

## Pardon Denial To 18 Arouses Strong Protest

A mass meeting to protest the denial of a presidential pardon to the 18 Trotskyist and Minneapolis Local 544-CIO leaders railroaded to prison under the infamous Smith "Gag" Act, will be held under the auspices of the Civil Rights Defense Committee on October 27, 8:15 P. M., at the Manhattan Center, 311 W. 34th Street, New York City.

The meeting will also honor and welcome home 3 of the 6 Minneapolis Labor Case prisoners who are completing their sentences on October 20, after serving almost 10 months of a one year and a day sentence, with time off for good behavior. Oscar Shoefeld, Alfred Russel and Karl Kuehn, who have been confined in the federal penitentiary at Danbury, Conn., will address the meeting on behalf of their 12 comrades still remaining in prison under longer sentences. Harry DeBoer, Clarence Hamel and Edward Palmquist, imprisoned in the Sandstone, Minn., penitentiary, will also be released on October 20.

Among the prominent labor and civil liberties leaders scheduled to speak at the mass meeting and help rally support against the conspiracy to keep these militant labor fighters in prison, will be: Thomas DeLorenzo, President of the Brewster Aeronautical Local 365, CIO United Automobile Workers; Theodore A. Jackson, Eastern Regional Director and President of New York Local 370 AFL Dining Car Employees Union; Henry Fruchter, National Educational Director, CIO United Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Employees; and Roger Baldwin, National Director, American Civil Liberties Union.

### STRONG PROTEST

George Novack, National Secretary of the CRDC, who will be chairman of the mass meeting, this week issued a strong statement condemning the action of the Roosevelt administration in denying the pardon appeals and ignoring the demands of over 300 labor and liberal organizations representing more than 3,000,000 members.

Novack's statement reported the

### Setback for Jim Crow

Philadelphia Local 234, CIO Transport Workers Union, collective bargaining agency for the municipal transit employees, last week elected a Negro worker, Maxwell Windham, as vice president. Four other Negro members were elected to the local's executive board. Over 2,200 votes were cast.

This was the loyal union workers demonstrative answer to Jim Crowism. A few weeks ago the Philadelphia Transportation Company, in collusion with its company union agents, incited an anti-Negro walkout with the intention of smashing the TWU through racial conflict.

A hand-picked grand jury two weeks ago concluded its "investigation" of the "strike" by whitewashing the company, defending its Jim Crow policies, upholding company unionism and attacking the CIO which had opposed the Jim Crow walkout.

letter received from Daniel M. Lyons, U. S. Pardon Attorney, which declared that the Department of Justice "would not be warranted in presenting to the President" the pardon petitions of the framed Trotskyists. The CRDC spokesman charged that "this refusal even to present to President Roosevelt the pardon petitions of the 18 is the latest of the many severe blows dealt to civil liberties in this important labor case."

Pointing out that the administration has contemptuously

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## Stalinist Assassin Siqueiros Invited To Teach In Buffalo

David Alfaro Siqueiros, assassin of Stalin's GPU murder-machine who led the machine-gun and fire-bomb assault on Leon Trotsky's Coyocan home in Mexico, May 24, 1940, is being invited to this country as an instructor for the Art Institute of Buffalo, Inc., Buffalo, New York.

This announcement was made by Miss Betty Sharp, executive secretary of the Buffalo Institute, who said that the Art Institute plans to have Siqueiros conduct a six weeks course beginning February 12, 1945. During that period he is also supposed to be painting a mural for the school. Thus the attempt is revived to smuggle this self-confessed assassin into the United States under cover of his reputation as a mural painter.

Siqueiros long ago coupled his profession as artist with his secret services as a gunman for the GPU. Attempts to get him here have continued ever since Siqueiros' return to Mexico last March from Chile, via Cuba, where he fled to avoid facing a Mexican court order for his arrest.

### OFFICIAL AID

The GPU, whose activities in the western hemisphere are organized under the direction of Soviet Ambassador to Mexico, Constantine Umansky, secured assistance from Nelson Rockefeller, Co-ordinator of Inter-American Affairs for the U. S. State Department, in its initial effort to send Siqueiros here last March. At that time the Rockefeller committee agreed to sponsor an Art tour by Siqueiros in this country.

This plan was announced soon after Siqueiros' return to Mexico when the Mexican press was carrying indignant articles over the fact that this murderer could walk the streets with impunity. The plan to bring him here under the auspices of the Rockefeller committee also aroused wide protests from labor and liberal circles in this country.

Time Magazine then reported that Siqueiros had openly boasted in Mexico of assistance he had received "from Nelson Rockefeller's coordinators of inter-American affairs" during his junket



through the Latin-American countries while murder charges against him in Mexico were being shelved. The announced plans to bring Siqueiros here with the open endorsement of the administration's most important committee on Latin American affairs were quickly dropped.

If Siqueiros is now permitted entry, it is with the full knowledge and approval of the State Department. His record as an assassin is a matter of public knowledge and would exclude anyone lacking the support and diplomatic connection which the GPU affords its agents.

### GPU RECORD

Siqueiros has been closely identified with the GPU since the Spanish Civil War where he received his training. His career in the GPU includes the following episodes: 1) As a colonel in the Spanish Republican army, he functioned as a member of the

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# WLB Rejects AFL-CIO Demands To Modify Wage-Freezing Formula

## Spanish Partisans Start War Against Regime Of Franco

Previous dispatches, indicating that civil war had broken out against the Franco regime in northern Spain, were confirmed last week in what was evidently a heavily censored report from Madrid.

This report, the first to come directly from the Spanish capital, stated that government troops, known as the "Expeditionary Force of Prevention," had virtually completed "the mopping up of remaining pockets of Spanish Republican Maquis who crossed the French border" and that an estimated 200 of the insurrectionists who attacked police and military posts had been "apprehended and executed."

According to a Blue Network broadcast from London, however, the happenings in the region of the Spanish-French frontier are of much greater magnitude than the Madrid report sought to suggest. Fighting is "increasing in fury, with General Franco forced to bring up artillery and mechanized equipment against the Spanish Republicans," the broadcast declared.

The forces fighting Franco consist of Spanish Republican refugees — including Anarchists, Stalinists, Socialists — who had fought in the ranks of the French Maquis against the Nazis in southern France. After the defeat of the Nazis, they seized the Spanish consulate at Perpignan, close to the frontier, and then moved into Spain in force. Estimates of the number who crossed the frontier vary from 10,000 to 20,000. There has yet been no indication whether the masses in northern Spain have joined with the returning refugees to give battle to the Franco regime.

The extreme shakiness of the Franco regime has been a subject of speculation in the capitalist press for some time. The British and American imperialists, both fear, with good reason, that a renewal of civil war in Spain may lead rapidly to social revolution and have been casting about for methods to head off such a development.

The foreign editor of PM, writing from Paris on Oct. 14, reveals that in 1942, the Spanish monarchists, "with British support," tried to make a deal with Franco under which the Bourbon Prince would ascend the throne, proclaim an amnesty and "establish a liberal monarchy on British lines." The plan fell through because of Franco's refusal to share power with the monarchy.

The Republican refugees now fighting in northern Spain are organized, together with Spanish

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## Mexican Government Frames 56 In Attack Against Unions

In an attempt to crush the mounting resistance of the Mexican masses to intolerable conditions of price inflation and hunger, the Mexican capitalist-landlord government has launched a campaign of savage repressions climaxed by the jailing and frameup prosecution of 56 worker militants, members and leaders of the Workers National Front and the Anarchist Federation of Workers.

These arrests and trials followed the bloody events of the giant demonstration on July 20 in Mexico City, when the workers sought to make a peaceful mass protest against the government's revision of the Social Security Law which eliminated many gains won by years of workers' struggle and against the soaring living costs which are fast reducing the Mexican masses to starvation conditions.

While the peaceful meeting was being addressed by the workers' spokesmen, secret police provocateurs fired off revolvers and gave the pretext for a murderous attack on the demonstration by uniformed police and firemen. The police opened fire on the massed crowd, while firemen turned high-pressure hoses on the workers to disperse them. One worker was killed and over 30 were wounded. The demonstrators defended

themselves fiercely with rocks against bullets and a number of police and firemen were added to the list of injured. This event was the signal for a frenzied press campaign on the part of the ruling class and traitorous Stalinists calling for brutal suppression of the workers' struggle and the organizations and leaders at the head of it. Raids on the workers' union halls and mass arrests followed. 200 workers, including a number of women, were rounded up by the police, jailed and beaten. After a preliminary "investigation," 56 leaders were held in federal prison, without bail, for trial.

A fantastic series of charges has been brought against the imprisoned defendants, including "firing arms," sedition, insurrection, aggression against the police, burning and damaging property, wounding and insulting the authorities, "social dissolution,"

### And It Took One Year To Cook!



News Item: "After a year's study, the WLB declined to make any recommendation on union pleas to modify the Little Steel Formula."

## British Troops Sent To Crush Insurgent Masses In Greece

By Ralph Graham

With the approval of Washington and the counter-revolutionary Stalinist gang in Moscow, the British imperialists are moving armed forces into Greece to crush the insurrectionary Greek workers and install in Athens the rotten Greek government-in-exile as the guardian of capitalist private property.

Events in Greece provide one of the clearest demonstrations thus far of the reactionary purposes animating the policies of the Allied imperialists. Last week the Greek masses rose and seized Athens and Piraeus as Nazi forces began evacuating the country. Partisan forces in other towns and innumerable villages likewise rose and took control. Nowhere did they have difficulty in overcoming resistance by the retreating Nazis and their Greek laborators.

But despite this proof that the Greek masses were proceeding to liquidate the remnants of foreign oppression and wipe out the native reaction which gave the oppressors support, Churchill and his friends decided to intervene. Against whom? Obviously against the insurgent masses!

