's main articles are devoted to the struggle for equality by the native workers. The white government discriminates in favor of the white (European) workers not only in the matter of wages and the right of trade union organization, but also in the matter of residential rights, and even in the right to buy liquor. New restrictive laws relating to the latter have aroused particular indignation and form the subject matter of several agitational articles.

From notices in the paper it is evident that Trotskyist groups are working actively in Cape Town, and have also expanded to Johannesburg, Port Elizabeth, East London and Kimberley.