

Wall Street's 'Post-War' Plan

By The Editors

The military collapse of Germany will bring immediate unemployment for 8,000,000 American workers. This is a conservative estimate based on the announcement of the War Production Board that the defeat of Germany will be followed by a drastic cutback in war production. The production cutback, estimated at from 40 to 70 percent, will be carried out along the line of the Brewster shutdown with the workers thrown into the streets without so much as a fare-thee-well. This is the X-Day plan of the Roosevelt administration, a plan which has met with the full approval of the Republican party, and follows the pattern laid down by Wall Street's Baruch-Hancock report as embodied in legislation adopted by Congress.

In reality there are two plans for the so-called "reconversion" period. One, for the speculators, stockjobbers, bankers and cost-plus patriots who have grown fat on war profits. The other, for the workers who have borne the main brunt of the war.

For the million-dollar corporation, Congress has passed the George-Murray Contract Terminations Bill which provides extremely generous cash payments to war contractors upon the cutback of war production. Further, the carry-back provisions of the tax law guarantee the corporations a handsome profit during the reconversion period. That is, the profits go on for the period in which the plants are shut down in preparation for conversion to civilian production. All the necessary measures have been taken — and more — to ease Big Business over the reconversion hump. The plan for the relief of the greedy has been generously drawn and liberally executed.

Big Business profits which were twice as high in 1942 as in the peak year of 1929, reached new record-breaking levels in 1943. Now Congress has guaranteed that the golden shower will continue. A big slice of these record-breaking profits have been accumulated in capital reserves which have pyramided to the highest levels in all history. No bankers or industrialists will have to apply for their "states rights" unemployment compensation on X-Day!

The reconversion plan for the workers is far different. Freezing of wages in the face of constantly rising cost of living, cutbacks in war production which have drastically reduced the amount of "take home" wages, due to downgrading and reduction in hours, the increasing burden of taxes imposed on those least able to pay plus disemployment because of cutbacks and contract terminations, have left the workers with no "capital reserves" to tide them over the "reconversion" period. The Kilgore bill which made a few feeble gestures toward dealing with the "human side" of demobilization was summarily discarded by Congress in favor of the George "states rights" unemployment compensation measure. The George bill provides for the payment of starvation relief according to the unemployment compensation laws of the several states which in some instances are as low as \$2 and \$3 a week, payable for a limited number of weeks, to those fortunate enough to meet the strict eligibility requirements. For the workers, X-Day will bring unemployment, insecurity and want — the full fruits of Roosevelt's "equality of sacrifice" program.

To crown the X-Day reconversion plans, the government has already provided for the "free enterprise" disposal of government-owned plant and equipment comprising one-fourth of the nation's total productive capacity. Twenty-five giant corporations operate the bulk of the new government-owned industrial empire built up during the war with public funds. The legislation already adopted, based on the Baruch plan, provides for turning over the government-owned plant and equipment to private ownership for a song. Under monopoly control, production is curtailed, output is reduced, and plants shut down in order to maintain monopoly prices. The monopolists' sole interest in production is profits.

Monopoly control of production means the sabotage of production; idle plants in the midst of mass unemployment, hunger in the midst of potential plenty. The 8,000,000 workers who will be "disemployed" on X-Day after Germany is defeated will be augmented by additional millions of unemployed in the "post-war" period. It is estimated that a return to the "normalcy" of pre-war production levels which the monopolists now contemplate, spells unemployment for 20,000,000 workers. The plans for the preservation of the "free enterprise" system envisage a permanent army of unemployed pariahs, plowing under plants and equipment along with cotton, corn and live stock; high prices and low wages, company unions and the open shop.

Against the hunger plans of the capitalist class the workers must advance their own plan for full employment by the utilization of all productive capacity. This can only be accomplished by the nationalization of all government-owned plant and equipment and its operation under workers' control. Not a single plant must remain idle! The nationalization of government-owned plant and equipment is the first step toward the nationalization of all industry. Thus and only thus will and can the full productive capacity of the nation be used for the benefit of the people.

For years the labor "statesmen" and liberals have busied themselves drawing up patchwork plans for the "post-war" period. Where this mouse-like fussing hasn't been just a literary exercise it has been downright conscious deception. A plan, if it is meant seriously, cannot be other than a political program. A political program cannot be realized otherwise than through the instrument for advancing the program which is a political party. To support the parties' candidates and program of the capitalist class, either Democrat or Republican, means to support the plans of Wall Street for the "post-war" sabotage of production in the interest of monopoly control.

Against the political program and parties of the capitalist class, both of whom serve the interest of the Wall Street plutocracy, the workers must formulate their own program and organize their own independent labor party.

One of the first planks in the program of a labor party must be: Nationalization of industry under workers' control. Against Wall Street's program of idle plants and unemployment, labor must advance the program of the full utilization of the means of production under the control of the producers, the working masses.

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AUTO MILITANTS PRESS TO SMASH NO-STRIKE PLEDGE

Wall Street's "Reconversion" Plan



Appeal to Aid 18 Signed By Leading Trade Union Heads

Eight prominent trade union and progressive leaders have signed a joint appeal calling upon the American labor movement to support the Civil Rights Defense Committee's campaign to secure freedom and aid the families of the 18 Socialist Workers Party and CIO Truck-drivers Local 544 prisoners in the Minneapolis Labor Case.

The signatories include John Green, President of the CIO Industrial Union of Marine and Shipbuilding Workers; Willard S. Townsend, President of the CIO United Transport Service Employees of America; George Baldanzi, Vice-President of the CIO United Textile Workers Union; Julius Hochman, Manager of the N. Y. Joint Board of the AFL International Ladies Garment Workers Union. Warren K. Billings, famous class-war prisoner, John Dewey, celebrated educator and philosopher, and James T. Farrell, noted novelist and chairman of the CRDC, complete the roster.

CRDC LETTER

Their letter points out that the 18 "have been imprisoned now for over seven months. They are in jail solely because of their political opinions and their labor activities. They are the first victims of the Smith 'Gag' Act — the vicious reactionary statute sponsored by the same poll-tax Congressman Howard Smith who co-authored the Smith-Connally Anti-strike Act.

"The imprisonment of the 18 under this law has made the Minneapolis Labor Case the most important civil liberties issue in the Second World War. Already over 300 union and progressive organizations representing more than 2,000,000 members have supported the work of the CRDC.

"Ever since the 18 went to prison the CRDC has provided relief for their wives and children. Without this aid the families of these persecuted working class leaders would suffer great hardships and privations. In addition, the CRDC needs funds to carry on its national campaign to free the 18 and repeal the Smith 'Gag' Act.

These labor and liberal leaders declare that the Minneapolis Case "directly involves the democratic rights of your union and of yourselves as American citizens. We are carrying on this fight to defend the hard-won rights of the entire American labor movement." They conclude with the request to send contributions to the Civil Rights Defense Committee, 160 Fifth Ave., N. Y. C.

Among this week's contributors to the CRDC are ILGWU Local 144, Newark, N. J.; ILGWU Local 91, New York City; International Association of Machinists AFL, Lodge 682, Reading, Pa. and Workmen's Sick and Death Benefit Fund 19 of Union City, N. J.

Delegates Defeat Attempts To Sidetrack Policy Issues

Thomas Keynote Address Gets No Applause; Rank and File Caucus Set Up At Convention

By Art Preis

GRAND RAPIDS, Mich., Sept. 11 — In a tense atmosphere foretelling a bitter conflict over the no-strike pledge and other key issues, over 2,300 delegates, representing more than one million members, today jammed elbow to elbow in the Civic Auditorium

BULLETIN

GRAND RAPIDS, Mich., Sept. 12—UAW-CIO convention delegates revolted against attempts of union leaders to rush debate on the no-strike pledge resolution, during the closing minutes of this afternoon's session, immediately following Philip Murray's hour-and-a-half address against the movement to rescind the no-strike pledge. Murray used every demagogic trick to whip up sentiment to retain the no-strike pledge. Union officials tried to rush debate, taking fullest advantage of Murray's spellbinding.

Auto delegates, aware of the maneuver of the bureaucrats, shouted "Tomorrow morning!" and forced a postponement of the vote. They passed by a 3-to-1 majority a motion to open debate Wednesday morning to permit a full, free discussion.

here for the opening session of the Ninth Annual Convention of the CIO United Automobile, Aircraft and Agricultural Implement Workers, largest and most dynamic union in America.

The first expression of the impending struggle between the militant ranks and the top leadership exploded this afternoon when the delegates successfully opposed the attempts of the officialdom to place the elections of officers early on the agenda before the discussion of basic issues and to prevent all points of view on the no-strike pledge from being presented in resolutions before the convention.

During the discussion on convention rules, the rules committee, hand-picked by the leadership, made the proposal to hold elections on the fourth day of the convention, which is expected to last seven days. This move was immediately recognized by the delegates as an effort to divert the convention from the main questions into another lengthy factional fight for posts between the top cliques.

APPROVING SHOUTS

A number of leading rank and file delegates took the floor, amid the approving shouts of the assembled workers, and vigorously

opposed the proposal to hold elections before discussions of issues. An overwhelming chorus of support greeted the remarks of delegate Geiger of Flint Buick Local 599 when he exposed the real intent of the proposal. "In previous conventions we have always had these long-winded speeches, with the officers playing politics with the delegates for three or four days. Only after the election of officers would the higher-ups permit discussion on what they wanted and the rest of the important questions would be referred to the incoming executive board for decision. We've spent a lot of money to have our delegates come to this convention, and we want them to decide. We want the elections on the last day of the convention," Geiger concluded forcefully, with a crescendo of approving applause.

Delegate Case of Local 599, declared that "we want the officers to express their opinions on the issues so that we know what every officer's opinion is before we vote."

When the convention voted down the proposed rules by a big majority, the leadership then attempted to make a compromise. The committee returned with a proposal to hold elections on the fifth instead of the fourth day. Delegate DeLorenzo from Brewster Local 365, a member of the rules committee, sensing the will of the conven-

(Continued on page 3)

DeGaulle Government Opposed To Demands Of French Masses

By William F. Warde

FRANCE IS TODAY IN A REVOLUTIONARY SITUATION. This political appraisal is confirmed by numerous facts which have come through the censorship and by the observations of capitalist correspondents in Paris.

All the acute economic and social problems that produced the revolutionary crisis in pre-war France have been aggravated in the extreme by five years of war and the Nazi occupation. While the rich can feast on fine meals at expensive restaurants and on black market foodstuffs, the mass of people suffer from hunger.

The cost of living, it is conservatively estimated, has gone up 300 percent since 1939. Under the Nazi occupation and the Vichy regime wages were frozen as they had been under the preceding Deladier-Reynaud governments. The workers were unable

to effectively combat these conditions because their unions had been crushed.

Here is an index of the worsening of the workers' living standards. Three thousand francs re-

(Continued on page 3)

Profits Go On

Major Paul D. Shriver, Regional Property Control Officer at Rome, has reported that 40 American firms with Roman investments representing some \$30,000,000 had spent the whole war in Rome in the best of health.

The firms included American Express, Otis Elevator, International Business Machines, General Electric, Eastman Kodak, Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer, Warner Bros.

Governments may come and go, millions of men can die, but the Big Business outfits do handsomely on both sides of the imperialist battlelines.

COURT FREES 3 IMPRISONED BRITISH TROTSKYIST LEADERS

The convictions against three of the four British Trotskyist leaders, charged with supporting workers on strike, have been quashed, according to newspaper reports received here.

On August 24 the Court of Criminal Appeals in London allowed the appeals of Rawling Tearse, Heaton Lee, and James ("Jock") Haston. Comrades Tearse and Lee had been sentenced to 12 months' imprisonment and Comrade Haston to 6 months. Justice Humphreys said the reasons for court's decision would be given later.

Together with Comrade Ann Keen, these Trotskyist leaders were indicted, convicted and railroaded to prison in connection with the strike of engineering trades apprentices on the Tyne-side last March. This strike was in protest against the Pit Ballot scheme, introduced by Labor Minister Bevin, whereby apprentices and other workers were to be forcibly drafted for work in the coal mines.

The prosecution of leaders of the Revolutionary Communist Party (Trotskyist) was the first attempt to use the vicious Trade Disputes Act of 1927, to jail labor leaders. That Act, passed by the Tory government after the

smashing of the great General Strike of 1926, had been designed to prevent one section of the working class from aiding another in struggles against the employers.

On the witness stand during their trial, the Trotskyists made a militant defense of their revolutionary socialist principles. They made it clear that they were being primarily victimized because of their revolutionary views and that their avowed support of the struggle of the apprentices had simply served as the pretext for their frameup.

Recognizing this Tory-capitalist attack upon the Trotskyist vanguard as a threat to all labor, the British workers have rallied in growing numbers to their defense. The Anti-Labor Laws Victim's Defense Committee was set up to fight their case and contributions from unions throughout England, have been pouring into the Defense Fund. Soldiers have passed resolutions protesting the persecutions of the Trotskyists and defending the workers' right to strike.

The quashing of the convictions upon appeal testifies to the power of this protest movement which has helped secure freedom for our three imprisoned comrades.

Ex-Ambassador Bullitt Unfurls Banner For Revival Of Anti-Soviet Campaign

By John Marshall

Even before Germany has been defeated, William C. Bullitt, ex-American ambassador to the Soviet Union and France and recently Democratic candidate for mayor of Philadelphia, has unfurled the banner of a new anti-Soviet crusade. In an article written from Rome where he interviewed "well-informed and authoritative personages, among them Pope Pius XII," and published in September 4 issue of *Life* magazine, Bullitt advances the arguments with which imperialist and high Catholic circles are preparing the groundwork for eventual intervention and war against the Soviet Union.