The character of the British intervention has already been made transparently clear by a single incident in Patras, where a quelling Security Battalion, organized during the Nazi occupation, surrendered to British forces by

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### "War Cries"

When in a recent pre-election speech Vice-President Wallace let slip a mild rebuke to "Wall Street," the October 16 Daily Worker took him to task for "that kind of indiscriminate attack."

"People in the Roosevelt camp will have to refrain from sounding the war cries of old battles against Wall Street," warns the organ of the Stalinists.

These newest recruits to the camp of capitalist "free enterprise" want the "war cries" to be raised only against militant workers who dare to stand up against Wall Street and its government.

## Layoffs Spread In Steel Plant Area Near Youngstown

YOUNGSTOWN, Ohio, Oct. 3 — The Republic Steel Corporation, headed by Tom Girdler, has laid off many workers and has reduced the working hours in the Canton-Massillon area to the forty hour week. These are the results of cut-backs in the steel industry, before the war is ended. What can be expected when steel orders for heavy armament are cut still further?

The workers do not oppose working the forty hour week, but what they do oppose is having their weekly wages cut. They need more money to meet the high cost of living. The proposal of the CIO Economic Outlook that the workers be paid the same weekly wages on the 40 hour week as they received when working 48 is a good proposal but it is meaningless unless the union is willing to fight for it. The leadership of the labor movement is continuing its record of opposing any militant action to get results.

To meet this major problem that is facing the workers in steel, as well as in other industries, a program that will result in full employment for all is necessary. It will be necessary to adopt the sliding scale of hours and sliding scale of wages to keep up with the rising cost of living and at the same time keep all employed.

To bring such a program into realization, a militant and independent policy will have to be adopted on the political front as well as in the unions. The workers, by discarding the no-strike policy and launching a labor party, will be able to get results.

## Board Refuses to Recommend Change After Year's Stalling

Union Bureaucrats Give WLB Labor Cover; 'Impartial' Chairman Davis Knives Workers

By R. Bell

After stalling for over a year, the War Labor Board has refused to "recommend" that Roosevelt modify the wage-freezing Little Steel formula after previously rejecting that section of a report by its own special panel stating that the President had the power to do so. In an astounding decision, the WLB has admitted that the whole rigamarole of fact-finding panels, hearings, briefs, etc., is nothing but a time-consuming device calculated to stall, prolong, and filibuster the demand of the unions for an upward revision of the Little Steel formula.

This decision confirms the repeated contention of *The Militant* that the WLB is nothing but an agency

to enforce the wage-freeze and police the unions in the interests of the bosses. It strips bare the pretentious fraud that the board is an "impartial" body from whom the unions can expect anything but a raw deal. The labor skates on the WLB who participate in and share the responsibility for the decision of the board can no longer cover their naked betrayal with the fig-leaf of "impartiality."

After taking volumes of testimony over a period of a year, including exhaustive statistics on the rising cost of living, illustrated by tables, charts and graphs, the WLB adopted a resolution declaring: "The board is not sufficiently informed as to the possible effects of a modification of the Little Steel formula on the price structure and on the national economy generally to warrant assurance that any modification could be made consistent with the stabilization needs of the country and with the provisions of the act of Oct. 2, 1942" (as renewed by the Economic Stabilization Renewal Act of June, 1944). The board will, therefore, not include in its factual report to the President any recommendations for action one way or the other with regard to the Little Steel formula.

WLB chairman Davis dismisses the demand of the unions that this inequity be corrected by saying: "If you try to correct inequities with wage increases and you cannot hold prices, you are just chasing yourself around the barn, and every time you go around the barn you give the white-collar workers a kick in the seat." This argument has the unmistakable odor of having been gathered "around the barn." Davis implies that the white-collar workers have benefited by the wage

NO REVISION  
Translating into simple English the language of William Davis, the Park Avenue lawyer who functions as the "impartial" chairman of the WLB, this

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## BRIDGES' UNION POLICY HAS STALINIST ROOTS

By Oscar Nelson

The failure of the Bridges-Stalinist clique to win complete support for its permanent no-strike pledge at a conference of longshoremen held in San Francisco last July reflects the widespread discontent with Stalinist policies in the rank and file. The entire Portland delegation and four of the ten delegates from Bridges' home local, the largest longshore local on the Pacific coast, voted against the permanent no-strike pledge. In addition, some supporters of Bridges abstained, fearing the wrath of their membership upon returning home.

Condemnation of Harry Bridges and his policies is widespread in the ranks, and is usually expressed as follows: "Bridges is afraid of being deported and is selling us down the river to save his skin." Or "... Bridges isn't the man he used to be in 1934 — now that he's got a good soft job, he doesn't care about the rank and file as long as he keeps his pie-card." While there may be some elements of truth in these speculations, they do not represent a basic explanation of what decides Bridges' policy. It is necessary to understand that as a supporter of the Stalinist movement in this country, Bridges executes its policies and changes his union position in accord with the zigzags of the Stalinist political line.

During the Hitler-Stalin pact the Bridges-Stalinist clique con-

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# TRADE UNION NOTES

By Joseph Keller

## The UAW Referendum

Mystery story addicts in the labor movement now have the opportunity to "exercise the little grey cells" on a mystifying "whodunit" provided by the recent convention of the CIO United Automobile, Aircraft and Agricultural Implement Workers of America.

It is reported that the union's International Board in its latest meeting at Atlantic City was split over whether the motion of the convention to hold a membership referendum on the no-strike pledge said "commencing" 90 days after adjournment of the convention or "within" 90 days.

We doubt if there was a single delegate voting for the referendum who failed at the time to ask himself the question, "What angle will these Philadelphia lawyers on the Board cook up to stall the referendum?"

Now the angle is disclosed, according to the reports. It is a dispute over the not inconsiderable difference between the words "commencing" and "within." For an event which merely "commences" has the possibility of continuing over an indefinite period of time.

What was the actual word used? Here was a motion read at least twice before over 2,300 alert delegates, wise to the tricks of the parliamentary fakers. It was debated for at least an hour. Yet the "best minds" of the UAW leadership are reported disagreed on the precise wording used.

In an effort to unravel this mystery, we have studied the word for word, and boo for boo, report of the convention. We cite the Official Proceedings of Thursday, September 14, 1944.

Resolutions Committee Chairman Matthews, after two resolutions to reaffirm the no-strike pledge had been voted down, made the proposal of the majority of the committee, including Vice President Walter Reuther's brother, Victor, for a vote on two separate motions: 1. a motion to reaffirm the no-strike pledge, 2. for a membership referendum "within 90 days after convention adjournment." (Page 18) supported by a minority of V. Reuther, Johnson, Garrison.

Garrison, Ford Local 400, a one-man minority who introduced the resolution to rescind the no-strike pledge, offered a minority report, to vote on one motion for "the no-strike pledge to remain in effect until a referendum" and for a referendum vote "commencing ninety (90) days after adjournment." (Page 19)

The majority report on procedure carried. The motion to reaffirm the no-strike pledge carried with Reuther's support. Then, the majority made a motion not to hold a referendum. During the course of debate, V. Reuther first referred to "a referendum vote on it in 90 days." (Page 24). The second part of Garrison's motion, on a referendum, was placed before the body. According to the Official Proceedings (Page 26.), his motion as he read it stated: "commencing ninety days after adjournment."

V. Reuther arises as first speaker in support of this motion, beginning: "Brother Chairman and delegates, I am in favor of the report of the Minority that a referendum on this matter be held within 90 days."

The debate continues on this motion for an hour. It is ready for a vote. Garrison reads the motion once more (Page 32.), recorded as "a referendum vote... commencing 90 days after the adjournment of this convention."

A roll-call vote is called. There is preliminary discussion on clarification and procedure. Delegate Boyle, Local 131, arises and addresses the chairman, President R. J. Thomas. (Page 33.).

"Delegate Boyle, Local 131: A fellow delegate asked you if it would be within ninety days or after and you did not answer it over the loud speaker.

"President Thomas: It was answered over the loud speaker, within ninety days."

There is the evidence, aside from the memories and impressions of several thousand participants and ear-witnesses to the debate. It narrows the mystery down to two possibilities.

Either the record of the proceedings was "doctored" to substitute the word "commencing" for "within" or V. Reuther, no mean hair-splitter on the wording of resolutions, was aware that the official motion read "commencing" but deliberately misled the delegates into thinking it read "within." Even the Chairman affirmed the wording as "within" on direct question, and it was on President Thomas' final interpretation of the motion that the vote was taken.

Whatever the mechanism employed, a contemptible piece of fraud has been attempted against the 1,300,000 members of the UAW-CIO on the most important issue ever to go before the organization, an issue whose outcome would have tremendous consequences for the course of the entire labor movement in the next period.

Some or all of the top leaders of the UAW are unquestionably guilty of this shameful trick to violate the mandate of the convention and deprive the members of their democratic right to vote on the no-strike policy.

But the UAW membership has more than once demonstrated it knows how to deal with such slysterism. At every convention, the ranks have battered the leadership to its knees when it attempted to put over bureaucratic measures. The auto workers did not fight for the referendum just to be "conned" out of their rights by two-bit sharpshooters. Only the leaders themselves will suffer by this maneuver, and be further exposed. We can expect that the militant UAW membership will not wait overlong for the Board to fulfill the convention decision. They will size the situation up in short order, and act accordingly.

A prime example of Roosevelt's ruthless anti-labor policy is his recent attempt to intervene in the dispute between the American Federation of Musicians and the three big recording companies, which alone out of 108 companies have refused to sign the union agreement, approved by the WLB.

Roosevelt sent a telegram to the union's president, James C. Pettillo, urging him to lift the ban on making recordings for the three anti-union monopolies, Victor, Columbia Broadcasting and RCA, on the grounds that "non-compliance may encourage other instances of non-compliance which will impede the war effort."

The WLB originally ruled that the ban be lifted. Since then Director of Economic Stabilization Vinson stated that the WLB order could not be enforced because, as Roosevelt admitted, "your union is not unduly impeding the war effort." Pettillo has declined Roosevelt's "request."

