

The Only Road To Emancipation For All Europe

By The Editors

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

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

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

THE AIMS OF ALLIED IMPERIALISM

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

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

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

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

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

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

TASKS OF TROTSKYIST VANGUARD

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

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

The workers are already engaged in struggle against their oppressors. The more unbearable the old order becomes, the sharper will become their struggles against it. From partial actions — strikes for higher wages, protests against oppression, demonstrations against hunger rule, etc. — will develop assaults against the system of capitalism itself. The question of power, the question, "Who is to rule society?" will be and is already being posed with increasing urgency.

The revolutionary vanguard must participate in all these partial actions with slogans and battle-cries corresponding to the needs of the workers in order to build the revolutionary party and rally the broadest masses behind its program. It must propagate the need for forming Soviets as weapons of the struggle and instruments for the seizure of power by the working class. It must take the initiative in forming and strengthening these Soviets, which alone can coordinate the actions of the masses and raise them to the highest levels of revolutionary action.

In the coming great battles for socialism, the European working class will possess a great ally in the working class of the Soviet Union. Despite the degeneration of the Soviet Union under the rule of the counter-revolutionary Stalinist gang, the nationalized economy of the Soviet Union remains the most precious conquest of the world working class. For this reason it is the duty of all class-conscious workers to defend the socialized property of the Soviet Union against imperialist attack from without and the counter-revolutionary Stalin regime within.

With the coming defeat of German imperialism, the Soviet Union will confront — alone unless the European revolution comes to its aid — the colossus of Anglo-American imperialism, which always shared with Hitler the aim of destroying the workers' state which emerged from the October Revolution of 1917. The Soviet Union can make its existence secure only through an alliance with the socialist revolution in Europe.

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

Forward to the Socialist United States of Europe!
Long live the Fourth International — leader and organizer of the struggle for a new socialist world!

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Allies Impose Dictatorial DeGaulle Regime To Subdue French Masses

'Liberals' Retreat Hastily in Conflict Over George Bill

By Art Preis

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

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

Thus, in the legislative conflict over the "human side" of reconversion, the leader of the "liberal" forces has become none other than Senator George, viciously anti-labor Southern Democratic author of the big-business inspired unemployment bill which had previously been denounced as a starvation measure by all liberal and labor forces. George has announced his intention of seeking the restoration of the "liberal" version of his bill. This is all that the professed "liberals" in and out of Congress are now pleading to secure.

COWARDLY RETREAT

CIO President Philip Murray, representing the pro-Roosevelt union leadership, in a statement last week indicated that the CIO

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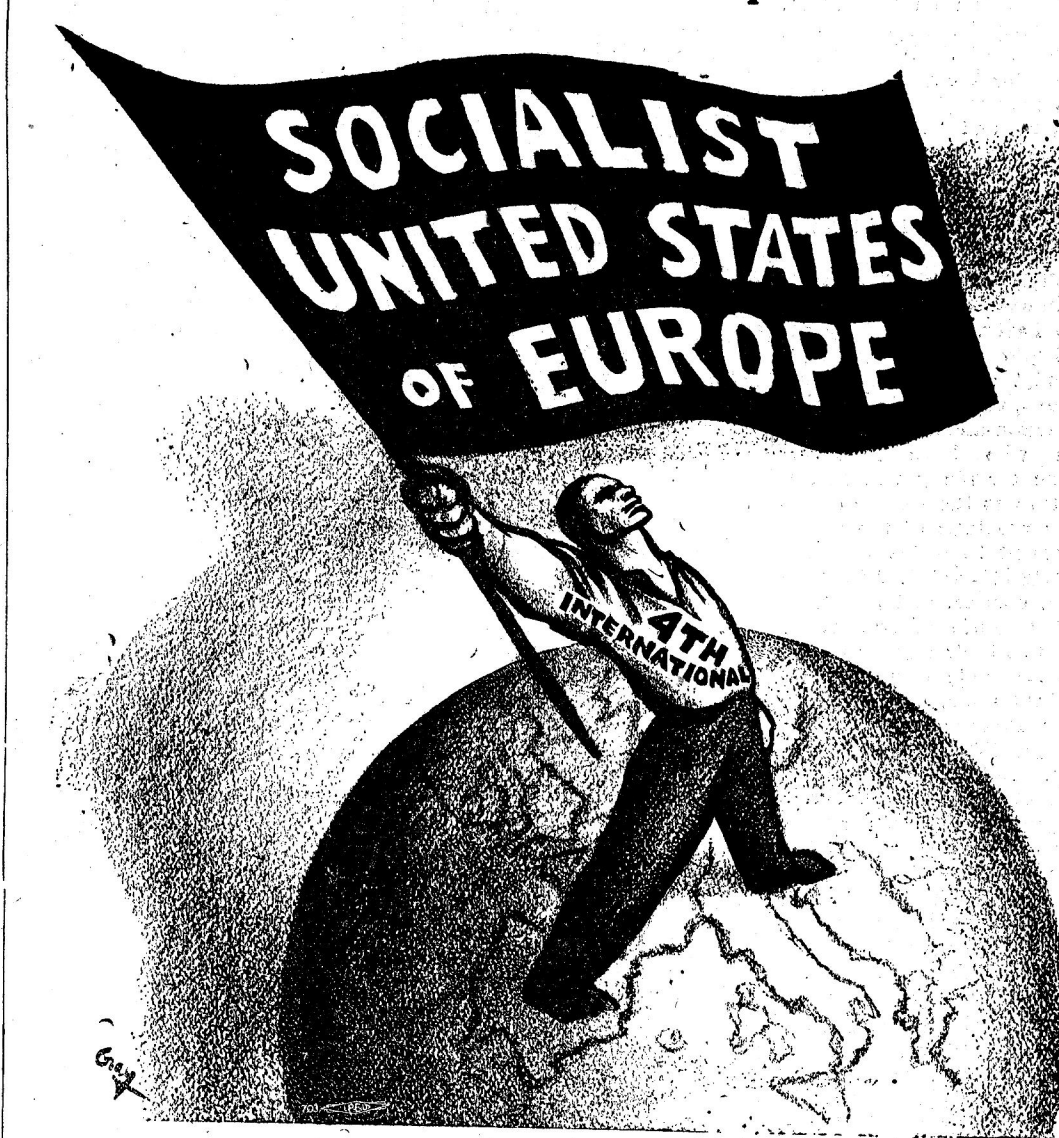
CRDC ISSUES NEW CIRCULAR DESCRIBING LABOR SUPPORT

In response to the wide-spread demand for more information on the Minneapolis Labor Case from labor and other progressive organizations throughout the country, the Civil Rights Defense Committee is publishing a special circular showing the hundreds of union, civil liberties and labor fraternal bodies which have already demanded pardon for the 18 Socialist Workers Party and Minneapolis Truckdrivers Local 544-CIO leaders imprisoned under the infamous Smith "Gag" Act.