The central theme of Bullitt's article is the coming struggle in Europe between Christianity and Communism. "It is an old picture which has been familiar to the Romans since the time of the Caesars — a picture of Western Europe and Western civilization threatened by hordes of invaders from the East... Dominating the hearts and mind and, indeed, the talk of all men throughout Italy is the question: 'Will the result of this war be the subjugation of Europe by Moscow instead of by Berlin?'"

VATICAN POLICY

The Vatican, says Bullitt, looks to Great Britain to "oppose domination of Europe by the Soviet Union." But "Great Britain will emerge from this war a tired victor," bankrupt and weakened.

Consequently the Vatican stakes its hopes for salvation upon American capitalism: "It is hoped that the vital interests of the U.S. will compel our support of Great Britain..."

Rome fears the expansion of Soviet domination throughout Europe. "The Romans expect the Soviet Union to dominate Finland, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Rumania, Bulgaria, Hungary and Czechoslovakia." Moreover, "the Soviet Union and Great Britain already have made a deal whereby Rumania will be controlled by the Soviet Union while Greece will fall into the British sphere of influence."

According to Bullitt, the Vatican is especially terrified at the prospect of a Soviet-dominated Austria and Yugoslavia. "They

trust that the British, the French and the Americans will be able to keep all Germany west of the Elbe out of communist control..."

Italy, the home of the Holy See itself, is verging on revolution. "The Communists are certain to be much strengthened by the liberation of the north and to emerge from such elections as may be held after the liberation with such a strong minority representation, if not with a majority, that together with the Socialists they might form a majority. If the joint efforts of the British, American and Italian governments fail to prevent starvation and runaway inflation, the Communists surely will be swept into power by waves of suffering."

The only power in Italy that can (Continued on page 2)

TRADE UNION NOTES

By Harry Martell

Militant auto workers are alert to attempts of sections of the UAW leadership to throttle the movement to rescind the No-Strike pledge by means of parliamentary maneuvers. The leading article in the Voice of Local 212, organ of the UAW in the Briggs plants blasts the maneuver to substitute the no-strike pledge to a referendum vote of the membership "as an attempt to utilize the growing sentiment against the pledge for factional purposes within the union and at the same time to behead the movement to smash the 'No-Strike-Pledge' at the September convention."

The article warns the membership of the union: "This is not the first time that the leadership has attempted to utilize the widespread sentiment among the ranks on an issue for their own factional purposes. The policy of the entire top leadership has always been one of first, outright rejection of the demands of the militants of the union and secondly, as in the present case, when the movement around a particular issue grows strong and threatens to be successful, they follow a policy of watering down the proposal as a step toward rejecting it completely."

"An outstanding example of this policy, and one which closely parallels the present movement for a referendum on the 'No-Strike-Pledge' is that experienced by delegates to the Michigan State CIO convention a year ago. Recognizing the widespread sentiment for the building of an independent labor party, the leadership first defeated a resolution which would have placed the convention unequivocally on record for a labor party, and then presented a proposal to conduct a rank and file referendum on this question within 90 days."

"What happened to this convention mandate is now history. The new state executive board... deliberately violated the instructions of the convention and voted not to conduct a referendum as this would conflict with National CIO policy. As a consequence the referendum was never conducted in this issue."

"Our delegates," the article urges, "must go to the convention to make a clear-cut, uncompromising fight to revoke the 'No-Strike-Pledge'. We have faced the attacks and provocations of management unarmed far too long already... This is the only road which can enable us to smash the anti-labor offensive."

"We will not accept any phony substitutes. **'REVOKE THE NO-STRIKE PLEDGE!!!'**"

The movement to re-establish district autonomy in the mine-workers' union will receive a test of strength at the convention of the U.M.W.A. to be held in Cincinnati on September 12. According to The Voice, a paper published by this opposition group, a "vast majority of the rank and file delegates" are supporting this demand for autonomy. Lewis' official paper, the United Mine Workers Journal, recognizes the existence of this movement and condemns it in the leading article in its September 1 issue.

The demand for autonomy is not a new one in the miner's union. Every opposition movement to John L. Lewis for almost twenty years has written this plank into its program. Lewis, on his side, has been able to use the centralized powers of the international to stymie these rebellious groups of miners through the agency of district officials appointed from the top. Twenty-one out of thirty-one districts at the present time are run by appointees of the International

Executive Board. Although the opposition movement to Lewis has shown little strength in the past ten years, the demand for district autonomy has remained popular among the rank and file and has been the key issue in the struggle for democracy in the miners' union.

Genuine as this sentiment is among the rank and file, the motives of the leader of the current demand for district autonomy, Ray Edmundson, are open to deserved suspicion. Edmundson has been a cog in the Lewis machine in the Illinois district for over ten years. He was Lewis' whip against the insurgent movement in that state in the early Thirties. His sudden conversion to the demand of District Autonomy, and the publicity he has received in CIO papers, would make it appear that Philip Murray has a hand in the pie.

Such an alliance would cast a shadow on the whole movement. First, because Murray who sponsored this dictatorial regime with Lewis in the UMW continues this same type of setup in the steel workers union after his break with Lewis. Second, because of the stab-in-the-back Murray delivered to the miners during their fight last year to break the Little Steel formula.

Roosevelt acted with lightning speed to smash the strike of Graphite Bronze workers in Cleveland called by the Mechanics Educational Society. Brushing all formalities aside, he ordered the War Department to seize the struck plants before the walkout was hardly two days old.

In revealing contrast was Roosevelt's order to seize the Hughes Tool Company at Houston Texas owned by Howard Hughes, famous for his aviation exploits and... his open shop policies. Last February the War Labor Board instructed Hughes to sign a contract with the United Steel workers of America (CIO). The management ignored this instruction, as they did order after order by the WLB in the following months. Now after seven months the government finally bestirred itself and seized the plant. It remains to be seen whether this move will secure recognition for the union.

The strike in Cleveland was precipitated by the firing of a committeeman for breaking a seventy-five cent lock on his locker. This action was only part of a new union-busting campaign inaugurated upon the appointment of Fred C. Crawford to the board of directors of the company. Crawford is president of Thompson Products Inc. which has been fighting a UAW organizing drive for seven years. Crawford is also a former president of the National Manufacturers Association.

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.

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Special Offer Of Trial Pamphlets Made To Readers Of 'The Militant'

By Campaign Manager

Reports already coming in from branches of the Socialist Workers Party show how favorably workers all over the country are responding to both The Militant and the special pamphlet offer made by Pioneer Publishers.

Our agents are calling on readers who have been receiving 3-month trial subscriptions to The Militant, and selling them regular subscription renewals and a set of four important pamphlets on the Minneapolis Labor Case. These pamphlets, which regularly sell for 50 cents, are being offered to the new Militant readers for only 25 cents. The set includes James P. Cannon's testimony in the Minneapolis Court, "Socialism on Trial," Albert 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 18 Prisoners in the Minneapolis Labor Case?," published by the Civil Rights Defense Committee, giving the background of the defendants, and their record of service in the labor movement.

The readiness with which new Militant readers are buying the set, shows how eager they are to learn more about the ideas expressed in our paper. The pamphlets make a splendid introduction to the basic principles of Trotskyism, presented in simple, concise form. Questions asked of our comrades by the readers, are clearly answered in the pamphlets; in many cases, they simply open "Socialism on Trial" and point out the answers to important questions, to "make the sale."

The report of the New York Local is a particularly interesting one.

New York: On September 4, the East and West Side branches of Local New York opened the call-back and literature campaign with branch-wide mobilizations. The comrades found that when they said they were from The Militant, they got a friendly response from the vast majority of the new readers. All the comrades went out in teams of two.

The East Side members sold a number of six-month subscriptions, and had many good discussions with readers who invited them to return.

The West Side comrades saw forty new trial subscribers. Nine of these took six-month subscriptions, one took a year sub, and ten sets of trial pamphlets were sold, making both a renewal and pamphlet sale average of 25 percent. We spoke to and sold subs to garment workers, restaurant workers, building trades workers etc. We found that the best method of ascertaining the opinions of our readers is to open up a copy of The Militant, and in this way to encourage the new readers to discuss the articles in The Militant which they particularly like.

In this first mobilization, the West Side members found that after the renewal subscription to The Militant is obtained, it is then very easy to interest the subscriber in the trial pamphlets. Since by this time the comrade knows what particular topic the subscriber is interested in, he opens up the index of the Cannon pamphlet, "Socialism on Trial," looks up the topic, and shows the subscriber what our party has to say on it. Whenever this method is used, it invariably opens up a good discussion with the new subscriber, and the set of pamphlets is sold.

The comrades have found that calling on our new readers is inspiring work. Members go into workers' homes, discuss their problems with them, make friends and contacts, learn to be at ease and feel confidence in talking to them.

Many of the workers with whom we spoke indicated that they would like to come down to our forums and public meetings and learn more about our party and our ideas. Through the call-back and literature campaign, we will build in New York a large working class periphery.

San Pedro: We have been having a very fine reception in visiting the trial subscribers. Our average on renewals is 25 percent.

Buffalo: Enclosed is \$3 for three 6-month subs. They are renewals from the 25 cent subs.

Los Angeles: Technical preparations are now under way for the campaign as the follow-up of our special sub campaign. Graphs will keep the record of the campaign in each branch, and the entire branch forces will be mobilized for work.

READING UNIONISTS CALL FOR LABOR PARTY ORGANIZATION

READING, Pa. — Recognizing the need for independent political action, a committee of leading trade unionists in the important steel, railroad and hosiery center of Berks County has called upon the workers to build their own Labor Party.

These unionists, in the name of the Berks County Trade Union Committee for an Independent Labor Party, issued a statement this week setting forth as their aim the creation of a party "independent from Big Business." The statement pointed out that "The ignoring of the Kilgore Bill and the passing of the more ruthless George Bill only goes to show that when the workers try to attain their ends through old

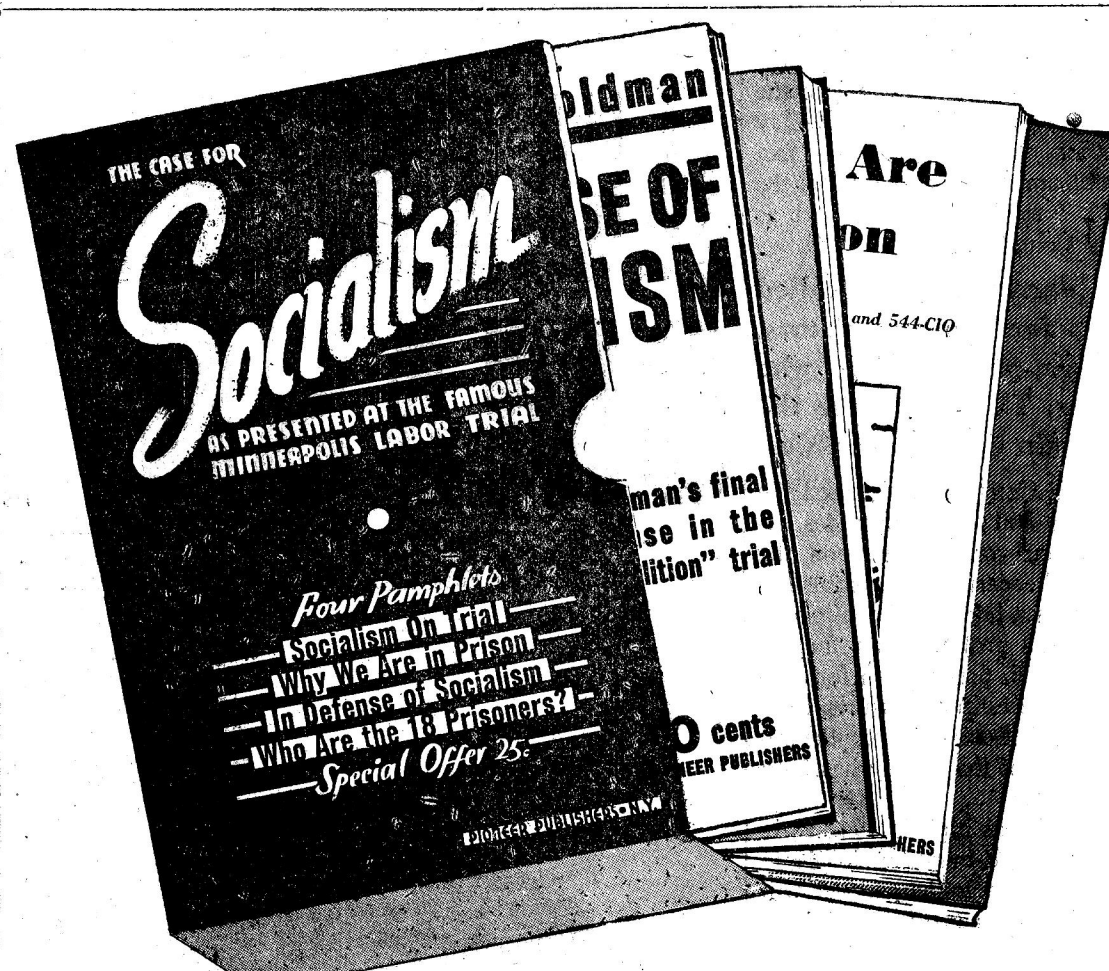
line politics they are even denied the crumbs, because even the Kilgore Bill was not more than that."

"We feel the rich are getting richer and the poor getting poorer but wiser; the workers who produce everything, create everything, should at least have an existence, the rich or the non-producers who own and control everything must be relieved of the stranglehold they have on the producers of all wealth." This must be done by the workers; the workers must put "their power into votes by building their own Independent Labor Party."