# 3,800 Pamphlets Already Sold In Drive

By Campaign Manager

With one more month to go in the Literature Campaign, eight branches have filled 64 percent or more of their quotas! We are devoting most of the column this week to detailed reports from branches which have done exceptional work in selling to new readers of *The Militant* the set of four Minneapolis Case pamphlets. These pamphlets, "Socialism On Trial," by James P. Cannon, "In Defense of Socialism," by Albert Goldman, "Why We Are In Prison," and "Who Are The 18 Minneapolis Prisoners?" are easy to sell, as the reports indicate; almost all of the new readers are very much interested in the case of the 18. A New York worker, for instance, told our comrades that he had taken the floor in his union to defend the 18. He was eager to discuss the case at length, and to buy the pamphlets.

### FROM OUR MAIL BAG

Los Angeles: Two of our branches are organized on a team basis for this campaign. The Central Branch teams are now being shifted around to conform to geographical considerations, which have proved to be extremely important. Each branch has its own Campaign Director, for more than normal concentration on the campaign. Charts and posters on the walls of the headquarters give an up-to-the-minute picture of the status of the Campaign. In less than three weeks, the Los Angeles section sold over 800 pamphlets. The reaching of what we had previously considered a steep goal now looks easy!

We find that about 70 to 75 percent of our new readers bought the pamphlets. Most of the trade unionists to whom we sold the sets are shipyard workers, although almost all the unions are represented. A high proportion of the readers visited so far have been Negroes, most of them union workers.

Numerous instances were found of readers sharing their Militant with five or six others. In one housing project which we had not covered thoroughly, we found 50 percent of our readers were finishing our job for us by sharing their paper with others in the project! The returns on the four premium sub cards sent to these people should yield fine results.

Sunday afternoon mobilizations gave us the best results, enabling us to systematically cover a large area, and have more of an opportunity to speak to the readers, since they are not as rushed on Sunday. On these mobilizations we have been able to visit an average of six houses per hour. Since many of the comrades stay out three or four hours, an average of 10 to 12 people were visited by each comrade in the mobilization. One comrade, who has the individual record, sold 48 pamphlets in one mobilization. The group record is 328 pamphlets sold during one mobilization. The real records, however, are still to be made. Up to now we have been feeling our way. The real Literature Campaign will begin now, and that means making certain that every reader of *The Militant* has a set of the Minneapolis Case pamphlets.

Buffalo: The central feature of the Literature Campaign is the weekly branch mobilization. Once a week, half to three-quarters of the membership meets; each comrade receives approximately ten names in the same neighborhood. Comrades also spend additional time during the week visiting subscribers. Comrades unable to participate in the mobilization go out when they have free time. All members participate.

Our practice is to send only one comrade to visit the prospective subscriber. The Campaign Director checks results weekly with each comrade. The results are posted on a large score-board at the headquarters. In order to handle the great amount of paper work, we have instituted a card filing system.

Typical comment on *The Militant* is that "It's a swell paper, a real workman's paper." One subscriber told us he would give away the four premium sub cards, and wanted to know where he could get more. Another sold his four to union brothers. As to pamphlet sets, we expect to have sold about 600 by the time the campaign ends—150 percent.

New York: At the halfway mark in the Literature and Subscription Renewal Campaign, the New York Local totals are 193 six-month and one-year subscriptions to *The Militant* and 888 Minneapolis Case pamphlets. In addition we have obtained 144 new Militant premium subs for friends of the new regular subscribers.

## SCOREBOARD

	Quota	Sold	Percent
Cleveland	200	164	82
Flint	10	8	80
Buffalo	400	316	79
St. Paul	140	108	77
Milwaukee	80	60	75
Los Angeles	1500	1044	70
Reading	90	60	67
Minneapolis	330	212	64
Philadelphia	80	36	45
San Francisco	350	152	43
Seattle	500	204	41
New York	2800	888	32
San Diego	80	24	30
Toledo	160	48	30
Bayonne	180	44	25
Chicago	700	176	25
Detroit	1000	180	18
Boston	230	40	17
Youngstown	120	20	17
Newark	700	72	10
Akron	70	0	0
Allentown	40	0	0
New Haven	40	0	0
Pittsburgh	10	0	0
Quakertown	10	0	0
Rochester	140	0	0
St. Louis	10	0	0
Texas	30	0	0
Total	10,000	3,856	38.5



The four pamphlets above, packed in an attractive container, are being offered to new readers of *THE MILITANT* for only 25 cents, by Pioneer Publishers. The regular price is 40c.

## Stalinist Assassin Siqueiros Invited To Teach In Buffalo

(Continued from page 1) GPU, helping to round up and assassinate Spanish revolutionists. 2) Leader of the assault on Trotsky's home, May 24, 1940, when Trotsky's guard and secretary, Robert Sheldon Harte, was kidnapped and murdered. 3) Out on bail at the time of Trotsky's murder by Frank Jackson, August 20, 1940, he escaped from Mexico to avoid being questioned for his complicity in the case. 4) Arrested in Chile as a fugitive from Mexican justice, he was released through the intervention of the Mexican Ambassador to Chile. 5) While in Cuba, preparing to return to Mexico last March, he was reported implicated in the sudden death of a Cuban woman. 6) Returning to Mexico with his wife, Angelica Arenal, he has not been arrested, although the court order for his arrest remains in force.



Through the call-back campaign the branches are obtaining many new introductory 3-month subscriptions to *The Militant*, while getting renewals of the 3-month subs sold previously during the Militant subscription Campaign. For instance our San Pedro agent reports as follows: "Enclosed you will find 109-25c. subs and two \$1 subs obtained during a mobilization yesterday. During the Subscription Campaign we covered the War Housing Projects, but did not finish two of them. We have been sending out one crew to get 25 cent subs there, with the idea in mind that when we finish covering the original subs for renewals we will have more subs so that we can continue with our visiting."

Another letter from our San Pedro agent reports "92 subscriptions sold at this Sunday's mobilization. We were very well received and made many good contacts." Our Seattle agent writes: "These fourteen subs were obtained on our renewal drive of the 25c. trial subs. Some very good contacts were made and our prospects look good."

"Each week brings further heartening results from the work done by the branches during the Subscription Campaign. Our San Francisco agent reports: "The new 6-month sub was secured at our Forum last night. The topic was 'Myth of Racial Superiority' and as a result of our work among the Negro workers in the sub campaign, we are happy to report a very successful Forum with an excellent discussion following. We had a good attendance from among our Negro subscribers and the only two who were not subscribers became subscribers at the close of the Forum. We believe that this is only the beginning of our work. A group of our subscribers have expressed their desire of having a weekly class and this will be started in the very near future."

Another report from San Francisco states: "The person I mentioned who had already disposed of his four trial cards has also given out almost every back issue of the paper to his fellow workers at the shipyard."

The literature work in Youngstown is being expanded, according to a report from our agent there. He writes: "The following are the addresses of two newsstands we want you to publish in *The Militant*—J. Eidelman's Newsstand and Terrace Confectionery. Both are now carrying *The Militant*. "Please send us an additional fifty copies of the paper for the next three weeks. "Enclosed is a 25c. subscription. We expect to have several more soon and will continue to send them in regularly."

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Upon Siqueiros' return to Mexico last March the judge of the First Penal court stated that his order of arrest remains in force. The Mexican daily *Excelsior*, commenting on the murderer's return, reported that "officially, however, it is said that Siqueiros returned to Mexico through the influence of a prominent functionary—the same one who successfully arranged his escape which was such a mockery of the judicial authorities—and that no one will be able to touch him."

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## Spanish Partisans Start War Against Regime Of Franco

(Continued from page 1)

refugees in France and elsewhere, in a Spanish National Union which adopted a program at an underground assembly in Grenoble in 1942. At Toulouse in 1942 the program was ratified by a larger body. It calls for (1) overthrow of the Franco regime and the purging of all fascist elements from the administration; (2) compensation for victims of the Spanish civil war and prisoners of the Franco regime; (3) freedom of speech and religion, assembly and propaganda; (4) bread and work for the masses; (5) democratic elections to fix the political future of Spain.

It will be necessary for the masses to overthrow not only the Franco regime, but also the capitalist system which nurtured Spanish fascism and brought it to power. A capitalist "democratic" regime of the type envisaged by the program of the Spanish National Union is precisely the type of "Popular Front" regime which paved the way for Franco's bloody rule. For the Spanish workers and peasants there is a clear alternative: either a continuation of the dictatorial rule of capital, or the socialist rule of the masses through a Soviet government.

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# Mass Meeting To Protest Denial Of Pardons

(Continued from page 1)

brushed aside appeals on behalf of the 18 from over 3,000,000 organized workers, Novack further declared that its decision "fortifies the vicious Smith 'Gag' Act under which the 18 were the first to be convicted."

Novack charged that the "fact that through an administrative technicality President Roosevelt has not personally ruled upon the pardon applications does not at all absolve him from responsibility in connection with the case." His statement recalls how Roosevelt directly ordered the original prosecution following the personal appeal of AFL Teamsters Czar Daniel J. Tobin. "Only now, when it involves their pardon, are pretexts found which forbid the intervention of the President."

Answering Lyon's claim that "our study of the applications fails to disclose a justification

## Labor Case Defendants In SWP Headquarters



Fourteen of the 18 Socialist Workers Party and Local 544-CIO leaders are pictured together at the party headquarters in Minneapolis, where they gathered before going to jail. Standing (left to right): Farrell Dobbs, Harry DeBoer, E. Palmquist, Clarence Hamel, Emil Hansen, Oscar Coover, Jake Cooper. Sitting (left to right): Max Goldman, Felix Morrow, Albert Goldman, James P. Cannon, Vincent Dunne, Carl Skoglund, Grace Carlson. Three of the men, Harry DeBoer, E. Palmquist and Clarence Hamel, will be released from Sandstone, Minnesota, Penitentiary this week. The others remain serving out their sixteen month sentences.