The circular is headed: "Labor Organizations Representing Over 3,000,000 Members Are Supporting the Minneapolis Labor Case." It gives a summary of the case and the issues of workers democratic rights and civil liberties involved. It includes a register of the more than 300 organizations which have passed resolutions and given financial aid to the defense. These include such national bodies as the CIO Textile Workers Union; AFL International Ladies Garment Workers Union; CIO United Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Employees; CIO Transport Service Employees; National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; Workmen's Benefit Fund; Workmen's Circle.

Prominent labor and liberal leaders who support the case are also listed and their statements published. These include John Green, President of the CIO Marine and Shipbuilding Workers; R. J. Thomas, President of the CIO United Automobile Workers; Willard Townsend, President of the CIO Transport Service Employees; George Baldanzi, Executive Vice-President of the CIO Textile Workers; Irving Abramson, President of the New Jersey Industrial Union Council; James T. Farrell, noted author; Warren K. Billings, who together with

The Banner of Emancipation



Hiring Hall Rights Menaced In Longshore Negotiations

By Oscar Nelson

The reopening of the contract between the CIO International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union and the Waterfront Employers Association of the Pacific Coast brings to the forefront again the decisive question of union control of the hiring hall. Delegates to the ILWU conference held on July 27-29 in San Francisco took a firm stand against granting any concessions on this decisive point. Representatives of the Portland local went a step further in opposing the re-opening of the contract unless assurances were given that the hiring hall would not be subject to negotiations by the employers.

The justifiable anxiety of the delegates was enhanced by the knowledge that the Stalinist-Bridges leadership of the union is prepared beforehand to compromise with the employers on the hiring hall. The conference rejected a proposal submitted by Bridges and his henchmen that dispatchers no longer be democratically elected by the rank and file but appointed by the union members of the Labor Relations Committee in each port.

Life of Riley

The August 18 issue of that Big Business weekly, The United States News, lifts the curtain on Wall Street's plans for exploiting the world after its war is won. "U. S. will be expected to change its attitude sufficiently to be willing to permit foreigners to work for it, to act as an employer or a banker should act, not as a borrower and an employe must act." "Inside official view is that U. S. hasn't learned how to live a life of Riley by clipping coupons, by letting other people of the world work for it."

Tom Mooney was one of American Labor's outstanding class war prisoners; Roger Baldwin, National Director of the American Civil Liberties Union.

This circular, in addition to supplying general information about the Minneapolis Labor Case, is intended to aid the progressive sections of the labor movement to counteract the efforts of the Stalinists and AFL Teamsters President Daniel J. Tobin to sabotage the fight for the 18. These reactionary elements within the unions are spreading the lie that this is "not a labor case and is not supported by labor."

Among the most recent contributors to the CRDC are: Dining Car Employees Local 370, New York City; Corset and Brassiere Local 32, ILGWU; TWU-CIO Local 630, New Brunswick, N. J.; Philadelphia Joint Board of Cloak and Suitmakers, ILGWU; Workmen's Circle 60, St. Louis, Mo. The following branches of the Workmen's Benefit Fund have also contributed: 423, Carlisle, Ill.; 211, Elmhurst, N. J.; 9, Hoboken, N. J.; 83, Carlstadt, N. J.; 19, Union City, N. J.

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Increasing Misery Provokes Rebellious Moods And Unrest Coalition "Provisional Government" Unable To Solve Any of People's Urgent Problems

By Louis Bonn

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

Despite the severe censorship, disclosed in part by the protest of the capitalist press itself following the recent expulsion of six American correspondents from France, sufficient news has filtered through to provide a fairly clear picture of the rebellious temper of the French people. This mood of unrest is being aggravated as the growing demands of the masses for bread, jobs, peace and real freedom come into ever sharper collision with the predatory aims and counter-revolutionary plans of the Allied rulers and their French agents. "The situation and the atmosphere are revolutionary," Ray.

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The Rich Are No Problem In Rome

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

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

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

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

Pope Makes Appeal To Masses Not To Overthrow Capitalism

By Ralph Graham

With the tide of revolution steadily rising over all Europe Pope Pius XII has issued a frantic appeal to the European workers to respect the system of capitalist private property and not resort to "subversion and violence" in order to end the misery imposed on them by their rulers and exploiters.

The Pope's speech, broadcast to the world from Vatican City last week, is the most significant admission to date by any spokesman of capitalism, that the old order, rotted to its very foundations, is tottering on the brink of collapse. In the clearest possible terms it voices the mortal fear of the criminal rulers of Europe and their imperialist allies that capitalism faces utter destruction at the hands of the insurrectionary masses.

Acknowledging that "after bitter years of want... mankind awaits at the end of the war a profound and final improvement of its conditions," the Pope warns against what he terms "a senseless hope of a millennium of universal happiness" which he finds animating "the victims of an unhealthy social and economic order."

SANCTIFIES CAPITALISM

Does His Holiness perhaps feel that the "unhealthy social and economic order" should be removed and replaced by a healthy system? By no means! That would be a sin, a violation of divine law.

He admits that the miseries of the war-weary peoples have created "a fertile ground for propaganda for a most radical program and prepares minds to an understandable but unreason-

"those effective concentrations of economic wealth... that succeed in evading their social duties" and offered pity for the "innumerable multitudes of those who, deprived of any direct or indirect security in their lives, take no further interest in the values of the spirit" and follow revolutionary doctrines. The Church "does not intend to protect in principle the rich and the plutocrat against the poor."

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

FEAR REVOLUTION

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

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

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TRADE UNION NOTES

By Joseph Keller

Roosevelt last week ordered government seizure of 10 Pennsylvania coal mines whose white collar and supervisory employees, organized in the United Clerical, Technical and Supervisory Workers Union of United Mine Workers District 50, went on strike to secure collective bargaining rights.

The strikes were "legal," having been carried out in strict accord with the provisions of the Smith-Connally Act following a strike vote under NLRB auspices and a 30 day "cooling off" wait as prescribed by law. But Roosevelt, who vetoed the Smith-Connally Act because it wasn't air-tight enough, is using the main provisions of the act to break the strikes. It is illegal to strike in war industries taken over by the government.