Temporary officers of the Committee are Martin Enoch, president of Local 197 of the International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths, AFL and Elery Ockrider, Jr., secretary of the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen, Local 652, elected as president and secretary respectively. The Committee has invited all trade unionists to join and press the struggle for a Labor Party.

The Committee has achieved prominent notice in the local labor press and has already distributed widely a leaflet setting forth its aims and calling upon the workers to join the struggle for independent labor political action. Important leaders of the Railway Brotherhood locals have joined the Committee and are planning to push the labor party program in these shops, as well as in the steel mills and hosiery plants of Berks County.

For a Rising Scale of Wages to Meet Rising Living Costs



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.

Tobin Hurls More Slander To Halt Growing Support For 18

The latest bit of mud-slinging in the current Tobin-Stalinist slander campaign against the 18 Trotskyist and CIO prisoners in the Minneapolis Labor Case appears in *The International Teamster* for September. This time Tobin's penman, Lester M. Hunt, launches a vicious poison-pen attack upon the Civil Rights Defense Committee and its national chairman, James T. Farrell, because of their exposure of the frameup in this case and their efforts to free the 18.

The particular target for Hunt's invective is an address delivered by James T. Farrell over radio station WEVD in New York entitled "Free Speech and Labor's

Rights," which has been reprinted in circular form and distributed by the tens of thousands among trade unionists throughout the country. This speech has been praised as one of the most vigorous defenses of civil liberties written during the second world war.

SLANDEROUS ATTACK

"Freedom of speech and freedom of labor are integral," Farrell declared. "This is why fascist dictatorships of Europe, when they achieved power, immediately crushed the labor unions and imposed rigid censorship... The history of fascism teaches us that the first attacks made by reaction are against the labor movement,



DANIEL J. TOBIN

and usually against its extreme left wing. This has happened in the Minneapolis Case...

"It should be clear that this kind of an attack upon socialist ideas, this jailing of socialist leaders can only help pave the way that makes it so much easier for fascism... If those of us who are outside of prisons do not continue our struggle in their defense it is not at all impossible that they will have company in their confinement"

Hunt, in his slanderous attack, does not of course bother to debate Farrell upon these basic issues of free speech, civil liberties, and labor's solidarity in struggle against reaction. These questions do not concern him any more than they bothered his boss Tobin when he instigated the prosecution against the 18. Lies and slander are the only weapons he can use. So Hunt tries to dismiss Farrell as a nobody; to represent him as a liar; and to accuse the Civil Rights Defense Committee of misusing money raised for the defense of the 18 and their families.

The aim of these gutter tactics is to cover up Tobin's filthy role in the frameup and to try to counteract the ever increasing support given the CRDC by wide sections of the labor movement, including the AFL itself.

Tobin and his henchmen are aware of this condemnation of their complicity in the frameup against the 18 and are desperately striving to obscure the issues by one barrage after another of falsehoods and libel. But they cannot prevent the truth from becoming known to the labor movement.

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One of our New York readers expresses what many others feel about the two columns recently added to the pages of The Militant: "I am anxious to give my praise to the two additions to The Militant, which really hit the bulls eye! — Kovalesky's 'Diary of a Steel Worker' and Grey's 'Shop Talks on Socialism.'"

"Kovalesky has a wonderful feel for people. His writing reveals great depth and understanding of human nature and brings out with steel-like clarity how they relate to the class struggle. His writing reveals not only realism and sincerity, it is like poetry. He writes very beautiful. I've discussed his column with several readers and we all agree that he evokes gripping emotions — I know I feel 'all sorts of things' — especially like going out and making a revolution!"

"Grey's 'Shop Talks' has really got punch! He wins the argument every time! No worker can go away (after reading his stuff) with a doubt in his mind about the advantages of planned Socialism versus chaotic decayed capitalism. I like the way he goes to the extreme of 'supposing even' and then so clearly and convincingly comes out on top."

"With these two additional writers The Militant has really got something!"

A letter from a reader in England praises the work being done by The Militant's cartoonist: "Your new cartoonist is popular with readers of The Militant here. To us the drawings of most American cartoonists seem crude. Gray's cartoons, however, are more in the tradition with which we are familiar. They certainly appeal to the British worker's sense of humor."

Our Akron agent is utilizing the article, "The Crisis in The CIO Rubber Workers Union," for an excellent purpose. She writes: "Could you send us 50 copies of the August 26 issue of The Mil-

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Italian People Starving Under Rule Of Allies

By William F. Ward

After a year of Anglo-American rule the Italian people are dying of hunger and Italian economy is in a state of complete collapse. The following figures published last week in the press with regard to food, public health and mortality rates in Italy are truly terrifying.

1. Infant mortality, which averaged 102.7 per 1,000 in Italy from 1936 to 1940, has jumped to 438 per 1,000 in Rome during July of this year. That is, almost half the babies are dying during their first year!

2. In June, 1943, 1,373 persons died in Rome, whereas 2,535 died there in June, 1944.

3. It is estimated that 200,000 Italians are dying each year from tuberculosis, while before the war 60,000 died per year of this disease. About 200 of every 1,000 Romans are said to be infected.

4. Before the war the average Italian consumed a daily ration of 2,900 calories. Since the Allied occupation a basic ration of 664 calories daily has been allowed. This is a little more than half the number of calories required to maintain normal health. As a result, there has been a general loss of weight among the population.

PAPER MONEY

Marcelo Soleri, Minister of the Treasury in the Bonomi puppet government, complained that everything is lacking in Italy today but paper money. Allied inflation coming on top of the fascist inflation (paper money issued by the Allies amounts now to about 30 million lire) has still further pushed up prices and impoverished the country.

The economic situation has grown so intolerable and the political crisis so acute that even the Allied authorities are alarmed. They fear a new revolutionary upheaval of the masses which will make a clean sweep of capitalist rule throughout Italy. This is candidly admitted by Anne O'Hare McCormick who cabled to the N. Y. Times (September 6): "... If large-scale rioting and social disintegration occur in the first country placed under Anglo-American control, the blow to the democracies' prestige would have repercussions throughout Europe."

The head of the economic section of the Allied Control Commission, Brig. General William O'Dwyer, has flown from Rome to Washington and is holding conversations with President Roosevelt and Leo T. Crowley, Administrator of the Foreign Economic Administration. They are discussing what measures to take in order to head off the mounting rebellion of the Italian masses who, they fear will not

submit much longer to these intolerable conditions — especially with winter coming on.

REVOLUTIONARY TEMPER

The revolutionary temper among the working class can be gauged by the memorandum presented on August 9 to the Bonomi cabinet by the secretaries of the Italian General Confederation of Labor. The Confederation proposes the following "extraordinary measures" to save the workers "from utter physical and moral ruin": a minimum wage and living allowance to all, adjusted monthly to variations in the cost of living; sale of commodities at fixed prices "under the control of the police and workers representatives"; an immediate large-scale program of public works, preference to be given to the workers' cooperative societies. The memorandum demands shop committees in all the big plants. "Firms which refuse to resume work would be regarded as saboteurs and their plants quickly requisitioned, and the management entrusted to the workers. The memorandum concludes with the demand for superprofits on war and black market profits; confiscation of fascist profits; and "any other appropriate steps which would place on the shoulders of the plutocratic classes responsible for the country's catastrophe the greater part of the expenditure necessary to ensure the existence of the workers and the revival of Italy."

ARMED WORKERS

If such are the demands of the reformist leadership of the unions in south Italy, how much hotter must be the political atmosphere in Northern Italy! The workers in the industrial cities of the North are armed and determined to overthrow capitalism and institute a revolutionary workers' government. The London Times correspondent cabled from Rome on August 18 that: "Signor Togliatti's step in joining the Government has created a crisis among Milan Communists. The views he has publicly expressed are considered to be too conciliatory, and he is accused of having moved too far to the right. Moreover, many Communists do not agree with certain developments of Marshal Stalin's policy and profess reluctance to becoming mere instruments of the Kremlin."

This report of the revulsion of the revolutionary workers in the Stalinist ranks against the Stalinist sell-out policies is corroborated from other sources. It is a fact of the greatest revolutionary significance for the further development of the Italian revolution. Only by throwing off the influence of the Stalinist and Social-democratic betrayers can the Italian workers move forward in their fight for emancipation.

French Workers in Action



A scene during the great French sit-down strikes of 1936, (above) when the revolutionary upsurge of the masses threatened the capitalist power. The crowd carries a banner inscribed with the name of the famous Renault plant — and bearing the hammer and sickle. (Below) a recent photo of the workers of Paris, once more in the streets, this time in pitched battle against both native and German fascists, a few days before they took possession of factories abandoned by terrified capitalists.

Convention Delegates Press To Rescind No-Strike Pledge

(Continued from page 1)

tion, offered a minority report in favor of postponing elections to "the last order of business."

"LAST THING"

After International Board Member Reisinger attempted to speak against the minority report, the convention took up the shout, "Last thing, last thing!" When the vote was finally taken, less than fifty hands were raised in support of the officers' recommendation.

This demonstration of the mood of the delegates, who are determined to have a full and free discussion of the issues, was carried even further in the debate over the proposed rule to limit reports from committees to a single majority and minority report. This rule might have prevented the position of those opposed to the no-strike pledge from being reported formally to the convention by a minority of the resolutions committee, since there are at least two positions being taken by those opposed to rescinding the no-strike pledge which the leaders planned to put forward as the majority and "minority" reports.

Delegate Garrison from Ford Highland Park Local 400, which is on record for rescinding the no-strike pledge, pointed out that this rule was being pushed as "some sort of a subterfuge," since "both majority and minority of the resolutions committee are for reaffirmation." He demanded an amendment of the rule which would permit "all shades of opinion"

A delegate from Dodge Local 3 characterized the proposed rule on committee reports as a "high-jacking rule" and demanded "let all opinions be heard." Thomas interjected himself into the debate from the chair with some derogatory remarks about the speakers which won him a vigorous boing. When the vote was finally taken, the rule was amended to permit every different view on the no-strike pledge to be reported out and acted upon by vote of the convention.

KEY NOTE ADDRESS

The main business of the morning session was the so-called keynote address of President R. J. Thomas. From his very first words, Thomas clearly expressed the fears of the entire top officialdom before the impending strike and file offensive against

the no-strike pledge, which may explode into a show-down fight of historic importance.

Thomas's opening remarks were perhaps unique in union convention history. They were an attempt to mollify the intense resentment at his strikebreaking actions and bureaucratic reprisals against local militants forced to strike by company provocations. He literally pleaded with the delegates not to boo or interrupt his address because he intended to say things "some delegates may not like." He begged them to "permit me the right to say what I think is the right thing" and promised in return "the greatest demonstration of democracy in this convention."

Orating in his customary pompous style, Thomas devoted a large portion of his talk to a recital of his experiences on his recent trip to Europe under the auspices of the War Department. This provided the flag-waving and emotional background for his two main points, a call for the membership to campaign through the CIO-PAC for re-election of Roosevelt and a plea to retain the no-strike pledge.

Never has a keynote speech at a UAW-CIO convention been so coldly received. The delegates "sat on their hands" throughout his talk. Only a polite smattering of applause, lasting but a few seconds, greeted his concluding words.

EXAGGERATED CLAIMS

In his remarks on the fourth term, Thomas reshaped all the exaggerated claims which the bureaucratic labor captives of the Roosevelt machine have been traditionally peddling about the "friend of labor" in the White House. While Thomas pointed out the big business connections of Dewey, stating he was "afraid of the company Dewey keeps," he "forgot" to mention Roosevelt's Wall Street ties, like Stettinius and Baruch, as well as the company Roosevelt keeps with corrupt political bosses like Hague, Kelly and Flynn and with the ultra-reactionary Southern Poll Tax Democrats. Nor did Thomas mention Roosevelt's wage freeze, forced labor decrees, compulsory arbitration program and his failure to fight the price gougers and war profiteers.

Obviously fearful of setting the convention into an uproar, Thomas touched only quickly and gingerly on the question of the no-strike pledge, the most crucial issue before the convention. He

dealt with this question in less than two minutes, not daring to discuss on its merits his support for the program of surrendering labor's most potent weapon. He hid behind what the "soldiers feel," claiming that on his tour in England and France "I did not talk to a soldier who was not opposed to strikes in wartime." Thomas waited for applause on this assertion, but was met by virtual silence.

CLIQUE POLITICS

At one point in his speech, Thomas evoked a chorus of jeers and boos when he interjected his clique politics into his talk. Thomas, who likes to play the role of an independent leader above the factional disputes among the international officers, first buttered up all the top factionalists like Addes, Frankenstein and Reuther and then proposed a settlement of the clique fight between the Addes-Frankenstein and Reuther caucuses by the expedient of having a third vice-president and "I think Brother Dick Leonard ought to have the job." This brought forth strident jeers from the delegates and shouts of "more pork-choppers!"

Leonard, Ford Division director, was in the Reuther faction at the last convention in return for Reuther's support for him as vice-president against Frankenstein. This year, Leonard decided that he might be able to make a better deal with some of his former opponents, and has broken with Reuther, it is reported, in order to run for a third vice-presidency with Thomas's support. This is typical of the unprincipled clique politics that prevails among all the top leaders, who once more are attempting to channelize the struggle over basic issues into a mere scramble for posts.