### Unions Aid 18

Recent contributors to the Civil Rights Defense Committee include the following unions: State, County and Municipal Workers, CIO, Local 500, Dearborn, Mich.; UAW-CIO Local 834, Forest Park, Ill.; International Fur and Leather Workers, CIO, Local 250, Pelotsky, Mich.; Brewers Union, AFL, Local 2, Newark, N. J.; United Brotherhood of Welders, Cutters and Helpers, Local 5, Pasadena, Texas; ILGWU-AFL District Council, Allentown; ILGWU-AFL Local 38, New York City; Textile Workers, CIO, Local 77, Union City, N. J.

Also United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers, CIO, Local 107, Essington, Pa.; ILGWU-AFL Local 340, Dayton, O.; Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Engineers, AFL, Local 528, Jaleton, Pa.; ILGWU-AFL Local 339, Miami; ILGWU-AFL Bonnaz, Singer, Hand Embroiders, Tackers, Stitchers and Pleaters Local 66, New York City; UAW-CIO Local 571, Niagara Falls; Textile Workers CIO Local 391, Paterson, N. J.; ILGWU-AFL Shirt Makers Local 28, New York City.

Contributions have also been received from seven Boston Branches of the Workmen's Circle, and from Workmen's Benefit Fund Local 35, Bridgeport, Conn.

for submitting these cases" to Roosevelt, Novack stated: "In the hundreds of resolutions, letters, signed petitions, editorials, etc., accompanying the applications, the officials of the Department of Justice could have found the most compelling reasons for recommending pardon — if they were at all interested in 'justice' in this case. These documents explained that this was not an 'ordinary' case — but the most important case involving civil liberties and labor's rights today."

### "NO JUSTIFICATION"

The Smith "Gag" Act, under which the 18 were convicted, Novack declared, "clearly violates the Bill of Rights" and has been "condemned as undemocratic and unconstitutional by leading labor and liberal organizations. Despite these facts, the U. S. Supreme Court last December three times refused to review the convictions. And now Roosevelt's Department of Justice asserts that it can see 'no justification' for extending clemency to the 18. In reality, there is no justification whatsoever for the President and his subordinates to refuse to rectify the injustice they them-

selves have committed in this infamous prosecution."

Referring to a smug assertion of the U. S. Pardon Attorney that "it does not appear that the sentences imposed are unduly severe," Novack replied that "any punishment inflicted upon innocent people is totally unwarranted. These 17 men and one woman have already served over nine months in prison solely because of their socialist opinions and labor activities. Assuredly this is 'unduly severe' upon them and their dependents."

"The Pardon Attorney attempts to extenuate the action on the ground that the prisoners have not asked for parole," Novack stated further. "The 18 have sought to obtain unconditional pardon in order to maintain for the entire labor movement the principles of civil rights and free speech at stake in their case. Regardless of their personal welfare, they have resolved from the first and in the most uncompromising manner, to fight against the precedent set by their convictions and imprisonment under the Smith 'Gag' Act. They thereby render the greatest possible service to the cause of labor and civil liberties."

As an example of the "prejudicial attitude" of the Department of Justice, Novack cites the claim of Lyons that the Hartzel and

Baumgartner cases, in which "avowed Hitlerite propagandists" were freed by the Supreme Court on the grounds that their freedom of speech had been violated, had no legal bearing on the Minneapolis Labor Case. "Like the Minneapolis case," Novack said, "these cases (Hartzel and Baumgartner) involved nothing but utterances, although of a diametrically opposite political character. Nevertheless the fascists were freed on the ground that their freedom of speech had been violated, while the 18 anti-fascists remain behind bars. What other conclusions can be drawn from the decisions of the Supreme Court and the Justice Department than that, while it is permissible to spread race hatred and fascist ideas, it is criminal to advocate the ideas of Marxist socialism or to exercise free speech in defense of the rights of labor?"

"The callous refusal of the Roosevelt administration to pardon the 18 cannot be permitted to pass without the most indignant protest from every American concerned with the preservation of our civil liberties. Together with the millions who have already spoken out in their defense we are determined to carry forward our fight," Novack concluded, "The 18 must be freed! The Smith 'Gag' Act must be wiped off the statute books!"



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Theodore A. Jackson, Eastern Regional Director, Dining Car Employees, AFL

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## Democrats And Republicans Support Same Foreign Policy

By James Cowan

Just as the Democratic and Republican parties are in substantial agreement, and stand united, on all major issues of domestic policy—as shown in their platforms and the speeches of their Presidential candidates, so, too, they are at one on the essentials of foreign policy.

Both parties stand for the interests of the Wall Street capitalists who are bent on dominating the world and exacting tribute in the shape of super-profits from the exploitation of foreign lands.

Foreign policy is an extension of domestic policy. There is no contradiction between the two. They are merely two sides of the same coin. They supplement each other and are parts of one essential whole.

The Wall Street bosses, as has been plainly proved by the passage of the George Post-War Starvation Bill, plan to intensify the exploitation of the American working-class. Correspondingly, they plan to enslave and exploit millions of human beings beyond the borders of the United States—in Europe, Latin America, Asia, the Middle East and Africa. All the world is to be brought into subservience to the Wall Street plutocrats. Roosevelt and Dewey are united in this aim.

While the Stalinists, the "liberals," and the union bureaucrats in the AFL and CIO are whooping it up for Roosevelt and trying to convince the workers that there is a real difference between him and Dewey—that Roosevelt is the champion of the cause of the common man, the "democratic way of life" and world peace, while Dewey stands for Big Business reaction and an "isolationism" which means more wars—the Big Business moguls themselves are chucking over the similarity of the two. Where the pro-Roosevelt propagandists see or pretend to see differences, Big Business itself sees only an identity of policies.

### IDENTICAL POLICIES

Listen to Business Week, well-known Wall Street organ: "On foreign relations, those who have listened to the campaign oratory must find policy and objective between Roosevelt and Dewey almost identical... On domestic affairs the candidates hurl names at each other and pour on the adjectives, but there is increasing evidence that they are proposing to do the same things. Each says merely that he would do the same things better, and that may, indeed, become the central issue of this campaign."

The newest phase of Wall Street's planning for the world of the future was the recently concluded conference at Dumbarton Oaks. There the big powers forming the "United Nations" alliance drew up a plan for a post-war world "peace" organization.

This plan, as the N. Y. Times did not fail to note, resembles the late but unlamented League of Nations. It calls for the creation of a body to be called the "United Nations" and governed by a "United Nations Council." Its

ostensible purpose will be to prevent future wars. Will it—can it—do that?

The League of Nations, let us recall, did not prevent a single war. Before the Japanese invasion of Manchuria it stood impotent. It acquiesced in Mussolini's rape of Abyssinia. The Japanese imperialists, bent on their program of colonial conquest, walked out of the League. Mussolini thumbed his nose at it. Long before the commencement of the present slaughter, the League founded on the rock of imperialist antagonisms.

### LESSON OF LEAGUE

Actually, the League of Nations served two important purposes. First, it was a useful instrument—for a while—of the imperialist powers who participated in it, above all the British imperialists. Lenin called it a "Thieves' Kitchen." Secondly, it helped deceive the war-hating masses in all countries that peace could be achieved under capitalism. The lesson of the League of Nations is that in the world of capitalist imperialism wars are inevitable and can never be avoided. No international body set up, controlled and dominated by the imperialists can be an instrument of peace. It can only be a cover for new war plans of the imperialists and an instrument of their predatory designs. If the League of Nations in its time was a tool of British imperialism policy, the "United Nations" organization will be nothing else but the tool of American imperialism which has emerged in the present war as potential master of the world.

Both Dewey and Roosevelt have given their endorsement to the Dumbarton Oaks plan. Roosevelt commended it in high terms. Dewey called it a "fine beginning." Both candidates have thus clearly identified themselves with the robber aims of American imperialism and have committed themselves to a "peace" policy which can give promise only of new and more devastating wars. The workers genuinely desire a lasting peace. They do not want the flower of their young manhood sent periodically to the slaughter for the greater profit of the Wall Street barons. But there can be no peace as long as capitalism with its rivalries and its lust for profit is permitted to live.

### HOW TO GET PEACE

Both the Democratic and Republican parties are capitalist parties. Roosevelt and Dewey are both capitalist candidates. Both pursue imperialist policies in the

## Churchill Sends Troops To Crush Greek Revolt

(Continued from page 1)

actionary Greek government-in-exile and the Allied commanders, announcing that the landings were about to take place. Here the conspirators completely exposed their nefarious intentions.

### MEANING OF MOVE

Herbert Matthews, N. Y. Times correspondent in Rome, who reported the popular uprising, pointed to the significance of this move. "This was the first time in the war," he declared, "that the existence of an Allied force had been announced while it was still on its destination, but events precipitated themselves in Athens and Piraeus and IT WAS CONSIDERED IMPERATIVE TO TRY TO PREVENT CIVIL STRIFE."

In an effort to conceal the essential counter-revolutionary purpose of the military intervention, the British commander, Lieut.-Gen. Ronald M. Scobie, included in his proclamation the lying statement: "We are not here to interfere in any way in the internal affairs of Greece. Our only wish is to see her, as soon as possible, happy, prosperous and united."

The reactionary Greek government-in-exile, crowned by the monarchy of King George which the Greek people have repudiated over and over again, recently transferred its seat from Cairo to the Italian town of Caserta, near Naples, and is preparing to move into Greece to restore capitalist "order" with the aid of British bayonets.

As the British landings were about to commence, this tool of reaction—constructed of a "coalition" of the top leaders of the Stalinist, "Socialist" and Liberal (Venizelist) parties—called upon the Greek masses to "obey the government" and promised "just punishment" for those who had collaborated with the Nazis.

Its proclamation was a ruse against "any punitive action" for "isolated individuals or organizations" since any such action would constitute "an arbitrary usurpation of the function of the state." At this critical hour, avoid political disputes and everything that could disturb the spiritual unity of the Greeks."