In the Ford case last spring, the NLRB ruled that supervisory employees can have a union, but they cannot have collective bargaining rights. The owning class is extremely disturbed by the fact that those employees it customarily uses to drive the rest of the workers are beginning to join with the workers against the employers.

Since 60 more strike votes are being taken in Pennsylvania, West Virginia and Kentucky mines, the Administration is preparing to expedite its strike-breaking procedure so that it will not be necessary for Roosevelt to sign individual papers directing the seizure of each separate group of mines.

John L. Lewis and the UMW International Board have refused to order the strikers back to work. The strikes of the supervisory employees are proving effective because state laws prohibit the operation of the mines without them on the job.

One of the major demands of the CIO United Automobile Workers in the current General Motors wage hearings before the WLB is for the establishment by the corporation of a \$150,000,000 employment fund as a "post-war shock absorber."

In presenting the union's arguments before the WLB recently, UAW Vice President Walter Reuther pointed out that the corporation "has created a post-war plant rehabilitation contingency fund of \$150,000,000. If it can create out of high wartime profits this fund for the protection of the stockholders it should provide an equal sum for workers and returning servicemen."

Reuther stated there was "too much discrimination" between the \$150 an hour paid in 1943 to GM President Charles E. Wilson and the 65 cents an hour paid Joe Wilson, one of the workers.

Reuther's very sound arguments were made before the pro-corporation WLB, which has indicated in advance that its function is to enforce the wage freeze, not give justice to the workers. Reuther might just as well have saved his breath. The only convincing arguments the employers and their government can grasp is direct militant union action—something Reuther shies away from like a child from castor oil.

While production cutbacks and unemployment are mounting, the employers are stepping up their

campaign for the introduction of speedup "incentive pay" piece-work systems.

Business Week, September 2 issue, gives a big boost to this method for getting more work for less pay out of the wage-earners. It reports that in the past 18 months the WLB has approved various forms of the "incentive pay" plan for over 3,000 plants. Business Week gives some figures showing just why the employers like this scheme for pitting worker against worker which "makes young men old, and puts old men in the grave." Statistics covering 1,000 plants reveal that for an increase of 15 to 20 per cent in wages, the workers turn out 40 per cent more production.

However, employers, who have been making patriotic appeals for more production, are not taking to the proposal for pay raises in direct proportion to the increase in production. Their interest in increasing production stops when they cannot realize greater profits from it.

George Baldanzi, Executive Vice-President of the CIO Textile Workers Union, and Luigi Antonini, First Vice-President of the AFL International Ladies Garment Workers Union, have been in Italy as representatives of the CIO and AFL.

They have sent back a report denouncing the wage rates paid the Italian workers under the rule of the Allied "liberators." In a typical case, cited by the two American labor spokesmen, a worker's earnings was less than 25 cents a day. "I don't understand," said Baldanzi, "why the Italian worker should now earn less than he earned under the German and Fascist governments. The situation is fantastic. It is a shame for our democracy."

CIO President Philip Murray is reported to have had a "testy conference" with Robert E. Hannegan recently, charging the latter with attempting to intervene on behalf of the company in an NLRB case between the United Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Employees and the big Famous-Barr department store in St. Louis, Mo.

According to Harold J. Gibbons, Director of the union's Joint Council in St. Louis, union officials received information from reliable sources that Hannegan had approached NLRB members and urged them to decide against the union's request for a new NLRB election.

Pro-Roosevelt labor circles are all in a dither because Hannegan was chairman of the Democratic National Convention, and was the main sponsor of Truman for Vice President. He is also in charge of the Roosevelt campaign.

AFL Vice President Matthew Woll, in a Labor Day statement, sounded an alarm against a "concerted assault on the organized labor movement as soon as the war is over." He stressed that it is "precisely in periods of unemployment" that the enemies of labor "will seek to deal both the AFL and CIO . . . a crippling if not a death blow." He added: "Unless a united labor movement makes adequate preparations now for protection against the inevitable reactionary onslaught, labor in the post-war world will be a debased commodity, entirely vulnerable to the effects of unemployment, insecurity and industrial chaos."

Woll makes a very strong case for labor unity. Unfortunately, he himself supports the divisive policies of the AFL craft union moguls who insist that the basis for labor unity shall be the subordination or destruction of industrial unionism.

New 'Militant' Readers Offered Four Pamphlets On The Minneapolis Labor Case At Half Price

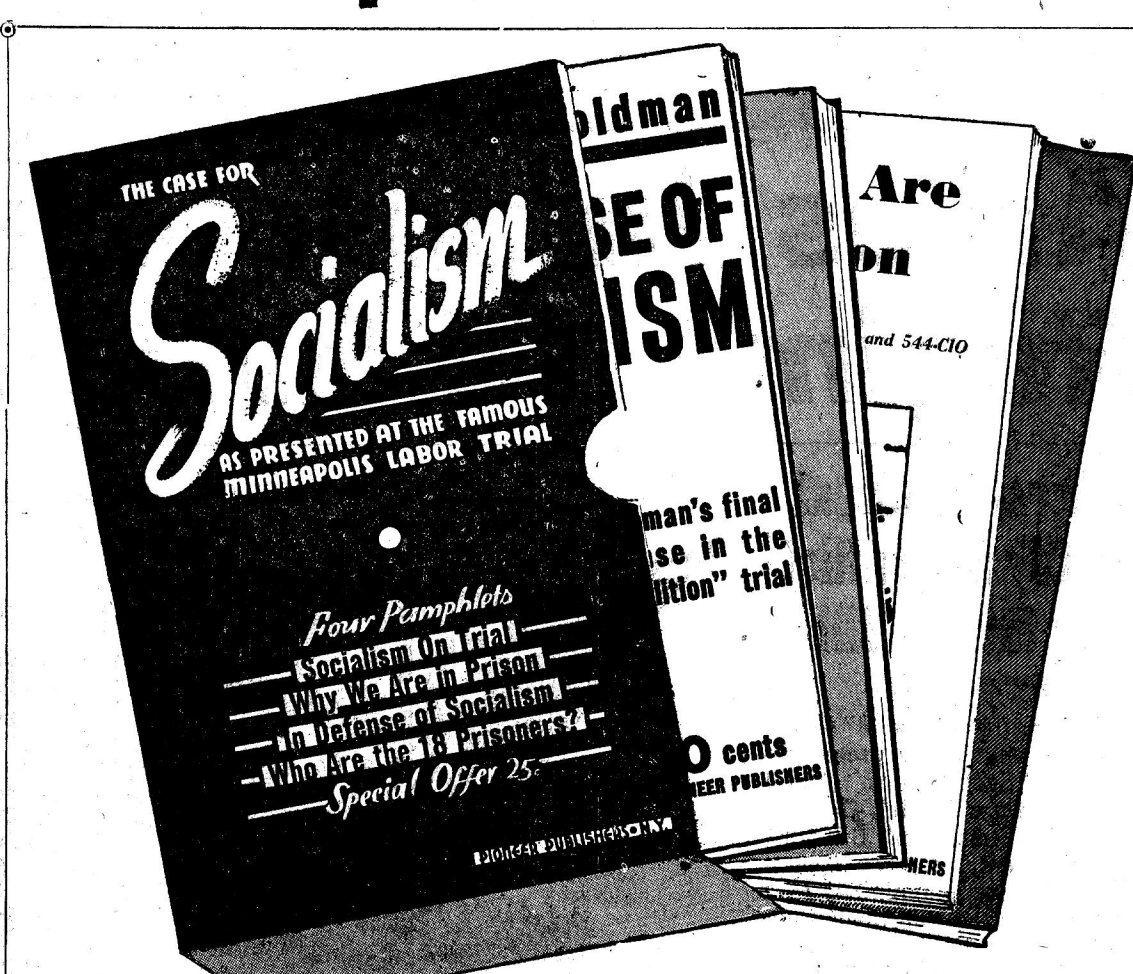
Pioneer Publishers has just announced a special offer to the 7,000 new readers of *The Militant* who are receiving 3-month trial subscriptions. A set of four important pamphlets concerning the Minneapolis Labor Case, which regularly sell for 50 cents, will be offered for only 25 cents to these new readers by agents of *The Militant* who will personally call upon the subscribers within the next few weeks.