Reuther, at the latest reports, is seeking to prevent a forthright debate and clear cut decision on the no-strike pledge at this convention. He would like to squeeze out of the embarrassing position of having to openly declare himself on the issue. Thus, he is variously reported to be in favor of a resolution for permitting strikes only in plants reconverted to civilian production or for a referendum, without a decision of the convention, among the membership. In this fashion, Reuther still hopes to play "militant," act as left cover for the proponents of the no-strike pledge,

De Gaullist Government Resists Aims Of Masses

(Continued from page 1)

presents a good wage for a minor official or artisan. One restaurant meal in France today costs anywhere from 200 to 600 francs, a bicycle is worth as much as an automobile in prewar days.

MASS UNEMPLOYMENT

The economy of France is terribly dislocated and partially destroyed. Productive activity, it is estimated, is less than 20 percent of normal. The occupation of France by the Allied armies has meant mass unemployment for the workers in those factories turning out supplies for the German war-machine which have now shut down.

The class antagonisms which tore the French nation apart in prewar days have also been intensified during the past five years. Here is the testimony of Alexander Uhl of PM who cabled from Paris, Sept. 6: "Today, if anything, relations are worse between the French workers and 'patronat' as the French call the people who own the factories, the mines, the great commercial firms. For a good share of the 'patronat' got along with the Germans too well and made too much money out of the war to suit the taste of the kind of people who went down to the barricades. . . . You don't have to talk to many of the upper bourgeoisie, to many workers to find there is real tension and that it is going to take a very cleverly managed 'new deal' to avoid the dagger of civil war."

RULERS TERRIFIED

The ruling propertied class is terrified of the hostility of the workers, who now possess rifles, pistols and hand grenades, and are ready for revolutionary actions. Just as the big business interests collaborated with the Nazis, so now they are turning for support and salvation to the Allied invaders. Uhl reports that "it infuriates them (the workers) to see managers who entered German offices with the Nazi salute a month ago, now hobnobbing with U. S. officers in the hope of getting U. S. Army orders."

In an effort to cap this revolutionary volcano the Allies have approved the formation of the provisional government of De Gaulle. This government is a replica of the Bonomi cabinet in Italy, a military-police dictatorship imposed from without upon the people, a caricature of a coalition government. It has no mandate from the French people but rules by decree as an agency of Allied and French imperialism, wholly dependent on the armed might of Anglo-American imperialism.

DE GAULLE GOVERNMENT

Like a would-be Bonaparte, De Gaulle is trying to elevate himself above classes and parties in France and to pose as savior and supreme arbiter of the nation. His is the task of restoring capitalist "order" in turbulent France, of establishing a firm regime capable of holding down the masses, safeguarding the property owners, and regaining the lost positions and possessions of the French Empire. To carry out these reactionary aims De Gaulle must attempt to rule with an iron hand and to resist the granting of democratic rights to the people.

We see that in Italy the puppet Bonomi cabinet cannot permit elections because the war is still in progress; in France De Gaulle postpones elections "pending the return of the prisoners of war and deported workers from

discredited factions and leaders and the building of an entire new leadership from the militant ranks which will carry out in action a bold, aggressive policy against the corporations and their government agents.

BITTER STRUGGLE The international leadership as a whole appears united in its efforts to frustrate the desires of the membership for a fighting policy and is undoubtedly preparing to use every form of pressure and trickery to uphold its servile position. Nevertheless, it is already apparent that the leaders will not be able to prevent, as long as they would like, a bitter convention struggle. Whether or not the rank and file succeeds in scrapping the no-strike pledge at this convention, its struggle will be of decisive importance in rallying the membership in the coming period for an organized and decisive fight to reestablish an aggressive policy within the auto union and carry on a real struggle against the Little Steel formula, company provocations and the program of Big Business and the government to undermine the labor movement.

NO-STRIKE PLEDGE

This new caucus has publicly invited all delegates who agree on the need to scrap the no-strike pledge to join with it in fighting to restore to the auto workers the strike weapon. It has called a series of open meetings to unite the militant forces and organize a battle on the convention floor. This caucus is also proposing a complete break with all the old

WORKERS COMMITTEES SET UP IN FRANCE

Latest dispatches report that workers' committees have been organized and have taken over control of many large industrial establishments in Paris, particularly in the "Red Belt" to the north and west.

"Committees manned by the rank and file. . . are growing in strength daily," writes the N. Y. Times correspondent in the September 11 issue. "The men serving on them refer to themselves as 'les responsables' (the responsables) and profess to be forerunners of permanent groups that will represent the workers in the direction of the plants. . ."

The Times correspondent describes his interview with one such workers' committee at the Hispano-Suiza plant where 1,500 workers were employed. He met with seven members of the committee who wore French Forces of the Interior arm-bands. The spokesmen for the workers stated that the company's regular management had decamped on August 18, on the day the General Confederation had called out a million workers on strike.

None of the directors had returned and therefore the workers "who were interested solely in weapons" had taken over control of the plant. "The heads of many French firms deemed it wise to remain away from their plants," observes the correspondent, "until the fever of excitement over liberation had died down and they could explain why valuable aid had been given to the Germans."

The revolutionary mood of the Paris workers is also expressed in the newspaper circulation figures. According to the correspondents, the Stalinist Humanite leads with 200,000 circulation. The Socialist Populaire follows with 160,000. Twelve other dailies combined have a total circulation of only 120,000. Newspaper editors are ignoring all the muzzling decrees of DeGaulle passed in Algiers.

From these facts it is clear that the elements of dual power are gaining strength with each passing day in France. The workers' committees need only be solidified and linked together on a city, departmental, and national scale to form the basis for a new regenerating power in France, the revolutionary power of the toiling masses.

Germany." The pretexts differ; the aims and policy are the same. Naturally DeGaulle is forced to act cautiously under the prevailing circumstances since the masses have arms and are in revolutionary ferment. Raymond Daniell observes in a dispatch to the Sept 7 N. Y. Times that De Gaulle "has refrained from taking any action or uttering any pronouncements that might alienate potential followers in the resistance movement." But he is seeking to disarm the masses before their movement develops further and to incorporate the tractable elements of the FFI forces into his army where they can be bound by the straitjacket of military discipline under the officers' caste.

WORKERS' AIMS The working masses have entirely different aims, aspirations and demands, than the DeGaulleist leaders. They are calling for wage increases to meet the soaring costs of living. The DeGaulle government passed a law in Algiers against any wage increases in France. The people want an end to war. DeGaulle has already proclaimed that France must wage war not only against Germany but against Japan for Indo-China. Uhl reports that the workers feel that the capitalist collaborators "should be thrown out and the factories run by a committee. . . ." They want to nationalize heavy industry and the banks. And finally they want a socialist government.

These demands essentially amount to a program of socialist revolution. They can be realized only through the conquest of power by the workers and peasants. For these reasons they must encounter irreconcilable opposition from DeGaulle, the ruling capitalists, and the Anglo-American authorities. Violent clashes between them are inevitable with the further unfolding of the struggle. Daniell remarks: "So acute are the economic and political issues confronting the

FFI POWER In many localities of France, the forces of the FFI have seized power on a local scale and are holding it in opposition to the central authorities appointed by DeGaulle. The Stalinists intend to utilize the power of this insurgent mass movement to exert pressure in their bargainings with DeGaulle, and then to sell out these embryonic elements of dual power. As in Italy, the Stalinist agents are the spearhead of reaction inside the labor movement.

The advanced workers will have to protest and extend their militia formations against both De Gaulle and the Stalinist betrayers. They will have to solidify and strengthen the existing elements of proletarian power in the factory committees and in the workers' militia by setting up workers and peasants councils throughout the length and breadth of France. Above all to conquer power and secure their victory in the coming revolutionary struggles, they must build their own party under the banner of Trotskyism and around the program of the Fourth International.

DeGaulle Government that there are many . . . who frankly doubt the possibility of their being solved without some kind of violent explosion."

CRITICAL ISSUE

The effort of the capitalist rulers to deprive the masses of their arms has become one of the most critical issues in the class struggle now raging throughout France. Both sides are determined not to yield. "The old ruling groups are not going to surrender their power easily," says Uhl, "and the ex-resistance fighters are not hanging on to his rifle and his hand grenade for nothing." The questions of the future of France, of governmental power, of peace, food and freedom are going to be settled, in the main, not by peaceful parliamentary means but arms in hand by the struggle of the contending classes.

The Stalinists are betraying the French working class and their revolutionary struggle just as they are betraying the revolution in Italy and elsewhere. They have entered and are part and parcel of the DeGaulle provisional coalition government of capitalist counter-revolution. Following closely the pattern of their betrayal in Italy, Jacques Duclos, General Secretary of the Communist Party proposed at the first Stalinist open meeting in Paris that the members of the F.F.I. be incorporated into the French imperialist army.

FFI POWER

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Tradition of Debs Carried On By The Eighteen Trotskyists

By Albert Mercer

The memory of Debs rises out of the past to join in common struggle with the fighters of today against the foe that has plunged two generations of workers into wars for capitalist profits and imperialist domination. Woodrow Wilson railroaded Eugene Victor Debs to the federal penitentiary for his opposition to the first imperialist world war.

Twenty-three years later, Franklin Delano Roosevelt followed in Wilson's footsteps by throwing 18 leaders of the Socialist Workers Party into jail for carrying on the same struggle against the Second World War.

The cases bear a remarkable resemblance.

The American people were ranged against participation in World War I that began in Europe in 1914. Woodrow Wilson was elected president in 1916 on the campaign promise to "keep America out of war." One year later, Wilson broke his promise and American soldiers were fighting on the bloody battlefields of France.

The American people were opposed to shedding their blood in the war that began with Germany's invasion of Poland in 1939. Roosevelt promised them in the campaign of 1940 that no American boy would fight on foreign soil if he was elected. Slightly more than a year later, American troops were at war on three continents.

To secure support from the masses for the war and to regiment the workers behind the military machine, Wilson cloaked the predatory aims of Wall Street in a garment of noble idealism. "Wipe out Prussian militarism." — "Hang the Kaiser." — "Make the world safe for democracy." Such was the bait dangled before the people in 1917.

AN EPIDEMIC

Editors, preachers, writers, educators — in the press, the churches, the schools, the movies, everywhere — spread this lying propaganda over the country like an epidemic. Labor leaders, pacifists, liberals and even so-called socialists had climbed on the bandwagon. The lineup was unanimous except for a few courageous working class internationalists — and above all except for Eugene Victor Debs.

Debs could not be cowed. They could neither deceive him nor buy him. "I would rather a thousand times be a free soul in jail than a coward and a scoundrel on the streets." So spoke the great agitator who remained true to his socialist principles. In Canton, Ohio, Debs arose to publicly proclaim his opposition to the war. Wilson's promises were a tissue of lies, a hypocritical trap for the masses. This was a capitalist war — not a war against the Kaiser, not a war for democracy.

For this speech Debs was arrested, charged with treason under the Espionage Act of June 15, 1917 and on September 14, 1918 he was sentenced to 10 years in a Federal prison.

Twenty-two years later the wheel of capitalist crisis was stopping again on the spoke of war. Roosevelt was preparing the road for American entry into the imperialist conflict by lofty speeches against "nazism" against "Hitler and the forces of darkness." Soon these were to be wrapped in arid promises of "Four Freedoms" and an "Atlantic Charter." Behind the slogans Roosevelt was once again leading Wall Street's battle for world domination.

THE LINEUP

Once again the line-up was seemingly unanimous — on top. To the crowd that jammed the bandwagon in 1917, there was added this time the Stalinist party which was betraying the internationalist principles on which it was originally founded. Only the Trotskyists refused to swerve

from their socialist program — they were true to themselves and true to the great tradition of their predecessor, Debs.

Like Wilson, Roosevelt attempted to stifle the opposition to the war by persecuting the champions of revolutionary socialism. In June 1940 18 leaders were arrested on charges of sedition and in the Minneapolis trial which terminated the day before Pearl Harbor were sentenced up to 16 months in prison.

The capitalist class then and now trampled on its own laws in order to maintain itself in power and get rid of its working class opponents. Both the Espionage Law, on which Debs was convicted, and the Smith "Gag" Act, on which the 18 were sentenced were in clear violation of the Bill of Rights of the Constitution which forbids any law abridging the rights of free speech.

Yet when the Appeal of Debs' conviction was carried before the Supreme Court, it upheld the verdict of the court on March 10, 1919. The decision was made with the concurrence of the well-known liberal judges, Holmes and Brandeis. In the case of the 18, Roosevelt's Supreme Court judges — likewise self-avowed liberals — upheld the lower court. But this time they lacked the courage of their predecessors to take a stand. They refused to hear the appeal and the 18 went to jail on New Year's day 1944.

DEBS SPEECH

Debs stood before the capitalist court without flinching, without retracting one word, more the accuser than the accused. The courageous words of Debs rang out again in the Minneapolis courtroom. He told from whence came his magnificent fortitude:

"They who are animated with the unconquerable spirit of the Social Revolution, they who have the moral courage to stand erect, to assert their convictions, to stand by them, to go to jail or hell for them — they are writing their names in this crucial hour, they are writing their names in fadless letters in the history of mankind..."

The tradition has carried down to the present day. In his parting speech to his comrades before leaving for jail, James P. Cannon declared:

"We are historically minded. We know that in the great scale of history our personal life is a trifle, our lives are a trifle. But the socialist goal of our struggle, that is no trifle. To serve that goal as we have served it, that is enough. Let the consequences be what they may. Whether we participate in the final victory of the struggle of mankind for its future, or whether it has to be built on a foundation of our bones, it will still be good for us that we took part in it, and we will have our justification and our reward. No liars and conspirators, no Supreme Court and no prison can take that satisfaction from us. We were obliged to do what we did. As a consequence of our truth-telling and our struggle we are now obliged to go to prison. We go there, however, not as criminals but because duty takes us there."