### MONARCHIST REGIME

The usurping government of monarchist-capitalist-landlord class which fled Greece when the Nazis entered the country, which

enjoys not a shadow of authority among the Greek masses, and which exists solely by virtue of the support it receives from Churchill and the British imperialists—thus dares to label as "usurpers" the workers and peasants who after fighting the Nazis from the very beginning are now striving to take the destiny of their country into their own hands.

The Greek masses are rightly distrustful both of the exiled "government" and the imperialist "liberators." They have not forgotten that it was King George, the crowned head of the exiled government, who called the bloody Metaxas to power only a few years ago, that it was "liberal" capitalist politicians and social-democrats of the type who now adorn the exiled government who paved the way for the Metaxas dictatorship which destroyed all civil liberties and wiped out all their organizations.

Nor have they forgotten that only a few months ago, the British imperialists and the exiled government acted in unison to crush the mutiny of Greek sailors and soldiers who refused any longer to be ordered about by the discredited monarchist regime and its British masters. They have learned that it is the system of capitalist-landlord exploitation and oppression which produced all the woes to which they have been subjected, including the agony of the imperialist war. While struggling against the Nazi oppressors, they have been preparing to settle accounts with their internal class enemies as well. They correctly identify the exiled government and the British imperialists with the rotten social order which they are determined to overthrow.

### EAM-ELAS PARTISANS

Latest reports testify to the intensity of the revolutionary ferment in Greece. Deeply distrustful of the British imperialists and their Greek puppets, the masses are arresting capitalists and landlords and others who aided the Nazis. They have taken over the functions of government. Everywhere they show a determination to rely only on their own organizations, their own weapons, their own solidarity against reaction.

Months ago, the Stalinist-dominated EAM (National Liberation Front) adopted under the pressure of its followers a radical program which included national-

ization of the railroads and public utility enterprises. The latter are British-owned—which fact goes far to explain the haste with which British troops have been sent into Greece on the heels of the retreating Nazis.

The military arm of EAM (known as the ELAS) consists of partisan detachments embracing many thousands of workers and peasants who are determined not to go back to the old way of life.

Sensing the approach of the revolutionary storm, the Stalinist leaders of these armed and organized masses started months ago to sidetrack the revolutionary movement and direct it into the channels of class collaboration. The Stalinist gang in Moscow fear revolution anywhere and their agents in Greece, as in all other countries, have become the spearhead of counter-revolution within the working class. But in order to retain their mass following they are obliged to play radical while preparing to knife the revolution in the back.

### STALINIST AIMS

On Sept. 3 five members of the EAM, headed by a Prof. Svolos, came down from the Greek mountains to be sworn in as members of the Greek government-in-exile, which is headed by the social-democrat George Papandreu. When, many months ago, they made their first move toward joining such a "coalition," their own ranks rose in opposition and they dared not take the step. It took months of cajolery before they were able to do so.

Now, just as the Stalinist leaders have done with the reactionary regimes in Italy, France, Bulgaria and Rumania, the Greek Stalinists have given their cover to the shadow Greek government. By dressing it up with their own presence, they hope to give it a "democratic" appearance, make it more palatable to the masses, and thus abort the movement for the socialist revolution.

But there are many indications that it may prove impossible to hoodwink the fighting Greek masses. If the Stalinists do succeed, it will be only for a brief time. The revolutionary aspirations of the Greek workers and peasants can be realized in no other way than through the socialist revolution. They must and they will break with the Stalinist traitors and build a revolutionary party that will lead them to the socialist future.

## Notebook Of An Agitator

In Defense of Daniel J. Tobin

Is there no limit to the skulduggery of the Republicans in an election year? Now, don't play innocent and pretend you don't know what I mean. I am referring to the hue and cry they are raising because a couple of naval officers got tapped on their nogginns at the grand conference, dinner and free-for-all which Daniel J. Tobin threw for President Roosevelt at the Statler Hotel in Washington last week, where Roosevelt did the speaking. Tobin was in the chair, and the goon squads put the knuckles to the foolish people in the corridors who didn't have sense enough to put on Roosevelt buttons when Tobin gave the word.

All the beefs they are making in the newspapers, and the demands for a Congressional investigation, are nothing but dirty politics. I got the dope straight from one of the attending business agents, who was so enthused by Roosevelt's speech and everything that he voluntarily pledged a donation to the Democratic campaign fund of one-half the per-diem and travelling expenses allowed him for the trip. The other boys did the same, without any pressure from Tobin. All he said was, "Boys, I think it would be a good idea for you to kick in something."

Our President (of the United States, I mean) gave as slick a speech in favor of the working people as a business agent could ever wish to hear. In organizing the affair, our president (of the Teamsters' International) put in the hardest job of work he has done since he quit driving a team of spavined nags in Boston fifty years ago, come Spring.

And I am authorized to state as a fact that all the business agents, including those from Minneapolis, came to the meeting absolutely clean. All their blackjacks and brass knuckles were checked and accounted for by the clerk

of the Hotel. It was a great shindig, if you want to know the truth about it, and one long to be remembered by all the business agents, international representatives, muscle men and personal representatives of Tobin who came to Washington for the occasion from far and near. Why, there were even two members of the union present who are not, and never have been, on the payroll of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters. These were the two fellows in charge of the beer truck who stayed over between loads to hear the President's speech.

It's a shame to see the dirty Republicans trying to smear and discredit this crowning achievement of president Tobin's career and turn it against a good friend of labor like president Roosevelt. They have absolutely no call to complain about those two sailors getting slugged, because these sailors themselves admit that, when asked in a nice way, which horse they were backing in the presidential race, answered: "It's none of your damned business." They said this right after president Tobin had stated that everybody should go down the line 100 percent for Roosevelt. What else can you do with wiseguys like that but belt them around a bit?

The knockers are even going so far as to whisper around that Daniel J. Tobin himself was personally involved in the brawl. That can't be true. Harold H. Seavey, Secretary-Treasurer, Teamsters' Joint Council, Minneapolis, told the Minneapolis Star Journal that, in his opinion, the smear campaign "is not in keeping with the best naval tradition." Pee-Wee Seavey may be right as far as he goes, but he doesn't go far enough. The insinuation that Daniel J. Tobin does his own fighting is "not in keeping with the tradition" of the Teamsters' International. What are the goon squads for? . . .

interests of their Wall Street masters. Neither the one nor the other can or will insure peace nor make of this war the "last war."

For whom, then, can the workers vote? Roosevelt or Dewey? It makes no difference. The workers need and must have a party of their own, an independent Labor Party, with a program corresponding to their interests, to

fight for jobs and security, for peace through a new socialist society in which capitalism and its wars will be banished for ever. There is no such national working-class party now? Then now is the time to build one!

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# How Capitalists Use The Two-Party System To Maintain Their Rule Over The People

As the trade union bureaucrats beat the drums for one or another of the capitalist parties and their presidential candidates, the workers are more and more thinking of the real meaning of politics, what it is, how it affects their interests, what political program labor needs to meet the period of crisis ahead. The Trotskyist answer to these questions is contained in Joseph Hansen's pamphlet, "American Workers' Most Urgent Need: A Labor Party," which will shortly be off the Pioneer Publisher press. The Militant is publishing extracts from this important pamphlet, of which the following is the second.

By Joseph Hanson

Knowing that their political party, once in office, will further their class interests, the capitalist politicians during campaigns study the wishes and illusions of the masses in order to promise what the masses want.

Theodore Roosevelt promised to bust the trusts. Woodrow Wilson promised to keep the U. S. out of war. Herbert Hoover promised unlimited prosperity. Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1932 promised a "New Deal" for the "Common Man."

Dewey, hoping to capitalize on the unfavorable reaction to 12 years of Roosevelt, promises to send the armed forces home as quickly as possible. But his basic program is identical to Roosevelt's. All he adds is a promise of more efficient administration than the Roosevelt regime.

...These promises are made for no other purpose than to gain office. Willkie, for example, later labelled the promises in his bid for office as "campaign oratory." Some of the candidates don't even know what promises they are going to make until they read the ghost-written manuscript of their speech over the radio.

Since there is a sharp conflict between the economic interests of Wall Street and those of the majority of the country, the "Super Man" in the White House must often resort to drastic measures to further the interests of his sponsoring group. Hoover drove the Bonus Army out of Washington with gun and bayonet.

Many workers consequently begin to make out the truth about their "friend" in the White House. They become restless and start moving toward organization of independent political action.

Wall Street meets this in a very clever and subtle way. First, when labor makes any gains through titanic struggles, the occupant of the White House claims credit. When the CIO was organized despite the most desperate efforts to turn it back, and when it gained significant concessions despite tear gas and police clubs, Roosevelt ascribed these gains to his regime. Because labor organized industrial unions despite Roosevelt's opposition, Wall Street calls him the "friend of labor."

The other, more important means of hoodwinking the workers is the two-party system.

Politics hath no fury like a voter scorned. Having given their confidence to a candidate, the people turn upon him with justifiable anger when they discover his promises are nothing but calculated deception. Their first reaction is to withdraw political confidence. Since they are not organized politically they are unable to form a positive program of change. They either become disgusted with politics—which Wall Street does not mind—or they become infuriated. In the latter case, their first act is scarcely more than a political reflex: let him have it; teach the crook a lesson. "Nothing could be worse than what we have now," they think. They will even vote for a candidate who promises little, so long as he has not connected himself with the incumbent.

The Democratic Party arose a half century after the outbreak of the first American Revolution; the Republican Party a quarter of a century later. Over the years both became Wall Street organizations. When the workers become disgusted with the Democrats, Wall Street tries to corral their opposition in the Republican Party. When a Hoover becomes America's most hated man, Wall Street polishes up a Roosevelt.