This set of pamphlets is a splendid introduction to the basic ideas of the Trotskyist movement. It includes James P. Cannon's testimony in the Minneapolis court, "Socialism on Trial;" A. Goldman's summation to the jury, "In Defense of Socialism;" the pamphlet "Why We Are in Prison," explaining the motives behind the prosecution; and "Who Are the Defendants in the Minneapolis Labor Case?" published by the Civil Rights Defense Committee, giving the background of the imprisoned 18.

"Socialism on Trial" presents the opinions of the Socialist Workers Party, expressed by the party's National Secretary. It is a transcript of the actual court proceedings, reprinted in its original question-and-answer form. Workers who have relatively little time for study will find it easy to turn to the answer covering those problems of the socialist movement in which they are particularly interested. The form is simple, concise, and direct.

The wide sale of all four of these pamphlets at their regular prices, and the favorable comments received about them, dictated their choice by Pioneer Publishers as the best possible introduction to socialism. Not less important is the fact that this group of pamphlets supplies a thorough understanding of the Minneapolis Labor Case, first conviction under the vicious Smith "Gag" Act, which sets a dangerous precedent for persecution of all militant leaders in the labor movement.

Branches of the Socialist Workers Party will undertake the sale of the pamphlets to subscribers of *The Militant*. Quotas have been assigned on the basis of the number of new readers of *The Militant* in each area. The results obtained will be listed from week to week with a report of experi-



The four pamphlets above, packed in an attractive box, are being offered to new readers of THE MILITANT for only 25c, by Pioneer Publishers. The regular price is 50c.

ences and suggestions. The first reports have already come in from two branches which have done some preliminary work in preparation for the formal opening of the Pioneer campaign this week.

SAN FRANCISCO writes: "San Francisco has accepted the quota of 175 sets of pamphlets. Since we have already ordered 100, we will now place the order for the additional 75. . . To date we have disposed of 10 sets in conjunction with our regular recall work."

NEW YORK reports: "Several teams from the East Side, West Side, and Bklyn. Branches have begun work on the pamphlet campaign. About a dozen sets have been sold, and the comrades are discussing their experiences in the branches to help lay out an effective plan of work. An all-out mobilization is planned for Tuesday evening."



New York's experimental work on the new campaign has already brought fine results in renewals. Several branches have sent out special teams which have thus far brought in eight six-month and one one-year subscriptions. The comrades discovered when they knocked on the door of a new Militant reader and explained that they were from *The Militant* and would like to come in and talk about the paper and its ideas, they got a friendly invitation from the overwhelming majority to come in and sit down.

The one-year sub was secured by two comrades from an old Italian socialist. He was very enthusiastic about the paper; read it through every week; and agreed with our program. Before the comrades left they drank a toast with him to a Socialist Italy.

There were many more sympathetic comments. One young garment worker said that she didn't read the Daily News and Daily Mirror anymore, except the funnies on Sunday. Every night before she went to sleep she read *The Militant*. "I like what it says about unions and about the war," she said.

Another worker told the com-

Notice To Subscribers

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

Send the zone number to: **Business Manager** 116 UNIVERSITY PLACE NEW YORK 3, N. Y.

rades, "This is a real socialist paper."

In many homes the comrades had good discussions with workers who liked the paper and were interested in many questions relating to the party and its program. Such questions were asked as, "What do you think of Lewis and the miner's strike?"; "What do you think of Roosevelt?"; "Is it right to criticize Stalin now?"; "What will happen to the small business men under socialism?"

In answering these questions the Minneapolis trial pamphlets were invaluable. For instance, in answering the last question, the comrade took out James P. Cannon's "Socialism on Trial," opened it up to the section dealing with small business men and socialism, and read it together with the worker he was visiting.

In most instances those who bought subs also bought the four trial pamphlets for 25 cents. In a number of cases where the new readers were not yet ready to take a regular sub, they bought the pamphlets, and will be revisited for a regular sub.

Many branches continue to send in trial subs, sold to contacts. In the past week Wisconsin has sent in two, Chicago one, and San

Impressions Of A Participant At Mid-West Vacation School

By Theodore Kovalesky

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

This discipline was everywhere apparent. It was not the police-discipline of the military camp, but rather the deep inner discipline of people who are accustomed to acting in an organized manner under the guidance of elected leaders. When someone assigned you, for instance, to peel potatoes at the time you had planned to go swimming, you made a wry face—but you peeled them, plenty of them, and you didn't even feel annoyed. These assignments were carried out just as assiduously as *The Militant* distributions or pamphlet sales are conducted back in the party branches, where everybody knows how much work there is to be done and contributes to the limit of his or her ability.