READ 'THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL'

Debs' Canton Speech

[Reprinted here are excerpts of the Canton anti-war speech delivered by Eugene V. Debs at Nimisilla Park, Canton, Ohio, on June 16, 1918. Debs was convicted to ten years imprisonment for this speech, and actually served three years in the Federal Penitentiary at Atlanta, Georgia.]

I have just returned from a visit over yonder (pointing to the workhouse), where three of our most loyal comrades are paying the penalty for their devotion to the cause of the working class. They have come to realize, as many of us have, that it is extremely dangerous to exercise the constitutional right of free speech in a country fighting to make democracy safe in the world.

I realize that, in speaking to you this afternoon, there are certain limitations placed upon the right of free speech. I must be exceedingly careful, prudent, as to what I say, and even more careful and prudent as to how I say it. I may not be able to say all I think; but I am not going to say anything that I do not think. I would rather a thousand times be a free soul in jail than to be a scoundrel and coward in the streets. They may put those boys in jail — and some of the rest of us in jail — but they cannot put the Socialist movement in jail. Those prison bars separate their bodies from ours, but their souls are here this afternoon. They are simply paying the penalty that all men have paid in all the ages of history for standing erect, and seeking to pave the way to better conditions for mankind.

If it had not been for the men and women who, in the past, have had the moral courage to go to jail, we would still be in the jungles.

AGAINST PRUSSIAN MILITARISM

Are we opposed to Prussian militarism? Why, we have been fighting it since the day the Socialist movement was born; and we are going to continue to fight it, day and night, until it is wiped from the face of the earth. Between us there is no truce — no compromise.

In 1869 that grand old warrior of the Social Revolution, the elder Liebknecht, was arrested and sentenced to prison for three months, because of his war, as a Socialist, on the Kaiser and on the junkers that rule Germany. In the meantime the Franco-Prussian war broke out. Liebknecht and Bebel were the Socialist members in the Reichstag. They were the only two who had the courage to protest against taking Alsace-Lorraine from France and annexing it to Germany. And for this they were sentenced two years to a prison fortress and charged with high treason; because, even in that early day, almost fifty years ago, these leaders, these forerunners of the international Socialist movement were fighting the Kaiser and fighting the junkers of Germany. They have continued to fight them from that day to this.

Let us come down the line a little farther. You remember that, at the close of Theodore Roosevelt's second term as President, he went over to Africa to make war on some of his ancestors. You remember that, at the close of his expedition, he visited the capitals of Europe; and that he was wine and dined, dignified and glorified by all the Kaisers and Czars and Emperors of the Old World. He visited Potsdam while the Kaiser was there; and, according to the accounts published in the American newspapers, he and the Kaiser were soon on the most familiar terms. They were hilariously intimate with each other, and slapped each other on the back. After Roosevelt had reviewed the Kaiser's troops, according to the same accounts, he became enthusiastic over the Kaiser's legions and said: "If I had that kind of an army, I could conquer the world." He knew the Kaiser then just as well as he knows him now. He knew that he was the Kaiser, the Beast of Berlin. And yet, he permitted himself to be entertained by that Beast of Berlin; had his feet under the mahogany of the Beast of Berlin; was cheek by jowl with the Beast of Berlin. And, while Roosevelt was being entertained royally by the German Kaiser, that same Kaiser was putting the leaders of the Socialist party in jail for fighting the Kaiser and the junkers of Germany. Roosevelt was the guest of honor in the white house of the Kaiser, while the Socialists were in the jails of the Kaiser for fighting the Kaiser. Who then was fighting for democracy? Roosevelt? Roosevelt, who was honored by the Kaiser, or the Socialists who were in jail by order of the Kaiser?

BIRDS OF A FEATHER FLOCK TOGETHER

"Birds of a feather flock together." When the newspapers reported that Kaiser Wilhelm and Ex-President Theodore Roosevelt recognized each other at sight, were perfectly intimate with each other at the first touch, they made the admission that is fatal to the claim of Theodore Roosevelt, that he is the friend of the common people and the champion of Democracy; they admitted that they were kith and kin; that they were very much alike; that their ideas and ideals were about the same. If Theodore Roosevelt is the great champion of Democracy, — the arch foe of autocracy, what business had he as the guest of honor of the Prussian Kaiser? And when he met the Kaiser, and did honor to the Kaiser, under the terms imputed to him, wasn't it pretty strong proof that he himself was a Kaiser at heart? Now, after being the guest of Emperor Wilhelm, the Beast of Berlin, he comes back to this country, and wants you to send ten million men over there to kill the Kaiser; to murder his former friend and pal. Rather queer, isn't it? And yet, he is the patriot, and we are the traitors. I challenge you to find a Socialist anywhere on the face of the earth who was ever a guest of the Beast of Berlin, except as an inmate of his prison — the elder Liebknecht and the younger Liebknecht, the heroic son of his immortal sire.

If you would be respected you have got to begin by respecting yourself. Stand up squarely and look yourself in the face and see a man! Do not allow yourself to fall into the predicament of the poor fellow who, after he had heard a Socialist speech concluded that he too ought to be a Socialist. The argument he had heard was unanswerable. "Yes," he said to himself, "all the speaker said was true and I certainly ought to join the party." But after a while he allowed his ardor to cool and he soberly concluded that by joining the party he might anger his boss and lose his job. He then concluded: "I can't take the chance." That night he slept alone. There was something on his conscience and it resulted in a dreadful dream. Men always have such dreams when they betray themselves. A Socialist is free to go to bed with a clear conscience. He goes to sleep with his manhood and he awakens and walks forth in the morning with his self-respect. He is unafraid and he can look the whole world in the face, without a tremor and without a blush. But this poor weakling who lacked the courage to do the bidding of his reason and conscience was haunted by a startling dream and at midnight he awoke in terror, bounded from his bed and exclaimed: "My God, there is nobody in this room." He was absolutely right. There was nobody in that room.

To turn your back on the corrupt Republican Party and still more corrupt Democratic Party — the gold-dust lackeys of the ruling class, counts for something. It counts for still more after you have stepped out of those popular and corrupt capitalist parties to join a minority party that has an ideal, that stands for a principle, and

Eugene V. Debs: 1855-1926



This was the credo of Debs: "I am not a capitalist soldier; I am a proletarian revolutionist. I do not belong to the regular army of the plutocracy but to the irregular army of the people. I refuse to obey any command to fight for the ruling class, but I will not wait to be commanded to fight for the working class."

Lublin Mass Murders Reveal Rotting Capitalist Society

By Dan Shelton

Last week the press carried eyewitness accounts of the Nazi death camp at Lublin, Poland, where 1,500,000 persons are reported to have been slaughtered by the most inhuman methods. Lublin is now under Soviet occupation and these reports have been confirmed by independent observers. The hypocrisy of the capitalist press in dealing with the Lublin events, must, however, be exposed.

The very existence of this Lublin "factory" for the production of death is a horrible commentary on the utter decay of the outworn capitalist system. "Scientifically planned," it consists of an electrically-charged barbed-wire enclosure covering 700 acres. The victims, stripped of their clothing, were asphyxiated in hermetically closed gas chambers, one of which kills 120 at a time. The corpses were burned to ashes in a huge crematorium and then used to fertilize cabbage fields. In a nearby forest, mass graves are now being opened which hold the mutilated bodies of 300,000 men, women and children, individually murdered by hanging, shooting, or gassing. The victims were Poles, Russians and 22 other nationalities; the vast majority of those killed, however, were Jews.

The Lublin death camp murders are simply part of the general Nazi pattern of systematic extermination of "inferior races," primarily Jews. Less publicized, but even more "effective," are extermination centers at Auschwitz, Birkenau and Oswiecim where three and a half million Jews have reportedly been put to death.

MEANING OF FASCISM

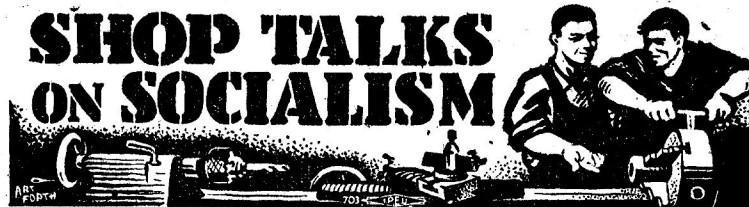
These hideous crimes reveal the true face of fascism. Fascism is organized mass murder to save the ruling class. Spawned and financially supported by the German capitalists, the Nazis took power to prevent a proletarian revolution and to prepare for the next imperialist war. The rich still own Germany. The Nazi party is simply the tool of the bosses. The complete destruction of the workers' organizations and parties and the imposition of a more terrible oppression, taught the German working class a lesson as to the true nature of fascism. Economic and national oppression, now coupled with wholesale physical extermination, has taught the European peoples the same lesson.

But the so-called "democracies" also bear guilt. The venal capitalist press maintains a conspiracy of silence on the shameful role of the Allies in relation to the victims of fascism. They fairly ooze with humanitarian indignation against "Nazi brutality" but they remain silent on the failure of the Allied governments to counteract Hitler's best

fighters for a cause. This will be the most important change you have ever made and the time will come when you will thank me for having made the suggestion. It was the day of days for me. I remember it well. It was like passing from midnight darkness to the noontide light of day.

Yes, in good time we are going to sweep into power in this nation and throughout the world. We are going to destroy all enslaving and degrading capitalist institutions and re-create them as free and humanizing institutions. The world is daily changing before our eyes. The sun of capitalism is setting; the sun of Socialism is rising. It is our duty to build the new nation and the free republic. We need industrial and social builders. We Socialists are the builders of the beautiful world that is to be. We are all pledged to do our part. We are inviting — aye, challenging you this afternoon in the name of your own manhood and womanhood to join us and do your part.

In due time the hour will strike and this great cause triumphant — the greatest in history — will proclaim the emancipation of the working class and the brotherhood of all mankind! (Thunderous and prolonged applause).



By V. Grey

"You go through a big political fight to clean out the city or national government — you kick out a bunch of dirty politicians, and some other racketeering so-and-so's get in. It seems as though socialism would work the same way. What's the use of kicking all those phonies out of Washington, if we'd just be exchanging them for another bunch?"

That's a natural question. There are a lot of crooked politicians as well as crooks in general. This rotting capitalist society breeds them in high and low places. Under socialism these worms will be stamped out, starved out, or cured, in the ways we have talked about before. There will be no breeding rot for them. There will be plenty for every one and real security for old age. There just won't be the incentive to steal that there is today.

But even under a healthy socialist system, there would probably be some people not as good or as honest as others. Certainly people will never be all equally good or bad. Even at a time when it would be stupid to steal, at a time when things could be had with very little work, there might be some people who would be crazy enough to try to rob the rest of us. They couldn't do it as owners of industry because we working people would own the industries. Perhaps they'd try it as government officials, like the pork-barrel politicians in Washington today, who put their whole families on the government payroll, including children as secretaries, at 3900 dollars per year.

Of course that's only small potatoes. If a congressman has a family of five that's just \$25,000, including his own salary. Compared to the income of the real owners of America — Morgan, Dupont and Rockefeller — the politician's income may not be so big.

Besides their official salaries these peanut politicians romp around in all kinds of easy money pastures. They make deals for the big capitalists and get some nice small change in return. A few of them get very rich this way. A thousand dollars here and a thousand there — it all adds up. But the point is, they are able to carry on this way because the capitalist class permits them to. They are stooges of the capitalist class. And every stooge has to have his gin money. If the Morgans and the Duponts wanted their representatives in Washington to be honest, they would only have to crack the whip. But why should they? It would hurt their own interests. All they demand is that their Washington servants be honest with them. The capitalist politicians can rob the people blind because that's what they're supposed to do. But just let them turn around and rob their real bosses, and see what happens!

BECAUSE WE ARE THE PEOPLE

When the Morgans and the Duponts are no longer running things because they no longer own the country, when we run them because we own the country, and we put our people in the government, we'll have no interest in robbing the people. Because we are the people. We'll have every interest in keeping our representatives honest. They will answer to us working people just as these so-called public servants of today answer to their real master, the boss class.

But well, suppose we're so stupid and shiftless that we don't even call the members of our own government to order.

You've got to remember that socialism is a different system, a different set-up altogether. Whether members of the workers' government were angels or not, the socialist system of production would still be superior to the capitalist system. It would do away with unemployment and depressions, for one thing. Take the Soviet Union for instance. That is the only real example we have of such a different set-up. They don't have socialism there, but only the foundation for socialism with the country ruled by a bureaucratic reactionary gang to boot. But when the factories in every capitalist country in the world were closing down like carnival side-shows in a rain storm, the Soviet Union built and opened up factory after factory. It made far more economic progress than any country had ever made before in an equal period — even during the greatest prosperity.

The exact reverse is true under capitalism. The most honest capitalist politician (if there are any honest ones) can't open the factories once they're closed down, and he can't stop a capitalist war with long winded speeches or tears.

It's the system that counts. The best pick and shovel man in the world can't beat an average man with a steamshovel. The most correct calculator in the world can't be more correct than an average man with an adding machine. The difference is a difference in system.

THE UNION SYSTEM

Take the union system. Before we got union recognition and half way decent conditions, the bosses were tin gods. The foremen ran promotion rackets. You had to buy your job or you had to be somebody's brother-in-law. Straight time for overtime. Speed-up most of the time, and never a chance to sit down. That was the company union system, or open shop system.

After our big strike we threw all that stuff out the window. The contract is a long way from perfect, but it gives us guarantees we never had before. The company can't get away with the things they used to. Something entirely new was added: The organized power of us working people. And with it the union system was started.