Without taking into account the vast funds that are poured secretly by the same families into the two parties, but confining himself to the contributions that are publicly admitted, Ferdinand Lundberg reveals in his book "America's 60 Families": "Families that contributed both to the Republicans and to the Democrats in-

## Offering A Choice



cluded the DuPonts, Harknesses, Vanderbilts, Fleischmanns, McCormicks, Goetzes, Whitneys, Strausses, Guggenheims, and Bradys. Where identical estates did not contribute to both parties on a family basis they often did so on a corporate basis. Many corporation officers in the lower brackets of contributors gave funds to the party formally opposed by the head of a particular clan. In this way the avenue of approach was kept open to the key men, the financial managers, in each party.

"The Wall Street banks, incidentally, while Republican in politics, make a regular practice of keeping a few outstanding Democrats among their chief officers. Jackson E. Reynolds, chairman of the First National Bank, and S. Parker Gilbert and Russell C. Lefingwell, both of J. P. Morgan and Company, are all sturdy Democrats."

This two-party system has the additional advantage of providing political expression for minor conflicting interests within the capitalists in the fringe of the 60 families. The Southern bourgeois are thus traditionally Democratic, the Northern industrialists and bankers traditionally Republican. Usually a deal is reached between the two wings at the expense of the public, but occasionally one wing will gain advantages the other considers unfair. The same phenomenon could be observed in frontier days among wolf packs. After uniting to run down a buffalo calf, they often fell to snarling and snapping at one another as they devoured the carcass.

Properly defined, the Democratic and Republican parties are only factions within one political machine that is maintained by America's 60 families to oppose labor's interests and foster those of Wall Street.

The success of this system is indicated by the fact that although the trade unions have some 12 million members, these giant organizations do not have one single representative of their own in congress.

## Training To Break Strikes



Last December the New York State Guard engaged in anti-labor drilling similar to the recent maneuvers in the Catskills. The photograph above, taken during the December drill, shows members of the Guard dressed as workers being harangued by an "agitator." Other guardsmen armed with two foot oak clubs dispersed the "agitators" who are carrying picket signs reading "Our Kids Are Hungry," "We Want Jobs," etc.

## OCTOBER SUNDAY NIGHT FORUMS

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Refreshments

## Decision Reversed In Conviction Of Mexican Youths

LOS ANGELES, Oct. 5 — The District Court of Appeals today reversed the murder convictions of the 17 Mexican-American youths in the Sleepy Lagoon case. Chairman C. McWilliams of the Sleepy Lagoon Defense Committee announced that the committee will now move for complete and uncontested release of the prisoners.

The 17 youths were framed-up and imprisoned as part of the anti-Mexican attacks on the West Coast last year, after a trial reeking with prejudice. Three were sentenced to jail for life, nine for 5 years, and five for 6 months (see Militant, Feb. 5), accused of murdering Jose Diaz, a guest at a party near Sleepy Lagoon, Cal.

In the opinion reversing the convictions, Justices Thomas P. White, John M. York and William C. Doran said that there was no evidence of conspiracy to commit murder, no evidence of individual connection with the case, and that Superior Judge Charles Fricke in presiding over the trial had prejudged the case of the defendants.

The reversal of the convictions in the Sleepy Lagoon case is a significant victory for organized labor and all minority groups. By united protest against the frame-up, the workers have thwarted the efforts of the reactionary forces in California to sow national and racial hatreds among them.

## STATE GUARD TRAINED FOR USE DURING STRIKES

By Frank Lawrence

In accord with Army policy in training anti-labor battalions, New York State Guard units held maneuvers in the Catskills on September 30 and October 1. Company F of the Eighth Regiment, ironically encamped in the town of Liberty, deployed in maneuvers designed to "test their ability to protect municipal utilities and major buildings in the event of civil outbreaks."

To camouflage the real purposes of these exercises, the official communiques talked about the dispelling of "alien saboteurs." This is the formula devised by the State Guard command to ward off more labor protests such as those provoked when the New York Guard was openly drilled in the technique of strikebreaking and picket-line smashing at the Jamaica Army last December.

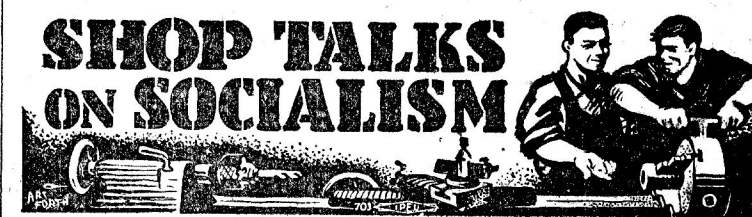
### REAL AIMS

During these "games" four companies dressed in workmen's clothes carried signs which read: "We Want Jobs," "Our Kids Are Hungry," "We Want Bread." Other companies of Guardsmen, armed with two-foot oak clubs, attacked these "agitators" and dispersed the demonstration.

These "games" were held under the direction of Col. George W. Martin, a Wall Street corporation lawyer. Martin quite cynically admitted in an interview to the press that the real purpose behind these "riot" drills was the training of a repressive force against the labor movement. "Nobody mentions labor trouble in these things," Martin said, "because then there are complaints to the Governor and appropriations are cut. We talk about subversive elements and fifth columnists, but that's just talk. Our signs should have said 'Join the Union' and that sort of thing. But people with a political future are scared of frankness."

These drills at the Jamaica Army last winter were open to the public and witnessed by 3,000 people. As Martin predicted, there ensued "complaints to the Governor." The New York State CIO as well as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People demanded that Governor Dewey "institute an immediate investigation." He and his high officials of the Guard promised to "take into the matter." Brig. Gen. George A. Herbst, Chief of Staff to Lt. Gen. Hugh A. Drum, State Guard commandant, issued a defensive statement declaring that "these drills and riot formations are needed in case of fifth-column uprisings by subversive elements." But he conceded that "probably the selection of some of the signs was not wise."

Now the officials have become a little "wiser" in respect to their slogans. But they have not changed their reactionary anti-labor program one iota. The



By V. Grey

"You Socialists talk pretty big about a square deal for everybody" said Scissorsbill Sam, the Bosses' Man, with his usual stupid sneer. "But I don't notice you breaking your heart over the Community Fund."

Not that Scissorsbill broke his, either—but he didn't figure that was the point. You see, this Community Fund that they have every year is a real stream-lined, six-gear and double-clutched charity drive. You're a heel if you don't contribute, because they have Protestant, Catholic, Jewish and "Non-partisan" organizations, the boy scouts, the girl scouts, YMCA and YWCA. Homes for good kids and homes for bad ones, Maternity Homes, hospitals and sanitariums. So, as I say, you're a heel if you don't give, because you must be something. You must be in favor of some one of these 57 varieties. At least that's the bosses' sales talk. And Scissorsbill agrees.

A lot of the fellows think the whole thing is a racket, and that only a very small percentage of the dough ever gets to the poor people who are supposed to get it. But they generally give anyhow because of the pressure from the company. Still they give less than the company asks. That's why the company asks \$10 now because that way they may get five. It's like horse trading.

But a Socialist has a different attitude. A Socialist figures that even if the charities are not a racket, even if every cent goes to the place it's supposed to go, it's not doing the cause of the working people any good in their fight against the bosses for better conditions. Charity is an institution of the bosses to keep the poor depending on them instead of fighting them. The rich people are one hundred percent in favor of charity—although they do make their employees do most of the contributing. But you notice they'll fight like hell before they give you a one cent raise. In fact they'll cut you down to the bone in a depression—lay half the guys off—make you work long hours for lower wages to make up for the layoff. And then they want you to buy a Christmas basket for the family of the man they turned out into the street.

### The Best Way to Help the Workers

Well, we Socialists believe in helping that man all right. We believe in fighting to get his job back. Fighting the boss, and fighting the Capitalist system. Because that's the cause of it all. When the gang demands shorter hours, they're fighting for him. When the fellows strike for safer conditions with more helpers, they're fighting for him, when the whole labor movement demands workers' control of production, they're fighting for him. And he'll get in the fight, too.

When it comes to digging down for a contribution for a strike fund, that's when the real militant strains himself to give. And not because the company is making him, you can bet your best shirt. Every real struggle of working people for better conditions is part of the Socialist struggle for a better world. As working people begin to understand this, they not only give, but deny themselves to give, for they know it's their fight too.

Take the Minneapolis Labor case. There's a real fight against Capitalist injustice. The defense of these men and women who fought for the rights of all labor, and got thrown into the bosses' prison. Scissorsbill doesn't know it, but some of the boys have kicked in for that case, and kicked in with far more than Scissorsbill, or even the foremen, gave to charity.

Our job is to change the system that makes charity necessary. Not drop our silver into a bottomless pit of poverty. What good is a Christmas dinner to a man who's got to feed his family 364 days until the next handout? It's enough to make him cry.

So what are you going to do? Give him a turkey with the compliments of the boss that laid him off—or teach him how to fight—and WHO to fight?

### For The Labor Party

READING, Pa.—Three AFL union locals of Berks County, Pennsylvania issued a resolution on September 22 endorsing the formation of an Independent Labor Party based on the trade unions. They include Local 652, Brotherhood of Railway Carmen; Local 197, Blacksmiths of America; and Reading Local, Boilermakers of America. All three have appointed representatives to a committee for the formation a labor party.

The following resolution was endorsed by the three locals: "WHEREAS—Millions of workers are alarmed by the grim specter of unemployment which is drawing closer day by day and week by week and

"WHEREAS—Government spokesmen have predicted that with the ending of hostilities in Europe, war production will be curtailed by as much as 50 or 60 percent and

"WHEREAS—The Administration and Congress are showing that their deepest concern is not with the prospective plight of the nation's workers who are destined to be thrown on the industrial scrapheap, but in protecting the enormous profits of Big Business and the corporations and

"WHEREAS—The killing of the Kilgore Bill by the Senate and the Administration is further indication that the workers can expect nothing from either the Democratic or Republican parties or in the so called "Friend of Labor" Myth. . .

"THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED — That Local 197 Blacksmiths' Union go on record for an Independent Labor Party based on the trade unions and that a committee of three be appointed to work with other unions and unionists in building for an Independent Labor Party."