WORKER-COMRADES Oh, yes, there were many things that you noticed. You were struck particularly by the clear-eyed comrades, who sat eagerly listening to the one-hour lectures. These were held three times a day and followed by discussion periods, out there at the little Michigan lake far from the time-studied turmoil of the shops and the seething blasts of the furnaces. It was inspiring to see these workers, young and old, Negro and white, men and women, joining in the discussions of Marxist economics, history, and politics, of trade union policies and organizational questions, straining to learn the maximum that they could absorb in the short time that had been allotted them.

And after the classes the matter did not come to an end. Here and there you saw little groups formed, not exclusive groups, but expanding knots of people who continued to discuss and clarify and exchange opinions of how such and such a matter had been disposed of in this branch and what had been learned from a tactical error in that branch. You watched an attractive girl in her early twenties deep in an earnest conversation with a gray-haired man with a lined brow. Out in the open not far from the sleeping quarters you heard a trio composed of the distant cheers and laughter of a group of young comrades playing ball and the shouts of a nearer band of romping children, combined with the chatter of a typewriter, which drifted from a nearby window.

There was fun, so much of it, that it alone made the vacation a memorable event. But there was an underlying, ever-present seriousness, an all-pervading knowledge of the historical tasks of the party and of the necessity to prepare for them in every possible way, that arrested your attention and made you very proud to be one of these working class fighters.

It was stimulating to hear the impromptu choruses that gathered about the piano. A young Negro girl with a lovely, clear, sweet voice that might some day be great sang the "Desert Song," but mostly the music consisted of the sturdy songs of the workers' movement, marching songs sparkling with passionate optimism, trenchant parodies of the boss class and the renegades of past days, dirges that mourned of our martyrs who had gone cheerfully and with quiet dignity to death that Man might one day be free, and that the children of Man might grow up strong and happy in the sunshine and the live air of springtime.

Going out of the brightly lighted recreation hall into the cool, quiet darkness, under a sky beset with an incredibly great number of stars, you still heard the songs. You looked out across the lake, past the black rim of trees on the other shore. And you knew that far beyond those peaceful shadows there were cities and factories, workers toiling feverishly in the shops, pouring out their sweat on the furnaces, consorting with death in the black recess of the mines; and soldiers and sailors of all lands, whose lives were being wrested from them in agony and despair.

You heard faintly the voices of the singers in the hall: "Arise, ye prisoners of starvation," and you knew that behind those gleaming windows was being developed and tempered the instrument that alone can rid society of its anguish and disease, the World Party of the Socialist Revolution. The distant melody persists: "Arise, ye wretched of the world, For Justice thunders condemnation. A better world's in birth. . . And the cruel majesty of the tyrants fades, and you catch a glimpse of the new day of peace and self-fulfillment for all peoples. . . the vision of the Socialist society of tomorrow."

SWP HOLDS SUCCESSFUL SUMMER CAMP SCHOOL

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

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

Second week: "The History of American Trotskyism," Charles Carsten; "Democratic Centralism," Mark Braden; "History of the American Labor Movement," Lydia Beidel; "Colonial Struggles," Bob Birchman.

Three classes a day were held, morning, afternoon and evening. After presentation of the subject by the instructor the floor was opened for questions and discussion.

In addition, two lectures were given by E. R. Frank, one on "The Italian Events," and the other on "The Rise of the CIO." Response to the announcement

of the school was much greater than anticipated. Because of limited facilities it was impossible to accept all the applications and many, unfortunately, had to be turned away.

OVERFLOW CROWD

Situated on a wooded slope beside a small lake in central Michigan, the camp proved ideal for sports—softball, swimming, boating, archery, fishing and hiking. When rain cancelled some of the contests, chess, checkers and ping pong proved popular. Outstanding event of the social activities was a "weinie" roast around an oak fire followed by an amateur show with V. Grey of Buffalo as master of ceremonies.

Despite the unexpectedly great number of enrollees, the camp, organized under the auspices of the Detroit Branch of the Socialist Workers Party, functioned with exceptional smoothness. Assignments in the commissary were made by rotation. To free mothers for the classes, children were placed under a supervisor in the large playground beside the beach.

COMMENTS ON SCHOOL

Typical comments indicate the success of the school:

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

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

AN INSTRUCTOR: "From this experience I can see where we can make some big improvements. It was good this year but by the time we've worked out the ideas we gained from the classes we'll have the beginning of a professional Marxist school."

OLD TIMER: "The best school I've ever attended—and I've been to a lot of camps in the radical movement in the past. This is an indication of what we're really going to have in the future."

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

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Labor Fakers Vie With Each Other In Backing Roosevelt

By Harry Martell

AFL and CIO labor skates are at each other's throats, scrambling for a place at Roosevelt's coattails. For every dollar of the worker's money spent by the Political Action Committee of the CIO, the AFL politicians now propose to double or triple the ante from the treasuries of their international unions to elect Roosevelt for a fourth term.

Victor Reisel of the New York Post (Aug. 23rd) says that the "Federation will make the CIO's still-to-be-collected \$5,000,000 campaign fund look like a Sunday school charity collection." Teamster's President Tobin, to cite only one case, "has already spent nearly \$1,000,000 for President Roosevelt's re-election."

AFL AND PAC

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

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

The only grain of truth in what Pearl says is that the organization of the PAC was a signal to the flunkies of Big Business on Capitol Hill and in the White House that the CIO leaders were surrendering the independent power of the workers on the political field in the same manner they had already done by the no-strike pledge and by submission to the WLB on the economic field. Just as the no-strike pledge helped to spur anti-labor measures in the past, so the craven program of the PAC has emboldened Congress to kill labor-supported bills today.

Without their own party based on the unions, American workers are powerless to defend themselves against the blows of reaction. Pearl asks: Who is the PAC going to convert politically? If the answer to this question is a dismal negative, it is not because the PAC is the political arm of the CIO, as Pearl would have us believe. It is because it offers no independent and fighting program to the American workers. The PAC is a pawn of the Roosevelt Administration.

AFL POLICY

The AFL skates intend to go their colleagues in the CIO one better. Aside from supporting Roosevelt and Truman, they will oppose candidates endorsed by the PAC. So for example, they switched their support in California from a Democrat to a Republican congressional candidate in order to oppose the PAC. The AFL skates, as is to be expected, have no other program than to jump from the Democratic frying pan into the Republican fire. The object of these political shenanigans is to prove to the boss in the White House that they have as much or more command over the so-called "labor vote" as the CIO. What they are really demonstrating is their treachery to the real interests of labor.