THE WHOLE SYSTEM WILL BE CHANGED

When we kicked the company union out, and put in our own set-up we didn't just get rid of one set of officers and put in another. We changed all the rules around and took away a few of the company's sleeve cards. So it is with the socialist system on a far greater scale. We're not going to replace the clique in Washington by another clique. The Republicans and Democrats are boss parties. They are both owned by the capitalists. The revolutionary socialist leaders will take office when the majority of us working people are determined to finish with capitalism. They will only come to power as the working class comes to power, on the basis of a nationwide fight for socialist conditions.

Just as the CIO and AFL leaders can not have any real authority unless the membership gives it to them by organizing the plants, so the socialist leaders will not have any unless the working people take over the plants altogether. The system itself will be changed so enormously to our advantage, that we'll hold not just a couple of aces, but the whole deck as well. With a system like this, a couple of phonies in the government could make a little trouble, but it would be absolutely impossible for them to make it as bad for us as capitalism does.

This is going a long way around, maybe, to prove that opportunists and rascals couldn't do us much harm under socialism. Especially since it's not very likely they will get in power at all, or that we'll let them stay there. But you have to figure things out this way, and realize that it's the system that counts, not some pork chopper. And it's our own organized power that will change the system. No supersalesman politician is going to lead us out of the bloody capitalist mess we're in. We're all going to do it ourselves in our fight for socialism. And we're going to put people like ourselves in charge of running production and distribution on a nation-wide scale. They will be the chief members of our workers' government. And they will work for a skilled workman's wages.

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The Negro Struggle

By Charles Jackson

Roosevelt's "Anti-Jimcrow" Army Order

The recent order directing the cessation of racial discrimination and segregation in the auxiliary, or non-military, parts of the Army training program has caused more discussion pro and con among the Negro people than any other issue since Wallace's stand on liberalism and his crucifixion at Roosevelt's Democratic Convention. The order states that the Army will no longer bar Negro soldiers from being served at certain post exchanges, from sitting in certain seats in Army buses or from attending theatres, etc., on the Army bases.

Even among the happy family under the Democratic tent there has been dissension. The Southern white supremacists fear that such relaxation of the barriers will lead to "dangerous" social equality while the spokesmen in the New York City Council and the Maritime Union of the ex-communist ex-party are hailing the directive as a "second Emancipation Proclamation." Think not, however, that this difference on the little question of racial democracy portends any cleavage in these two groups as regards their all-out support of capitalist exploitation, the imperialist war and the "commander-in-chief."

There certainly can be no doubt that even this crumb of democracy if actually carried out, would mean a lot to many a Negro worker who has been conscripted into the Army. Suppose, after a 25 mile hike over burning sands or through muck and swamp, you came or returned to a post exchange and wanted to get a drink of pop or a package of cigarettes. Suppose, right there on Army property you were refused service and "shown the official government sign 'No Negroes Allowed.'" Suppose, as happened to Joe Louis, you could not board the Army bus until all the white soldiers were seated — and, if there were no seats you would have to wait hours for the next bus or else... walk. Suppose, after being jerked from normal life into the rigorous routine of military discipline and training for weary months, a group of civilian entertainers — maybe even Negro entertainers came to the camp to hoist the morale and you found yourself and those of your color barred from attending (even if the theatre was on a hillside) or else you were roped off into a rear, Jim-Crow section like a herd of infected cattle. How would you feel if such were your lot? Yes, the Army order which would change official policy in these respects would obviously give some relief to the mistreated Negro soldier.

The pro-Rooseveltians, from the well-meaning idealists on down to the machine ward heelers project the advice that the Negroes should now flock back to the Democratic banner regardless of that party's complete evasion of specific issues regarding Negro equality in its platform. They point with pride to the fact that they are giving action while the Republicans are only giving promises. But rolling over the log to expose the vermin underneath, we find that the same Roosevelt who would claim credit for this "liberalism" in the Army's policies is the same Roosevelt who in 1940 refused to insist that there be no discrimination in the induction and training of men. He flatly turned down Walter White

and Randolph when they pleaded against the separate, Jim-Crow regiments. As Chief Executive he failed to carry out section 4a (non-discrimination) of the Selective Service Act. He frankly implied that he was doing so to placate the Southern white supremacists who if mixed Army units were established, might stop fighting the imperialist war and start another civil war.

But maybe he's had a change of heart. We think not. This is the same Roosevelt who even now refuses to abolish discrimination — the Jim-Crow pattern of induction and training. If two white friends are inducted together, have similar qualifications etc., they may be put in the same units and they may fight together. Whereas if the two friends happen to have different skin color they can never be buddies in action. In Roosevelt's democracy, the Negro will be put into the segregated section where facilities, opportunities for advancement and treatment by officers and by civilians are all duly modified for the "inferior" race. The Army order does not affect this basic military Jim-Crow pattern in the least. Roosevelt tosses a man into deep water ten feet off shore after tying a weight to his foot. Then he throws a two foot rope into the water, calls in witnesses and shouts: see, I am trying to save him — I am his friend.

Furthermore, as if to placate the white supremacist wing of the Democratic party—the southern blow-hards who set up such a howl about the Army order—Roosevelt's Eisenhower has since then made public a new policy in the European theatre regarding Negro officers. From now on all replacements in Negro units over the grade of First Lieutenant will be filled by white officers from other units rather than by upgrading the Negroes already with the unit.

Another thing casting suspicion on the motives of this order is the laxity of its enforcement. Although dated June 8, the Army has admittedly had to give repeated "reminders" concerning the order to several Commanding Officers. The Chicago Defender Staff Correspondent in Montgomery, Alabama, reports: "Colored soldiers of several troop trains which passed through Montgomery in the past three days...when asked about the War Department's order...knew nothing of it 'officially.' Evidently the order is being carefully concealed from them..."

Without a doubt the "sleight-of-lip" artist, Roosevelt, is up to his old tricks. After four years of conscription, he comes forth with a fractional democracy which is actually not being enforced in the very places where it is needed most. You can see its true label: "Strictly for Propaganda Purposes." Pro-capitalist propaganda because it may temporarily restrain the mounting tide of Negro militancy which will inevitably be directed against the real enemy — the entire social system; pro-Roosevelt propaganda because it has given his ardent supporters — the sterile, pink-tea liberals, the labor bureaucrats and the Stalinist betrayers — a chance to pick up their sticks and resume that perfidious strain of mumbo-jumbo: "Roosevelt is the Negroes' friend."

Why Union Skates Tour War Front

By C. Thomas

Six trade union officials have recently returned from a flying trip to the "battlefields of Normandy" with the message that "American soldiers whom they interviewed opposed strikes in wartime." In essence this answers the question which many have been asking: Why did they go? It was precisely for the purpose of returning with such a "message" that the junket was arranged. Just prior to their departure, "unauthorized" strikes had increased in volume and intensity; the movement to rescind the no-strike pledge was gathering a large number of adherents in the more advanced unions; the opposition to the wage freezing Little Steel formula was becoming more vociferous; the labor bureaucrats were having serious difficulty in "holding the line" against their membership—so off they ran to the "battlefields of Normandy" to gather there additional ammunition to use against the militant rank and file of their own unions.

So great was the need for a "message" from Normandy that the Administration placed the facilities of the government at the disposal of Roosevelt's labor lackeys. The labor bureaucrats who participated in this Cooks Tour of the "battlefields" were equally divided between the AFL and CIO. From the AFL came Frank Fenton, director of organization; A. L. Weinger, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers; and Eric Peterson, International Association of Machinists. From the CIO, David J. McDonald, United Steel Workers; R. J. Thomas, United Automobile Workers and Sherman Dalrymple, United Rubber Workers.

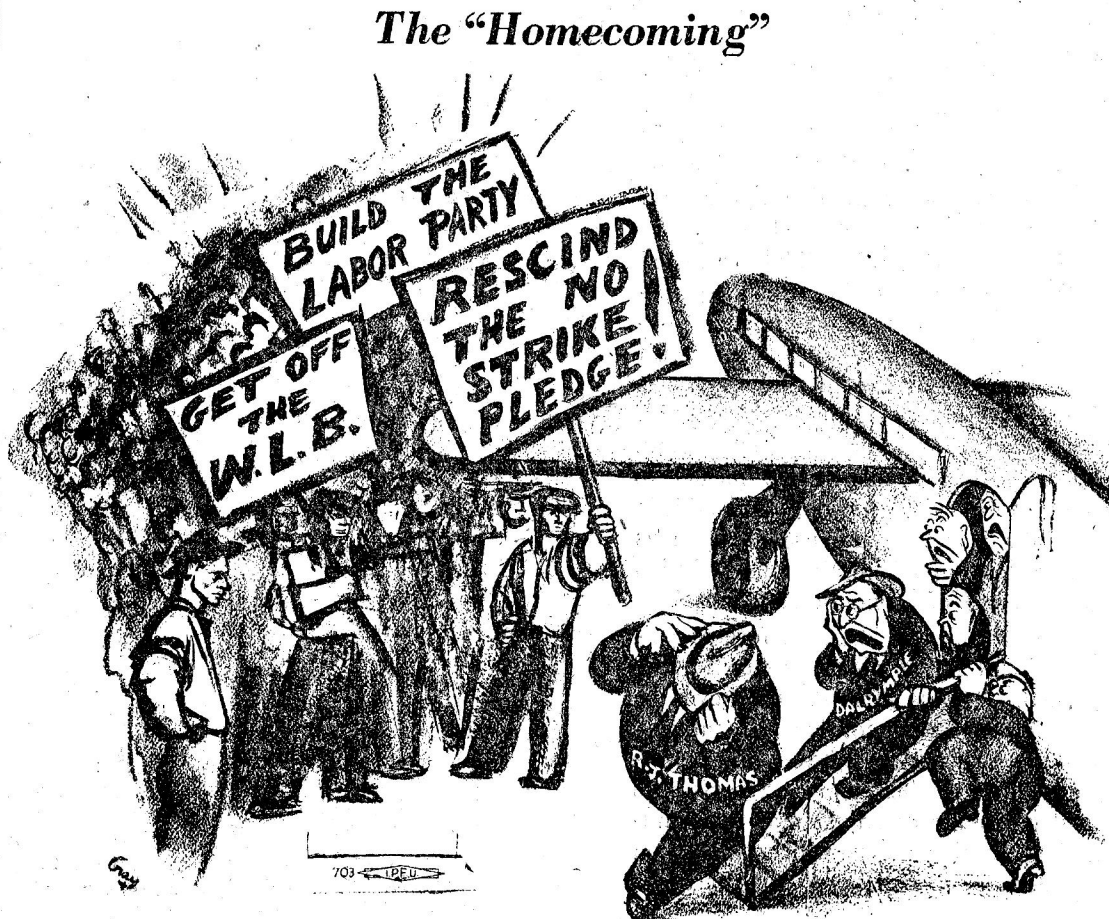
TIMELY TRIP

For the latter two, Dalrymple and Thomas, the trip was very timely indeed. It came just before the Rubber and Auto unions were to meet in national convention to discuss, among other questions, the revocation of the no-strike pledge. The militant rubber and auto workers are up in arms at the unconditional surrender policy of the top leadership. In an article on the Auto convention the N. Y. Times, Sept. 11, reports: "The seriousness of the movement for abrogation of the no-strike pledge was admitted by union leaders as President Thomas and members of the executive board were preparing to hold the line against any such action." Thomas' trip to the battlefields was part of this preparation!

VICIOUS PROPAGANDA

The excursion to the battlefields was a variation of the technique, previously employed in having some brass hat address the convention and in the name of the rank and file servicemen, issue an ultimatum against "strikes and work stoppages." This dodge has worn so thin that Roosevelt's labor lackeys felt impelled to sally forth to the battlefields to return frenziedly waving the bloody shirt to cow the union militants into submission. Speaking in the name of all of the soldiers and laying heavy stress on the "horribly injured," R. J. Thomas declares: "Union members among the soldiers and non-union men want

the countries of Latin America or the Pacific union which are now under the domination of American imperialism, to one degree or another, is able either to attain complete freedom from foreign oppression or to retain such freedom for any length of time, if it confines its struggle to the efforts of its own self. Only a union of the Latin American peoples, striving towards the goal of a united socialist America and allied in the struggle with the revolutionary proletariat of the United States, would present a force strong enough to contend successfully with North American imperialism. Just as the peoples of the Old World can successfully resist and shatter the pressure of the American colossus, which keeps them impoverished and drives them to war, only by establishing a United States of Europe—realizable only in the form of the revolutionary socialist rule of the proletariat—so the peoples of the Western Hemisphere can assure themselves the fullest national independence, the unrestricted possibilities of cultural development, and freedom from exploitation from foreign and domestic tyrants, only by joining in the struggle for the United Socialist Republics of the Americas. ("Thesis On the World Role of American Imperialism" from "The Founding Conference of the Fourth International," pp. 93-94; Socialist Workers Party, 1939, 128 pp. 25c. Order from Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Pl., N. Y. 3, N. Y.)



labor to reaffirm and keep its no-strike pledge."

From the reports and declarations of the Six Musketeers one would gather that the sole concern of the soldiers was to have labor "reaffirm its no-strike pledge." This vicious propaganda plays into the hands of the reactionary officer caste and the labor-baiting employers. One of the major efforts of reaction has been to drive a wedge between the soldiers and workers by shifting the blame for work stoppages on to the labor movement. It amounts to a whitewash of the union-busting drive that has taken place under cover of the war. Instead of combatting and exposing the reactionary nature of this drive the "labor statesmen" provide a cover for Wall Street's campaign of utilizing the war as a pretext to throttle the labor movement.