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OF THE MILITANT, published weekly at New York, N. Y. for Oct. 1, 1944. State of New York

Before me, a Notary public in and for the State and County aforesaid, personally appeared Reba Aubrey, personally having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the Business Manager of THE MILITANT and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management, and circulation of the said publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, as amended by the Act of March 3, 1933, embodied in section 337, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

1. That the names and address of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are:

Publisher: Militant Publishing Association, 116 University Place, New York. Editor: Farrell Dobbs, 116 University Place, New York. Managing Editor: None. Business Manager: Reba Aubrey.

2. That the owner is: (If owned by a corporation, its name and address must be stated and also immediately thereunder the names and addresses of stockholders owning or holding one percent or more of total amount of stock. If not owned by a corporation, the names and addresses of the individual owners must be given. If owned by a firm, company or other unincorporated concern, its name and address, as well as those of each individual member, must be given.) Militant Publishing Association, 116 University Place, New York. Farrell Dobbs, 116 University Place, New York. Reba Aubrey, 116 University Place, New York.

3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 percent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: (If there are none, so state). NONE

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REBA AUBREY, business manager sworn to and subscribed before me this 1st day of October, 1944.

(Signed) CARNIG AJAMIAN My Commission expires March 30, 1946.



# The Negro Struggle

By Charles Jackson

## Lest We Forget

Every once in a while it is good to turn back the pages of Negro history and look over the role that the Negro has played in the class struggle in America. It is not only interesting but also instructive for we can only win a battle if we know who the real enemy is, where he is to be found, and what are his customary maneuvers.

From the time the Negro was brought here up to the present time we find that invariably he has been used by the ruling economic class as a pawn in their constant struggle to continue and advance their position astride the backs of the toiling people. They were snatched from their tribal or communal existence in Africa and brought to this country to be sold into chattel-slavery so that the Southern planters could have labor.

### FREEDING THE SLAVES

With the rise of industrial capitalism in the North and the relative decline of the slave system in the South the relationship of forces gradually changed. The Civil War was to decide the economic structure of the America to come. All the time, however, the rapidly expanding Northern ruling class whose system was to employ and exploit wage labor had been looking with dripping saliva at the millions of enslaved blacks in the South. Their liberation, they realized, would flood the field with a great reserve of cheap labor. Ostensibly from a humanitarian point of view but, in reality to advance their own economic and political welfare, they reluctantly consented to free the slaves.

The industrial capitalists, demonstrating their historic superiority over the slaveholders, were victorious in the Civil War. Thereupon chattel slavery was abolished. Their enemy, the Southern Bourbon, was brought completely to his knees with an "unconditional surrender" which included a promise of complete equality for the former slaves. For a short period after the Civil War during which the two ruling classes were still at odds this equality was enforced by military power in the South. According to Howard Fast's "Freedom Road" during this period there was amicable intermingling of the races in the schools, in work, in social gatherings and in the political field.

The Northern capitalists soon found out, however, that they needed the help of the Southern landowners to further their plans for exploitation. The Bourbons, whose wings had been clipped by the outcome of the war with the consequent loss of their former

position as slave-masters, wanted only the opportunity to handle the Negroes in "their own way." As far as the Northern business interests were concerned, to sell the Negroes down the river was a small price to pay for the millions in profits which they stood to reap. Consequently they made a deal right after the Tilden-Hayes election whereby the Southern Bourbons, in return for their economic and political cooperation, were to be assured of a free hand in dealing with the former slaves.

After the consummation of this deal the Bourbons, through their sadist lackeys in the Ku Klux Klan, proceeded to terrorize, brutalize and lynch the Blacks to the point where practically all of the rights which they had been granted in the 14th and 15th Amendments had been washed away. The Northern ruling class, as per agreement, was conveniently looking out the window. Since that time although different capitalist political parties have been in power and world-shaking wars and depressions have passed across the stage of events, that sell-out agreement between these two sections of the American ruling class remains in rigid effect today.

The Northern monied interests still exploit the cheap labor of the South and keep the masses, white and black, in poverty. The possessing class of the South still rules by oppression of the Negro with the tacit consent of the national government. Witness the recent occasion of the Dixie bus driver shooting down the Negro soldier when he objected to Jim-Crow seating. The Durham, North Carolina jury acquitted him in 28 minutes and the Department of Justice said not a mumbled word.

### THE REAL ENEMY

As long as this deal remains in effect, i. e. as long as America retains its present economic set-up, just that long will we see oppression of the Negro people. It is a barter arrangement which is profitable to both parties. Race prejudice is not spontaneous but is artificially fomented. That fact is proved by the revelation in "Freedom Road" that the poor white and the poor Negro at one time got along in neighborly fashion. That also destroys the myth that the open minded, not indoctrinated white worker fears social contact with the Negro. That red herring of "social equality" is still persistently raised by the white supremacists in their attempts to vindicate the slave type of treatment which they still dish out to the Negro in the South. Unless we wake up to the fact that through this deal it is the capitalist ruling class of the North that is just as much responsible for conditions in the South, we will be neglecting to fight the most potent flank of our real enemy.

Historical facts as well as day to day events prove and prove again that we must fight not only prejudiced individuals and not only the most reactionary sections but also the entire exploitive system of capitalism throughout the country. For only with the end of capitalism and the advent of Socialism will our goal of equality be attained.

### Pioneer Paragraphs

## REVOLUTIONARY PARTY NEEDS AN INTERNATIONAL PROGRAM

We were still trying to solve things on an American scale: a common error. I think one of the most important lessons that the Fourth International has taught us is that in the modern epoch you cannot build a revolutionary political party solely on a national basis. You must begin with an international program, and on that basis you build national sections of an international movement.

This, by way of digression, was one of the big disputes between the Trotskyists and the Brandlerites, the London Bureau people, Pivert, etc., who advanced the idea that you can't talk about a new international until you first build up strong national parties. According to them, only after having created formidable mass parties in the various countries, could you federate them into an international organization. Trotsky proceeded in just

the opposite way. When he was deported from Russia in 1929, and was able to undertake his international work with free hands, he propounded the idea that you begin with an international program. You organize people, no matter how few there may be in each country, on the basis of an international program; you gradually build up your national sections.

History has given its verdict on this dispute. Those parties which began with a national approach and wanted to push aside this problem of international organization, all suffered shipwreck. National parties could not take root because in this international epoch there is no longer any room for narrow national programs. Only the Fourth International, starting in each country from the international program, has survived.

(From "The History of American Trotskyism," by James P. Cannon, pp. 41-42. Pioneer Publishers, 1944, 268 pp.; cloth \$2.75, paper \$2. Order from Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Place, N. Y. 3, N. Y.)

READ 'THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL'

# WLB Rejects AFL-CIO Demand For Modification Of The Wage-Freezing Little Steel Formula

(Continued from page 1)

freeze. He further implies that prices have been held, and that a wage increase would set off an inflationary spiral in which wages and prices would start chasing each other "around the barn." This argument smells on all counts.

### CORPORATIONS PROFIT

It is not the white-collar workers but the corporations who have benefited from the wage freeze. High prices and frozen wages have lifted profits to the highest levels in all history. Rising prices and frozen wages have lowered the standard of living of all workers. It is the wage earners generally who have been getting kicked in the seat with every advance in prices while the administration, chairman Davis and the WLB have kept them securely tied in the straitjacket of the Little Steel formula.

If there has been an increase in prices, says Davis, the problem then remains, "what can you do about it? Not, can you raise wages, but can you bring wages closer to prices?" What the priceless Mr. Davis is here proposing is that the labor movement repeat the experience of Roosevelt's "price roll-back" farce! The workers were taken in by that shell-game once before, thanks to the labor fakery, and are not likely to fall for it again. Roosevelt, Davis and the "labor statesmen" have just about gone through their whole bag of tricks. They are not going to find it easy to dupe the workers and so now they are stalling for time in an effort to postpone the showdown until after the election.

In shunting the case to Roosevelt without a "recommendation," Davis explained: "We are honestly saying to the President at this early date that we are not going to be able to help you out in determining the effect of a wage increase. Of course there are other gentlemen on whom the President may rely for advice on that point." This brings the case right back where it started from. But why did it require a year for the board to reach such a decision? If it is beyond the province of the WLB to judge what effect a wage increase would have "on the price structure and the national economy in general" why was the lengthy process of gathering testimony and holding hearings ever begun?

### WLB EXPOSED

The role of the WLB stands completely exposed by their action on the demand for a modification of the wage freeze. The primary function of the board is to prolong the case and postpone

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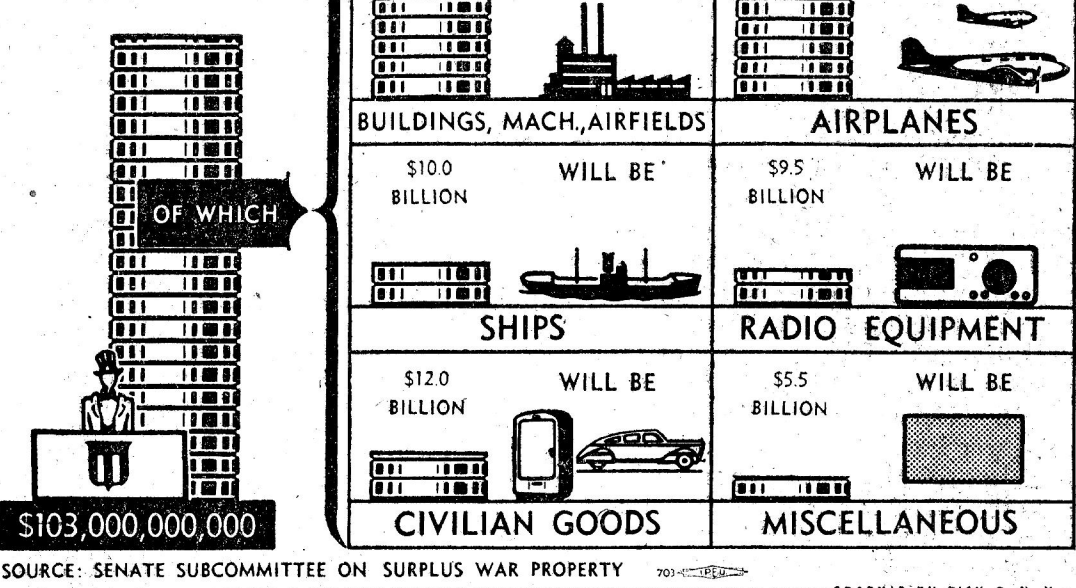
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## SURPLUS WAR GOODS

IT IS ESTIMATED THAT THE WAR END SURPLUSES MAY AMOUNT TO...