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

The AFL and PAC misleaders are squandering the hard earned money of the American workers by trying to "buy" Roosevelt. They won't "buy" even a small concession from him. The millions of unionists will continue to be sold by the Murphys and the Greens to capitalist parties and politicians until they organize their own great power in an independent Labor Party.

Tobin Inspires Frameup Of Militant Union Head

MINNEAPOLIS, Sept. 2. — Daniel J. Tobin, AFL Teamster's czar who helped engineer the frameup prosecution of the 18 imprisoned Socialist Workers Party and Minneapolis Truck-drivers Local 544-CIO leaders, is continuing his efforts to wipe out the progressive forces in the Minneapolis labor movement. Tobin's agents recently centered their attack against John Janasco, business agent and secretary-treasurer of Minneapolis Local 1859, AFL International Upholsterers' Union.

At the instigation of Tobin and his representatives, the Upholsterers' International President, Sal B. Hoffman, has suspended Janasco from his union on a series of trumped-up charges and ordered him to stand trial on September 20. The charges allege that Janasco violated the IUU constitution by publishing *News and Views*, organ of the Furniture and Wood Workers Credit Union No. 410, which had issued accounts of the attempts of Tobin's Local 544-AFL to raid the established jurisdiction of Local 1859, IUU.

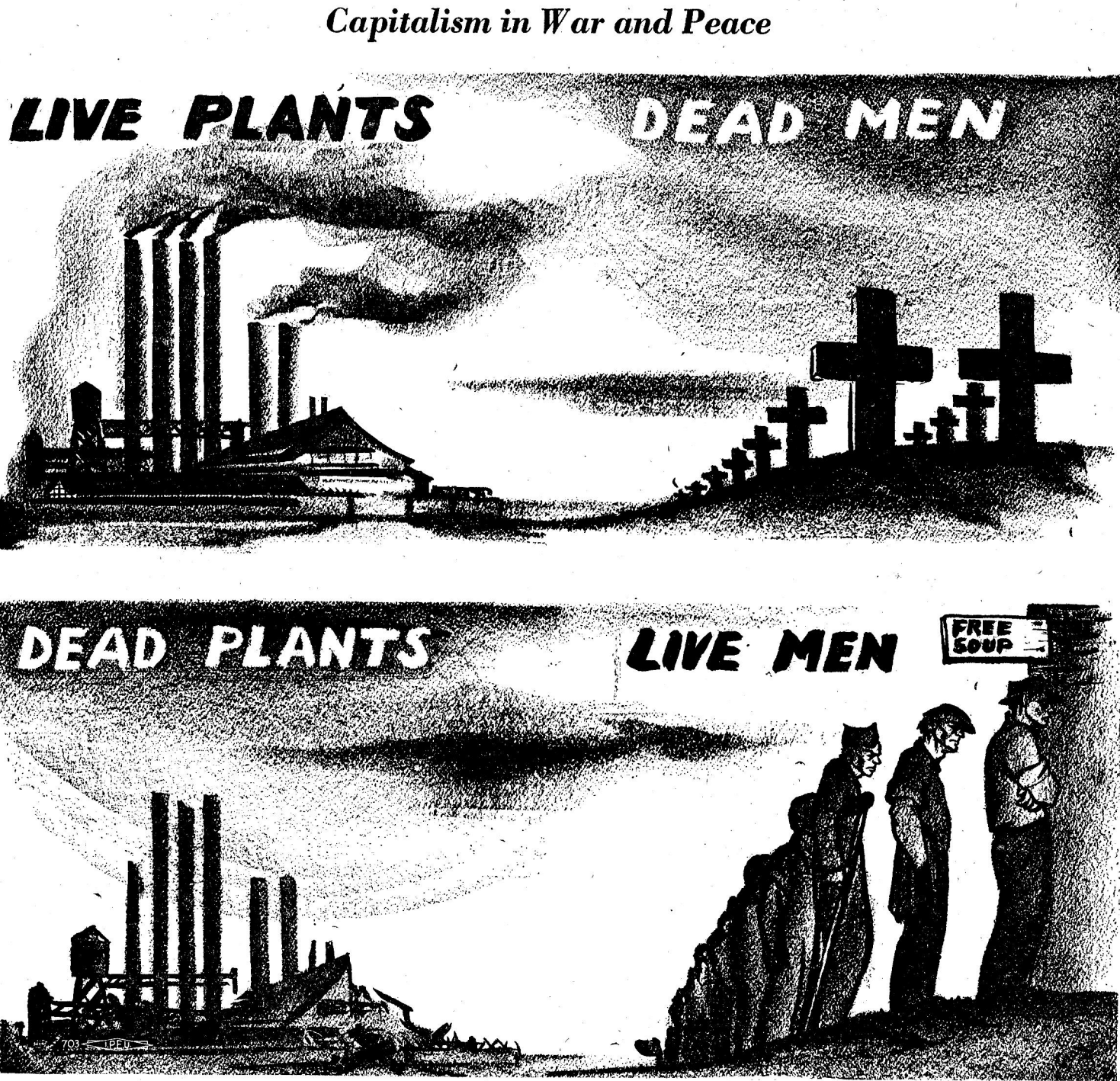
Although the Credit Union is not connected with the Furniture Workers Union, which has no con-

rol over *News and Views*, Janasco was charged with participation in the publication "through subterfuge." Actually, the Local 1859 membership had voted to subscribe to *News and Views* and to supply it with news of Local 1859 activity.

The real intent of the charges are revealed in that section which accuses Janasco, who has nothing to do with the management of *News and Views*, of "causing to be employed" on the staff of the publication "one Miles Dunne," former President of Minneapolis Local 544-CIO who was acquitted as one of the defendants in the Minneapolis Labor Case trial.

Proof of the complicity of the Tobin machine in this latest frameup attempt against Minneapolis union militants is contained in the August issue of *The International Teamster*, Tobin's monthly organ. An article by Sidney Brennan, International Vice-President and Secretary-Treasurer of Local 544-AFL, discloses that "we preferred charges against Janasco as a suspected Trotskyite" before the Minneapolis Central Labor Union.

Janasco has issued a full refutation of the charges and is preparing to make a vigorous fight for his reinstatement.