The labor skates did not rush to the "battlefields" to defend the rights of labor against its enemies and defamers; they did not assure the soldiers that they would fight for the preservation of the unions and the strengthening of the influence of the labor movement so that when the soldiers return they would find work under union conditions and get union wages; they did not promise to fight for a decent standard of living for the wives and families of the service men by conducting an independent struggle against the wage freeze and inflationary prices; they did not offer the soldier a labor program nor a labor party to fight for; they were interested in was in perverting the sentiments, aspirations and hopes of the soldiers into a weapon against their own union membership.

"FIGHTING SIX"

Of all the statements made by the "fighting six" the only one that struck a genuine note was one by Frank Fenton saying that the soldiers would return demand-

20 Union Militants Victimized By Ford

DETROIT, Sept. 8 — After firing 20 militant union members including committeemen and two building chairmen for participation in the August 25-26 strike, the Ford Motor Company yesterday climaxed its fight against Local 400, UAW-CIO, of the Highland Park plant: the 20 unionists were tried in star chamber proceedings and "convicted" by company officials. Although the company has agreed to submit its verdict to an arbitrator, the prospects for reinstatement of the men is discounted in advance by most workers in the plant.

The August strike, of which these discharges are an aftermath, was the workers' spontaneous answer to the firing of a worker with 20 years' seniority, in deliberate violation of contract provisions. The firing of the worker was, in turn, only a more brazen example of the same kind of provocations which have been used by the Ford Company for a whole year, to tear down union conditions, frame militant unionists, ignore WLB decisions in those cases where they have granted gains to the workers, and so forth. By August, conditions had reached such a state that at

least 100 days were lapsing between the filing and the consideration of a grievance!

TAKING ADVANTAGE

The Ford Motor Company, like other companies thruout the country, has been taking advantage of labor's no-strike pledge, in order to undermine and destroy the union. The Ford workers, realizing that the union was being weakened, first attempted to rectify matters by replacing one union official with another. But the new "ins" were as helpless as the old. The company continued to provoke wildcat strikes, then with the support of Thomas, Reuther, Addes and their ilk, fired the union militants.

The Ford workers are showing now that they realize the No-Strike Pledge must go—that they need the support of the worker in the other shops, to make their voice and action effective. The picture recently published in The Militant, of a Local 400 worker wearing a shirt inscribed "Scrap the No-Strike Pledge," tells what many workers are saying in the Highland Park plant today, as the U A W Convention meets in Michigan.

ing "a better society" and that they are "not going to accept unemployment." The only force which can ensure a better society and full employment is the organized labor movement. This can only be accomplished by making a decisive break with the program and parties of the capitalist class and the formation of labor's own party to advance labor's own program. As a step in this direction labor must fight for the independence of the unions from domination or control by the capitalist government. The solution to the problems of the soldiers and workers lies along the road of independent action which

requires the restoration of labor's most effective economic weapon—the right to strike. The union militants who are fighting today to scrap the no-strike pledge are in the vanguard of the struggle for that "better society" and full employment that the soldiers will demand upon their return.

The Militant

may now be purchased at 242 Broadway, San Diego, Cal.

Diary Of A Steel Worker

By Theodore Kovalesky

The other day I worked with a man who was limping around the furnace, obviously in pain as he walked. Every now and then when he had a chance he would sit down on a wheelbarrow or lean against the wall for a few moments rest. When I asked him what the trouble was, he told me that he had hurt his foot.

"Did you go to the first aid?" I asked him.

"Oh, I hurt it outside," he told me, "and I can't afford to lay off."

What an old, old story this is! Any workingman can remember scores of times that he has gone to work tired, sick, or injured for the simple reason that he couldn't afford to lay off.

Every winter we steelworkers have colds; many of us get pneumonia. Our bodies grow old and infirm long before old age would overtake us in some less strenuous occupation.

And yet we earn seventy-eight cents and up an hour!

You hear men say, "You know, I wouldn't mind it so much if they paid us a little more money. If a fellow got maybe fifty, sixty, or seventy dollars a week, he'd expect to work hard. But here a man's subject to get killed or get sick, and he's got to breath all that dust and gas, and we don't make no money at all, especially after the government gets through with our checks."

We see men working double shifts, working sixteen hours on some of the toughest jobs that American industry has to offer. They don't do that for fun or because they're "hungry," that is, greedy. They do it because in this period of soaring prices they need money for food and clothing. They do it because they can't get along on the wretched wages that a "normal" work-week would pay them.

Surely the pain of a bad leg or the discomfort and danger of working when a man's sick seems less frightening than the idea of taking time off and facing an even tighter budget. And it often seems preferable to the thought that he's got to work double shifts to make up that lost time.

This is just another example of the heartlessness of the capitalist system, a system that has outworn its usefulness and can only bring increasing misery to the vast majority of the population.

It's a funny thing. They wear us out and push us into our graves long before we should expect to go; but if some poor devil gets so entangled in misery that he tries to jump off a bridge and end his troubles, they put him in jail.



10 Years Ago In The Militant

SEPTEMBER 15, 1934

NEW YORK—Reporting important progress in plans for fusion of the Communist League (Trotskyist) with the American Workers Party (Musteites), The Militant announced: "Decisive steps were taken last week... for the fusion of the two organizations and the launching of a new revolutionary political party at an early date."

Following the publication by the AWP of a revised draft program indicating a favorable position on the building of a new International, the Communist League had set forth its proposal for unification.

"We had reached the same conclusion about the need for organic unity," replied A. J. Muste, Chairman of the Provisional Organizational Committee of the AWP, which had been instrumental in building the militant unemployed movement in Ohio. "A more detailed communication dealing with questions of program, etc., will be in your hands in a few days."

James P. Cannon, writing in The Militant, described the fusion as "of paramount importance." He said, "The merger of these two organizations, of entirely different origins but moving in the same direction, would signify the actual beginning of the building of the new (revolutionary) party... The native militancy of the American workers... would be fused, through such a vanguard party, with that decisive element which has been lacking in all past periods of (American) labor resurgence: scientific doctrine, political clarity, leadership... The Marxist party must be made by the conscious vanguard."

ASBURY PARK—An investigation of the Morro Castle disaster which cost 136 lives, was turned by the ship-owners into an anti-labor drive. "The Ward Line (owners of the Morro Castle) charged Cuban Communists with starting the fire," said The Militant. "If a 'satisfactory' frame-up be concocted, the Ward Line would be relieved of criminal responsibility and... saved millions of dollars in claims. Moreover, a crushing blow could be delivered to organized labor..."

"George I. Alagna, third assistant radio operator and one of the outstanding heroes of the disaster... is being held... For Alagna... is a 'labor agitator'... He was guilty of trying to organize the men aboard ship in protest against rotten food and worse labor conditions."

NEW YORK—The general strike of 500,000 textile workers held firm for the second week, in the face of terror unleashed by the National Guard in five states. 10,000 hosiery workers declared a sympathy walkout. And in Paterson, New Jersey, "the most vicious injunction ever to come to our attention," said The Militant, "has been awarded the dye-house bosses. Under its provisions the dyers must either work or go to jail... reduced to the level of chattel, these workers are now forced by solemn court order either to stay at their places of slavery... or protest, strike, and be sent to the county prisons..." The report concluded, "It won't work, Messrs. Dye-House Bosses! You can't put 20,000 fighting workers in the cooler. Your gunmen couldn't stop the strike with all their bullets and gas, and neither will your injunction!"

Pioneer Paragraphs

THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL AND AMERICAN IMPERIALISM

One of the primary concerns of the United States section of the Fourth International in the struggle against American imperialism is the support of all genuinely progressive revolutionary movements directed against American imperialism in Latin America or the Pacific (the Philippines, Hawaii, Samoa, etc.) or against the Wall Street puppet dictatorships in those countries. While preserving their complete organizational and political independence, reserving and exercising the right to organize the working class in a separate movement and the right to present its own independent program as against the petty bourgeois, vacillating and often treacherous program and activities of the nationalists, the revolutionists in the United States are obliged to rouse the American workers against the sending of any armed forces against the peoples of Latin America and the Pacific; and for the withdrawal of any such forces where they now operate as instruments of imperialist oppression, as well as against any other form of im-

perialist pressure, be it "diplomatic" or "economic", which is calculated to violate the national independence of any country or to prevent its attainment of such national independence. The parties of the Fourth International, throughout the Western Hemisphere, stand for the immediate and unconditional independence of Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands, the Philippine Islands, Hawaii, Samoa and all other direct colonies, dependencies and protectorates of American imperialism. The capitulation of the national bourgeoisie of the Philippines to American imperialist dominance, as well as the attempts by certain sections of the North American bourgeoisie to misuse the sentiment for national independence for their own reactionary ends, reveal the indisparability of proletarian class leadership of the colonial and semi-colonial countries as the only assurance that genuine national independence will be fought for seriously and consistently and be achieved. At the same time, the Fourth Internationalists point out that none of

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

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report of a participant

by **James P. Cannon**

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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.

No-Strike Pledge

Three important union conventions, auto, rubber and shipyard, will meet to decide their policies for the coming year. Of the many important problems confronting the unions the most disputed question will be the fate of the unconditional no-strike pledge. When the no-strike pledge was given it was made contingent, that is, "conditional" on the prompt settlement of grievances by the War Labor Board and the guarantee of certain fundamental rights which the labor movement had gained in decades of struggle.

The promises to observe these conditions and guarantees have turned out to be a cruel hoax. Instead of the prompt settlement of grievances the WLB has turned out to be the Graveyard of Grievances. All the supposed guarantees have been consistently violated. Wages have been frozen under the notorious "Little Steel formula," workers have been frozen to their jobs under the Roosevelt-McNutt forced labor plan, grievances are ignored, contract violations take place with impunity, corporation provocations are intensified. Despite the scuttling of the promises and guarantees of the government, the powers-that-be insist that labor remain committed to the no-strike pledge.

The labor bureaucrats have permitted the "conditional" no-strike pledge to be transformed into unconditional surrender to the employers and their political agents in government. With labor deprived of its most effective economic weapon the union-busting drive has proceeded apace. Those union militants and locals who resisted corporation provocation, who defended the union contract, who fought for union rights and union conditions, became subject to drastic penalties for alleged violation of the no-strike pledge. Thus the no-strike pledge became a weapon for the destruction of internal union democracy as well as for the weakening and undermining of the union structure.

The experience of the past few years has demonstrated that labor can defend its standard of living and maintain its union conditions only by the free exercise of its fighting powers. The most

important task, therefore, facing the union militants at the auto, rubber and shipyard conventions is the fight to rescind the no-strike pledge.

Dumbarton Oaks

When it comes to the fundamental issues involving the interests of American imperialism both Republican and Democratic leaders set aside their differences and unite. This is the significance of Thomas E. Dewey's major campaign address on foreign affairs made at Louisville last week.

The Republican presidential candidate endorsed "the form of the world organization which is growing out of the Dumbarton Oaks conferences" — conferences being held behind closed doors with the decisions hidden from the people. He also approved Roosevelt's policy of preserving "peace by force." The world organization, Dewey said, should develop "effective cooperative means to prevent or repel military aggression," and added: "Such means should include the use of force as well as the mobilization of international opinion or moral pressure and of economic sanctions."

Dewey demanded unity at home on foreign policy so that the Wall Street plutocracy could face the world united. "These efforts must never be made subjects for partisan political advantage." He pointed to the conferences between his representative, John Foster Dulles, and Secretary Hull as "a practical beginning of an attempt to formulate an American foreign policy which will go on decade after decade regardless of the party in power."

The Militant has always contended that the differences which appeared to separate the Democratic and Republican parties on questions of foreign policy were superficial and transient. The dispute between "isolationists" and "interventionists," for example, simply reflected tactical differences between two tendencies within the capitalist camp over methods and timing. One group of American capitalists thought their interests could best be promoted by waging war first against Japan for the Pacific, while another wanted to crush Germany first and deal with Japan later.

With the development of the war these tactical differences have been largely erased and now there is a virtual coalescence of the two tendencies. The presidential candidates of both capitalist parties support an identical foreign policy and stand together behind Wall Street's aims of conquering and exploiting the world.

In order to maintain the capitalist two-party system and to continue deceiving and misleading the masses, the agents of Big Business try to sustain the fiction of major differences between the Republican and Democratic machines. But their real basic identity of aims breaks through this fiction in the sphere of foreign policy where American capitalism demands unity on its predatory and ruthless program of world imperialism.

Military Training

The conspiracy to subject the American people to the domination of a military caste is being speeded up as the military collapse of Germany draws closer. The proposal by General Marshall to impose a system of "post-war" compulsory training has been hailed by the capitalist press, endorsed by the Roosevelt administration, and promised quick action by the political deputies of Big Business in Congress. The Marshall proposal is part of an overall plan on "post-war policies" written last January by Hanson W. Baldwin the military commentator of the *N. Y. Times*. According to Baldwin the plan includes "a Navy and Air Force larger than any in the world, a sizeable Army, peacetime selective service," as well as "the establishment of a system of international policing" by the armed forces of the United States.

Baldwin reported that the brass hats were anxious to put over their plans before "the War spirit of America has subsided." The reason for their haste in pushing their plans through while the war is in progress was revealed by Charles E. Wilson, president of the General Electric Corporation. Speaking before the Army Ordnance Association in support of the program of militarization, the corporation executive informed an audience composed of brass hats and Big Business representatives that it was necessary to "set the machinery in motion" because "the revulsion against war not too long hence will be an almost insuperable obstacle to overcome."

The conspiracy to Prussianize the American nation, to elevate the reactionary military caste to a dominating position in American life free from control by the people, is proceeding behind the deception of "safeguarding the peace." The real aims are to impose Wall Street's domination over the world and to subject American civilian life to military control. What this means to the labor movement, has already been seen in the leading role which the brass hats have taken in spearheading the union-smashing campaign of the corporations.

To smash the conspiracy to Prussianize the nation under the domination of a union-hating capitalist officer caste the labor movement must counterpose its own military program: For military training of workers, financed by the government, but under the 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. Only by learning the military arts will the workers be able to protect their organizations and institutions from the reactionary offensive of the bosses. Only by a proletarian military program will the labor movement prevent the creation of a permanent anti-labor military caste.

WORKERS' FORUM

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

The Negro Struggle

Editor:

A near-riot occurred recently at Calship which gave some of us who work there a pretty vivid picture of the mood of our Negro fellow-workers, the problems they face, and the kind of treatment they can expect from the company.

The noon yard show was ending with the playing of the national anthem. The five-minute whistle had blown, so some workers were hurrying to get to their jobs before the final whistle. The rest were standing at attention.

An electrician leadman walked out to the middle of the road and knocked the hat off a Negro who was walking to his job. Within a minute five other Negroes had joined the one whose hat had been knocked off. They were obviously furious at the insult. A wall seemed to spring up between the colored and white workers and it looked as though there would be real trouble. Anything could have started a free-for-all.

A white worker went over to the Negroes and expressed sympathy, condemning the insulting white worker as stupid, ignorant, not worth fighting. Actually, a fight would have been bad for the colored workers. The location is near the all-white AFL machine shop with a predominantly backward, anti-Negro composition.

Another white worker, well-meaning but confused, also joined the group. He said, "That fellow had no business doing that. But you shouldn't have been wearing your hat while they were playing the national anthem." (White workers had also been wearing hats, but no one had said anything to them.)

A tall Negro welder looked down at the white man and said, "You know, when I walk along and they're playing that, I don't hear anything; all I hear is 'Stay in your place. For white only.' I don't have any respect for that." The final whistle sent the machinists back into the shop, to stand belligerently at the entrance. After considering the matter a while, the colored workers decided the odds were too much against them and left.

Immediately, "plant protection" cops arrived on the scene — to offer the man who had almost

provoked a riot "protection" on the way home!

The incident convinced many of us that the Negroes will fight for equality now and that they don't stand the chance of a snowball in hell unless the fight is conducted in an organized manner, not on an individual basis, and together with the white workers who will unite with them. They know that the fight against the boss, and the dog eat dog system he represents, is the common fight of all workers.

J. B.
Los Angeles, Cal.

Lockheed Speedup

Editor:

Recently the graveyard shift was eliminated in our department at Lockheed. Workers were transferred to other departments and other shifts. The same quantity of work has to be put out. All production departments have been time-studied for the past year. The result is increased speedup — slave driving.

The graveyard shift will be eliminated in the entire plant within 60 to 90 days. The corporation is trouble hunting, and they will get it from the workers. There are increasing indications of this.

H. T.
Los Angeles

Workers' Share Of National Income

Editor:

Many workers who are still for Roosevelt say, "You are making more under Roosevelt than you ever did before." The statement is false because of the high cost of living and the income tax. But even if it were true, the fact remains that we should be making more for our labor than ever before because we are more productive. That is, we produce more per hour than we ever did before and at a smaller wage cost per unit of output.

Too many working people are not aware of the fact that labor is getting a smaller percentage of the total national income now than ever before, even though labor is better organized today and despite the fact that we are working under the "man who did more for labor unions than anyone before him — President Roosevelt." I read some statistics some time

ago showing that for every dollar the New Deal put in the pockets of the workers it put four dollars into the pockets of the rich. When I showed these statistics to a Roosevelt admirer, he said that was all right because a dollar in the worker's pocket was better than none at all — no matter how much the rich get!

This is very unsound reasoning. The *CIO Economic Outlook* of January 1941 points out: "If there is to be a sound national economy the share of national income going to wages and salaries should rise in proportion to the national income." That was printed over three years ago before the wage freeze and price skyrocketing. The proportion of the national income going to the working man is much less now.

Dewey says he can do what Roosevelt is doing, but do it better. I doubt that Dewey could keep the working people in subjection better than Roosevelt is doing. Neither one will do anything for the working man, and neither one will get my vote.

L. Kemp
Los Angeles, Calif.

Ousted By PAC

Editor:

The Director of the CIO War Relief Committee for this area has just quit his job because he couldn't remain on the union payroll and still keep up activities for an independent labor party. He is Charles Paddock, War Relief Director for Iowa, Nebraska, North and South Dakota, since 1943.

Paddock says that "some local CIO leaders in Iowa" demanded his removal because he supported "genuine independent political action in the state, a development opposed by the Political Action Committee leaders." He asserts that he wrote on his "own time as an individual," to several CIO members in the state, urging them to establish a third party "because labor has no chance with either Roosevelt or Dewey in the White House."

It seems that the PAC is high-pressureing an outspoken union leader who wants labor to take a real step toward political action. Maybe they're afraid the workers won't believe the PAC build-up for Roosevelt!

A Subscriber
Des Moines

INTERNATIONAL NOTES

INDIA

N. M. Joshi, general secretary of the All-India Trade Union Congress, has made an appeal to the British Parliament and "especially the Labor Party," to "help the Indian working class not by delaying freedom for India, but by securing in the future constitution their full rights to citizenship, adult franchise and an adequate share of political power."

Meanwhile, Joshi added, "British labor should secure immediately the release of political prisoners, among whom there are many respected trade union leaders and by initiating negotiations for political settlement."

"To those in the British Labor party who accept the miserable condition under which the working classes of India are at present living and belittle the importance of political freedom, I say that the Indian workers have waited too long and have not yet secured from the British government even such elementary measures of social reform as health and unemployment insurance and old age pensions."

From Joshi's own statement it is obvious that he continues to look for the freedom of India and betterment of the terrible situation of India's workers not from independent struggle against the British overlords but through further compromises with them. This is the same craven policy of surrender pursued by Gandhi and other leaders of the Indian National Congress.

The British rulers however have shown themselves to be far more intransigent in defending their threatened imperialist interests than this trade union leader is in putting forward the demands of the Indian workers.

Joshi's appeal for support to the equally cowardly leaders of the British Labor party is bound to fall on deaf ears. Can these people who form part of the Tory-coalition government and oppose the demands of the English workers be expected to conduct any

fight for the colonial slaves from whose exploitation their own privileges are derived?

The Indian workers will be able to acquire democratic rights and freedom only by casting aside the Joshi's and waging irreconcilable struggle against their foreign slavemasters. Their independent class struggle will strike responsive chords among the British workers who face a common enemy in the Tory ruling class.

GREECE

In a recent "Washington Merry-Go-Round" column Drew Peron has disclosed that sixty percent of the Greek Navy personnel and twenty percent of the Greek soldiers are today prisoners of the British. Hundreds of Greek political leaders are now in British concentration camps.

The recent mutinies in the Greek army and navy which preceded these imprisonments were directly provoked by the British intention to use these forces to fight against the partisans in Greece who are waging war against the Nazis. Churchill has publicly promised to keep King George of Greece on his throne and this detested monarch has in turn promised to sanction British occupation of Crete and the Dodecanese Islands after the war.

Churchill's principal fear is that the armed insurgent workers and peasants will not limit their struggle to driving out the Nazi invaders but will proceed to make inroads into capitalist property and set up their own workers' government. The Partisans, it is reported, have demanded nationalization of railroads and public utilities which are owned by British capitalists.

In the light of these facts the gross betrayal of the partisan ranks being committed by the Stalinist leaders of the EAM stands out in all its nakedness. On September 3 five members of the EAM, headed by Professor Svolos, came out of the mountains of Greece and were sworn in as

members of Premier George Papandreou's cabinet of the monarchist government-in-exile. This is the government which suppressed the anti-monarchist rebellion of the Greek soldiers and sailors and has imprisoned thousands of the EAM's militant supporters!

In the same dispatch from Cairo, the *N. Y. Times* correspondent indicates that this Stalinist sell-out is likely to encounter fierce resistance from the ranks of the partisans. "One must await future developments," he remarks, "to be certain that Aris Kilaras, heading the militant wing of the EAM's armed forces, the ELAS, and Gen. Napoleon Zervas, leading its most powerful opponents — the EDES — (the supporters of the monarchy) on the other, will really agree to call off their quarrels."

ARGENTINA

The apprehensions of the rising tide of communist revolution which fill the capitalist rulers in all countries today, regardless of their political regime, have been clearly expressed in an important speech to the Buenos Aires Stock Exchange made by Vice-President Peron of Argentina on August 25. As Minister of Labor and Social Welfare, Peron warned the Argentine capitalists to support his demagogic program of social reform to avert "the Communist danger," which, if unchecked, he said, might lead to civil war.

He pointed to days of tremendous strife ahead. Argentina feels the repercussions of world events, he said, and the clash of ideologies on European battlefields would produce differences that may end in civil war. In that event, he predicted, those who possess much will lose everything.

These warnings against the advancing revolution tie in closely with similar sentiments expressed by the Pope in Rome last week. Argentina is a strongly Catholic country and the Catholic Church is the official state church.

Press Rushes to Defense Of Railroad Monopolists

Railroad presidents and other spokesmen for management from the conservative columnist David Lawrence to the *N. Y. Times* have been howling about the anti-trust suit of the Department of Justice against the western railroads.

The government charges that the railroad corporations used their Western Agreement and other mechanisms to monopolize traffic and restrain commerce in violation of the Sherman Anti-Trust Act. Among other complaints the Justice Department accuses the roads of slowing down service on perishables, delaying installation of air cooling, exacting exorbitant extra charges, and discouraging low-rate passenger traffic.

J. P. Morgan and Kuhn, Loeb and Co. have been included in this sweeping indictment. Naturally the pen-prostitutes of Big Business have rushed to their defense.

The *N. Y. Times*, shocked to find the sacred names of Morgan and Kuhn, Loeb dragged into court, suggests that there's nothing behind the suit but a bit of partisan politics by the administration. "If the suit were suspicious on no other ground, it would be so on that of its timing"—that is, before a presidential election. Roosevelt's ex-rubber czar, President William Jefferson of Union Pacific declares that the Department of Justice's action is obstructing the war effort by "threatening the movement of trains and the vital war materials and troops they carry."

Wall Street resists with all its might the slightest investigation into its predatory activities and the most modest regulation of its profit extortions. By raising similar "patriotic" cries, the railroads forced the Justice Department to drop a previous suit.

"Trust-busting" has been a favorite pastime with capitalist governments in the U. S. since the days of Theodore Roosevelt. In reality, the main purpose of these highly publicized suits against the monopolists is to throw dust into the eyes of the masses.

Big Publisher Projects Program for Wall Street

Now that the war against Germany is drawing to a close, the spokesmen for Wall Street are becoming more brazen in expressing their real criminal aims in this war.

Thus the Sept. 9 *Business Week* publishes a two-page editorial by James H. McGraw, Jr., president of McGraw-Hill Publishing Company, on "The Stake of the United States in Expanding World Trade." This editorial, which has been widely reprinted in full-page advertisements, can be regarded as a manifesto of American Big Business.

"American business," the editorial begins, "is confronted with the need for an immediate decision on long-term economic policy." It should not repeat the mistakes made after the last war. "Our war-inflated industrial capacity cannot be allowed to drop back to prewar levels without causing a domestic crisis. . . . And, because so much of the world is geared to the American industrial machine, we can no longer contemplate calmly the repercussions of a largely self-sufficient trade program. . . ."

What business needs above all, according to McGraw, "are stable governments which command popular support. In the absence of strong governments, currency stability cannot be achieved." This double-talk means that "strong" and "stable" capitalist regimes of the dictatorial type are indispensable to the expansion of American imperialism.

On the economic side McGraw proposes that in addition to loans and permanent monetary and credit arrangements the United States let down the barriers to imports so that other nations can pay for the exported products of American industry and the interest on loans. These imports however are to be exclusively agricultural and mineral (sugar, wool, copper, fats, oils, wines, etc.) In other words, monopolized industry is to be sustained at the expense of American agriculture.

Dominate the planet, subjugate its peoples, ruthlessly expand foreign markets, reorganize the economy of the entire world to serve the needs of American imperialism—this is the Wall Street program.

U. S.-Nazi Optical Cartel Deals Help Arm Hitler

Assistant Attorney General Wendell Berge divulged another page in the hitherto hidden record of the crimes of Big Business last week when he cited some facts in the dealings between the Bausch and Lomb Optical Company, Rochester, N. Y. and Carl Zeiss, the German optical trust.

Berge showed how the secret cartel deals made in violation of the Versailles Treaty and of the United States anti-trust laws helped Hitler prepare for war. On April 28, 1921, Bausch and Lomb made an agreement with the German monopoly under which the American firm got a monopoly on the U. S. market for military optics and Zeiss got the rest of the world market. Zeiss was given power to determine who should head the Bausch and Lomb military department, which was supplying America's military services. This secret agreement remained in force after Hitler came to power.

Thus even after the invasion of Czechoslovakia, Hitler obtained secret military information on American production of such vital equipment as periscopes, range finders, bomb sights, torpedo directors, gun sights, etc. Bausch and Lomb refused to sell military optical equipment to France, England and other countries. It curtailed American production of such equipment.

These cartel arrangements are typical, said Berge, of other deals between American and German monopolies. Forecasting that in the next few months there would be an exodus from Germany of political agents posing as business men who would try to renew these cartel deals, Berge noted that the DuPont Company was already planning to renew its cartel deal with the German chemical trust.