Hiring Hall Rights Threatened In Longshoremen's Negotiations

(Continued from page 1)

The role of the dispatcher has lost none of its importance now under wartime conditions with jobs plentiful. A reactionary dispatcher can invoke all kinds of penalties initiated since the beginning of the war for regimenting the longshoremen. The election of dispatchers gives the workers the opportunity of selecting men more responsive to its demands. Appointed dispatchers would be in a position to callously disregard the ranks.

"IMPARTIAL CHAIRMAN"

The proposal for the appointment of dispatchers serves the employers as a bridge for encroachment on the independence of the hiring hall. Under the terms of the proposed contract, the "impartial" coastwise chairman of the Labor Relations Committee appoints agents in each port to serve in similar capacity. Since experience has amply proven that these so-called "impartial" chairmen usually side with the employers, the bosses have here a mechanism for controlling the selection of dispatchers. Pressure would be brought to bear on the union members of the Labor Relations Committee and the employers, reinforced by the chairman, would certainly demand concessions on the question of the hiring hall. Since the policy of the Bridges clique has been to grant any concessions in the name of increasing efficiency, the employers would be able to make serious inroads into the hiring hall.

The decision of the longshore conference against the undemocratic proposal of the Bridges clique reflects the hostility of the rank and file against encroachments on the independence of the hiring hall. In the meantime the employers are undoubtedly preparing to demand concessions during negotiations. The rank and file must watch vigilantly against betrayal by the Bridges-led negotiating committee.

Since American imperialism plans the revival of world trade by cutbacks at home, it must cut down the cost of production. In the longshore industry this can best be accomplished by increasing slingshots, abolishing safety provisions and cutting wages. The destruction of union conditions will lead ultimately to the destruction of the hiring hall.

BRIDGES POLICY

The employers have not yet succeeded in completely regimenting the longshoremen and in undermining their union. But they are laying the foundation in many ways. At present their chief weapon is the Maritime Industry Board (MIB). (For a history of its origin see the article by C. Thomas: "West Coast Longshoremen and the Bridges Plan," *Fourth International*, Dec. 1942.) In a speech to the Industrial

Relations Section of the Commonwealth Club on April 8, 1942 in San Francisco, Harry Bridges declared:

"The ILWU, a large part of which embraces the loading and discharging of practically all ships entering Pacific Coast ports, proposed to the government and to the employers a plan to have

"Off The Beam"

In the current slander campaign against the Trotskyists Harry Bridges has given a prize example of the Stalinist technique of twisting facts into their opposite to further their reactionary political aims. In his column in the Aug. 11 *CIO Longshoremen's Dispatcher* Bridges makes the startling discovery that Attorney General Francis Biddle is "Number One on the list" of "people who pal around with them (the Trotskyists) and go a long way to protect them."

Every informed person in the labor movement knows that Biddle was instrumental in railroadings to prison the 18 Trotskyist leaders in the Minneapolis Labor Case. Biddle "protects" them by putting them behind bars because of their socialist ideas and labor activities. And he is now using the precedent set in their case in the Department of Justice's deportation proceedings against Bridges.

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

the entire longshore industry of the Pacific Coast operated exclusively under the control of a joint management-labor-government board. We devised the program and pushed for its adoption.

"In proposing the establishment of such a board, the union agreed to set aside any and all provisions of its entire collective bargaining agreement if any such provisions of the contract blocked an all-out war-effort."

An arbitrary order by Admiral Land, setting aside the arbitration machinery of the contract and empowering the MIB to make decisions on disputed issues, was accepted by the Bridges clique to demonstrate its willingness to make concessions to the bosses. Bridges has earned high praise from brass hats responsible for army and navy cargoes on the west coast for his efforts to sacrifice union conditions in order to speed up the movement of cargo.

ROLE OF MIB

The employers, quick to see the advantages of the MIB, have fully exploited the willingness of the Bridges clique to sacrifice the

longshoremen's conditions. The right to discipline union members was turned over to the MIB. Walking bosses were given authority to arbitrarily fire workers from the job. Actions of solidarity were penalized. A minimum average work week of fifty hours was established in San Francisco. Most important of all, administrative assistants were assigned to supervise dispatching in the hiring halls in the major ports with power to suspend dispatchers for laxity in execution of MIB orders.

All this was accepted by the Bridges clique to prove their willingness to cooperate with the shipowners. In addition to infringing on the hiring hall, the MIB set about laying the basis for the recruitment of a non-union working force. It set up machinery separate and apart from the hiring hall, in conjunction with the U. S. Employment Service and the War Manpower Commission. One of these abortive attempts was made in May 1943. The *ILWU Dispatcher*, May 21, 1943, reports it as follows:

"It was learned this week that Chairman Paul Eliel of the Pacific Coast MIB has conferred with Joseph P. Ryan, exponent of the vicious shape-up system with a view to transferring east coast longshoremen to Pacific Ports. After conferring with Ryan in Tacoma, Wash., Eliel announced that he and his staff were 'taking full control' of longshore recruiting. Then he launched into a bitter attack upon the ILWU and President Bridges."

The employers took up the cue a few months later. The *Dispatcher* (Nov. 19, 1943) relates:

"In the most flagrant attempt yet made to use the MIB as a union smashing instrument, Frank P. Foisie, President of the Waterfront Employers Ass'n, has proposed that the board outlaw the payment of initiations and dues by new men coming into the industry."

UNION MOVES

In a futile effort to encompass the 30,000 civil service workers held in army and navy pools up and down the coast, union representatives on the MIB proposed the establishment of a single labor pool, on the basis of the union hiring hall, in order to increase efficiency. This suggestion was contemptuously rejected by the employers and Eliel who recognize the value of a huge reservoir of unorganized longshoremen in the coming struggles.

To meet this offensive of the MIB, the union threw its books wide open. A decision of the June 1943 convention of the ILWU put an end to the permit system and provided for taking in thousands of new members on a six months probationary basis to be followed by full membership status. In this way, Negro workers, who were previously denied membership because of difficulty of getting

Uruguay Trotskyists Fight Gov't. Attack

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

Replying to the socialist deputy, Dr. Jose Pedro Cardozo, on the matter of making strikes a criminal offense in the Swift packing-plant National Frigorifico, the Minister attacked the Revolutionary Workers League in a long speech in the Chamber of Deputies. In the course of this speech, he completely distorted the aims and ideas of Trotskyism. The R. W. L. addressed an open letter to Dr. Cardozo in answer to this attack.

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

ANSWERS LIES

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

The Uruguayan Trotskyists then take up the Minister's lies and slanders, one by one. The latter had charged them in his speech with advocating strikes as "revolutionary exercise." To this ridiculous charge, our co-thinkers reply:

"We never preach the strike as 'revolutionary exercise,' as the Minister of the Interior says. We consider the strike as the only weapon that the workers possess to obtain their transitional demands and consequently we advise them to defend this fundamental right by all possible means. . . . As revolutionists, we understand perfectly well that any conflict between capital and labor which is artificially provoked leads only to the demoralization of the workers and the destruction of their trade union organizations. Are we the ones that provoked the recent strikes? Or are the economic conditions the cause, the low wages and the high cost of living that drove the workers to action? We call attention to the fact that the recent conflicts were directed not by us, but by the regular trade union organization, the U.G.T."

ATTITUDE TOWARD VOTE

The capitalist Minister further accused the R.W.L. of opposing the use of the ballot, of renouncing participation in parliamentary elections. The Trotskyists counter this lie with the following exposition of their real stand:

"As Marxists we know perfectly well that all class struggles are

political struggles and consequently, that the workers must acquire their political consciousness. Why, then, would we try to destroy the only arms we have, the democratic rights with which the proletariat can acquire consciousness and prepare itself for the next great task which history gives it: that of forging the socialist society?"

"What methods to use?" the open letter continues. "That does not depend on us, but on the old society which is opposed to the change. If it will permit a peaceful change, why use other methods? But just as feudal society did not abandon the arena of history except through the profoundly violent methods which the bourgeoisie used to fulfill its historic mission, we believe that the latter will not abandon its privileges and will not permit the proletariat to construct the socialist society except by means of social revolution."

IMPERIALIST WAR

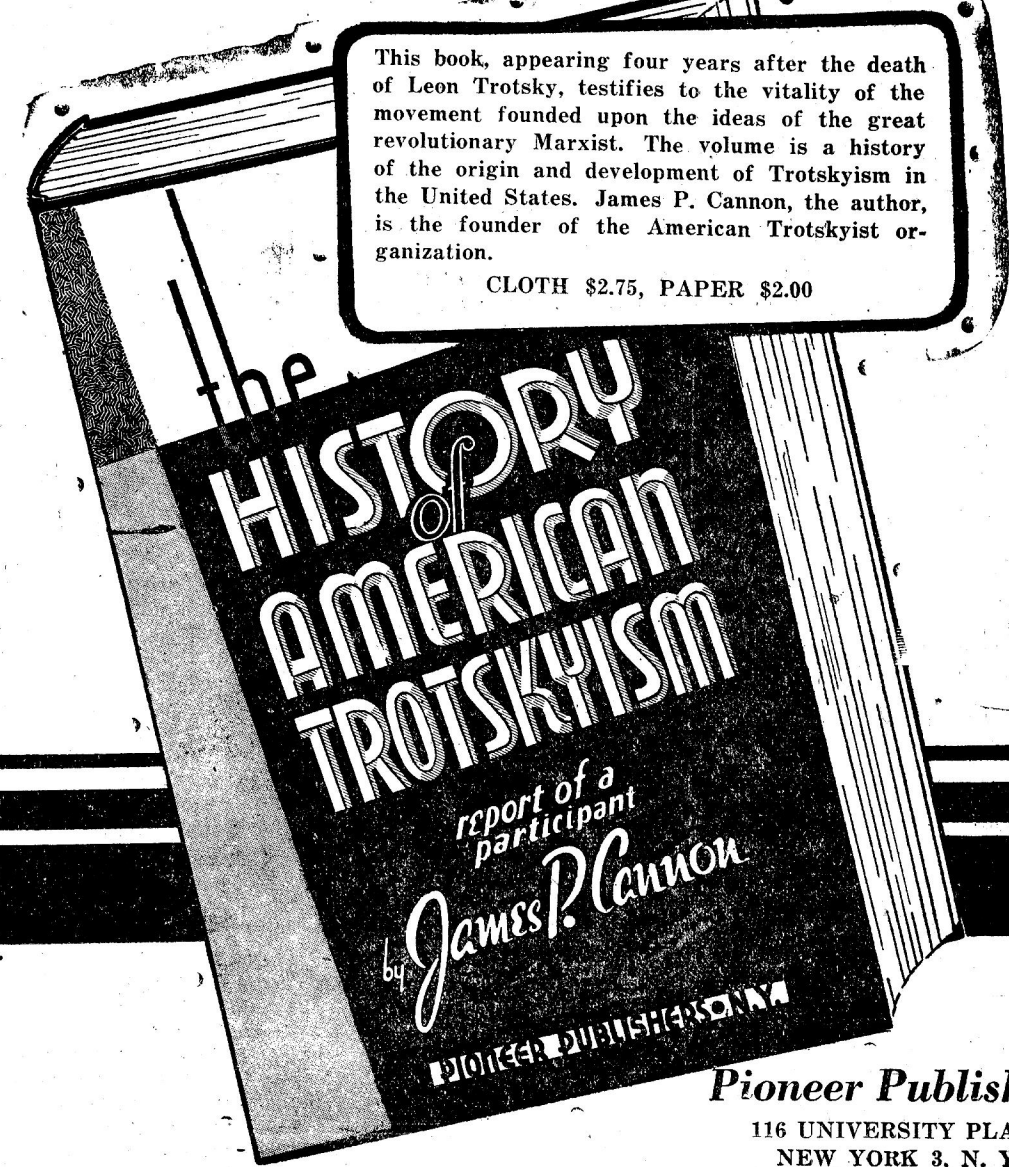
As to the charge that the Trotskyists consider the present war as imperialist war, the open letter "pleads guilty" to that and goes on to explain:

"We characterize this war as an imperialist war — as the Minister of the Interior states — because all the countries that participate in it *except the Soviet Union*, do so for imperialist interests. This war will be really and truly for democracy only when the peoples take into their own hands the conduct of the war. Does the policy favor a Hitler victory? We defy anyone to show us one single act of ours that has favored the development of Nazisms. No one desires the defeat of Hitler as we do and since 1930 Trotskyism has been the only force that warned of the Nazi danger, while the British and yankee capitalists supported the economic development of Nazism."

Besides refuting the base slanders of the Minister, the open letter exposes the role of the Stalinists in aiding the government's anti-working class campaign and takes advantage of the opportunity to put forward the basic ideas of Trotskyism. It is being distributed among the workers of Uruguay and has received a wide response. In Uruguay, as elsewhere, the Trotskyists are showing that they know how to meet reactionary attacks and redouble their efforts in the very face of persecution.

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