This chart represents graphically the kinds and amount of government "surplus" property which the capitalist government is preparing to turn over to the big business monopolies for a song. That is the purpose of the George Reconversion and Demobilization Bill, recently signed by Roosevelt, which was modeled on Wall Street's Baruch-Hancock "master plan" sponsored by Roosevelt.

a final decision until the unions are maneuvered into the most unfavorable position. George Meany, AFL labor member on the board, asserted that, "based on the way the public members delay things around here, the reconversion period will be over before there is a wage change." But the "public members" could not perform this filthy chore if it were not for the support of the labor bureaucrats who lend their prestige to the "decisions" of the board.

The fraud of "impartiality" would be shattered once the labor members were taken off the employer-dominated War Labor Board. We say "taken off" because even after this latest decision which completely exposed the anti-labor character of the board, Emil Rieve, CIO labor member of the WLB, proclaimed that "he would not resign." The labor bureaucrats intend to cling to their role of giving a "labor" cover to the perfidy of the board. It is up to the union militants to raise the demand that the labor representatives resign from the WLB. This would be the first step toward regaining the union's independence of action in the fight to smash the wage freezing Little Steel formula.

The fight against the wage-freeze requires a militant program and independent action. Demand that the labor representatives resign from the WLB! Rescind the no-strike pledge! Advance the program of a rising scale of wages to meet the rising cost of living: For an escalator clause in every union contract!

It is only by taking this road that the workers can catch up to the rising cost of living and escape the worst effects of capitalist war-inflation.

## The Stalinist Roots Of Bridges' Union Policies

(Continued from page 1)

and job freezing program of the Roosevelt administration.

Following the Teheran Conference, the Stalinists emerged as the spearhead of reaction within the labor movement. Earl Browder laid down the new Teheran "line" in a speech at the Plenum of the National Committee of the Communist Party in January 1943. "We frankly declare," said Browder, "that we are ready to cooperate in making capitalism work in the post-war period... We must be prepared to give the hand of cooperation to everyone who fights for the realization of this (Roosevelt-Churchill-Stalin) coalition. If J. P. Morgan supports this coalition and goes down the line for it, I... am prepared to clasp his hand and join with him to realize it... We are now extending the perspective of national unity for many years in the future."

Browder concluded his speech with the proposal for the "dissolution" of the Communist Party. His speech, calling for the "perspective of national unity for many years in the future," is the original source of the Bridges-fostered permanent no-strike pledge. In a statement on the "post-war" no-strike pledge and "post-war" planning, Bridges virtually repeats Browder's words—although he doesn't as yet call for the dissolution of the trade unions.

Bridges lost no time in applying the "Teheran line" as outlined by Browder. After Roosevelt returned from Teheran he



BRIDGES

proposed that Congress adopt legislation conscripting labor for work in private industry. The entire labor movement, with the exception of the Stalinists, denounced this proposal to enslave the American workers. It was too much even for the case-hardened bureaucrats of the AFL and CIO to swallow. But Bridges rushed into print with an endorsement of labor conscription. Opposition from the ranks of the ILWU itself was so strong that he was compelled to publish Philip Murray's denunciation of his treachery in the ILWU Dispatcher without a word of comment.

The Montgomery Ward strike is another case in point. The entire labor movement, again with the exception of the Stalinists, lined up solidly behind the CIO strikers. Bridges came forward again, denounced the strikers and proclaimed his readiness to scab by handling merchandise diverted from Chicago to other Montgomery Ward warehouses under the jurisdiction of the ILWU. The Bridges-Stalinist policy of strike-breaking is arousing increased opposition in the general labor movement as well as among the members of the ILWU. Bridges has become known as the most outspoken agent of Stalinist betrayal within the ranks of the trade union movement.

The rank and file longshoremen are not only becoming increasingly aware of the Stalinist roots of Bridges' sell-out policies, but are also beginning to express, as yet in imprecise forms, the program of militant struggle required for the union. The slogan for a Labor Party is gaining attention. There is a growing sentiment for rescinding the no-strike pledge and smashing the wage-freezing Little Steel formula. As yet no adequate leadership has arisen to organize the ranks around a militant program. This is the task of the rank and file militants who are determined to preserve the gains made by the union in the strike struggles of 1934 and 1936-37.

## Diary Of A Steel Worker

By Theodore Kovalesky

I wonder if anyone ever wrote a poem or painted a picture about a great army of corpses, cripples, and blind men and women lined up in formation before an immense factory or bank. This would symbolize the host of workers whose lives have been torn from them, and whose bodies have been bent or shattered, or have rotted away with disease in the mines, mills, and workshops of the world to the end that the rich might drowse in luxury.

I got this idea today on my way home after I had met Mike. I hadn't seen Mike for years, and today when I met him on the street I was surprised to see how bad he looked. His empty coat sleeve was flapping in the autumn wind, and he was so thin that the rest of his shabby clothes hung almost as loosely as that sleeve. We talked a little while about old times and then parted. But we never mentioned that tree, although, meeting each other again, I guess we both must have thought about it... about Mike's arm and that tree.

You don't find much in the way of beauty around most factories. The buildings are generally sprawling, warped corrugated iron sheds or dirty brick prison-like structures. Sometimes there are fields around them, but all the grass is coarse, scrubby stuff, and there are piles of rubbish strewn here and there. There is little color and little life. It is as though vapors of the system that condemns workers to ugliness, misery, and death had floated out of these factories with the smoke of the foundries and had settled down upon and strangled all life in the surrounding areas, just as the system was resting upon and smothering the workers inside those pitted walls.

But there was one tree that I have always remembered—and Mike will never forget it either—back in the yard of one of the first factories that I ever worked in. It was a little fruit tree. I don't remember now what kind of fruit tree it was, but Mike and I and all the rest of the fellows used to eat our lunches in its shade when the weather was nice, and when the fruit was in season we used to pick and eat it with our lunches. It used to be something to look forward to during the morning. We'd get out of all the dirt and noise, away from all the heavy, roaring machinery and just relax awhile out in the air.

### What Happened On That Day

I don't know if that tree is still there or not. If it is there, I wouldn't know if the men still eat lunch under it or not. I know if I still worked in the plant, I wouldn't eat there, because I remember too well the way it was that last day, the day Mike and some of the other fellows won't ever forget either.

We finished our lunch that day and went back into the building, laughing and joking. We were still laughing when we started to work. But suddenly Mike stopped smiling and grabbed for the safety cord with his left hand. His right arm was caught in the machine. Only when the wheels finally ground to a stop, Mike was free... but his arm was wound up in the machinery. It was like a nightmare, getting Mike up to the office where they had an ambulance waiting. It was still worse trying to get his arm out of the machine.

The superintendent came down and made suggestions. He wouldn't let us force the wheels around backwards, though, because he thought that perhaps we might damage something. Well, finally we got it out. We tore the skin some doing it, but that couldn't hurt Mike any longer, and we were in a hurry to get the job done before we got too sick to do it. Pete laid the arm down and stood there looking at it, rubbing his hands on his pants, trying to rub off that feeling of death. Then he looked up in a puzzled sort of way.

"What the hell are you supposed to do with a thing like that?" he wanted to know.

"Take it out and bury it," the foreman told him. Pete still looked puzzled, and a little worried. "In a box?" The foreman said, "Cripes!", picked up the arm by the wrist, and took it out and buried it right under our fruit tree... the only decent looking place around the whole plant!

The next day when lunchtime came around, nobody said a word, but, although it was a beautiful day, we all walked over to the place where we used to eat during the winter. We were still eating there when I left the plant for another job.

## 10 Years Ago In The Militant

OCTOBER 20, 1934

SPAIN—The general strike and armed insurrection which had swept Spain for two weeks in protest against the entrance of three Fascist ministers into the government, came to a close, crushed by the terror of police and army, as the still-unorganized workers were unable to consolidate their forces. So militant was the opposition of the working class to the government, however, that death sentences passed upon the insurrectionists were relayed to the Supreme Court for "reconsideration." Analyzing the tumultuous events of the two-week struggle, The Militant warned that the working class must utilize the "breathing spell" to "reorganize and realign its forces, build its national united front organization and prepare for the coming struggles..."

HUNGARY—As 1,200 coal miners in Pecs struck for further wage increases, The Militant described the desperate "suicide strike" by which these miners, a few days before, had forced the anti-labor Geombos government to increase their weekly pay from \$2.50 to \$3. "For more than 100 hours the miners remained underground, without food or water, threatening mass suicide if their demands (\$3.50 a week) were not granted..." After four days, the miners agreed to the compromise "solution," only to strike again for the full demand, when they regained their strength. "We were crazed with hunger," a spokesman said, "We did not know what we were agreeing to."

"A more startling revelation of the desperation to which capitalism has driven its slaves cannot be imagined," The Militant said. "The labor-crushing dictatorship of Geombos, fearful of the world scandal that would result from the mass suicide, prevailed at length upon the mine-barons, controlled largely by British and French capital, to offer a settlement... (the miners) gained only a partial victory, but they had driven their point into every capitalist stronghold in the world. In many a country in the world today, bourgeois leaders are shivering in their boots... lest the amendment be added, as it has been added, by an infuriated class: 'It is better to die fighting!'"



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FARRELL DOBBS, Editor

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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.

## Free The 18!

Through his agents in the Department of Justice President Roosevelt has refused to pardon the 18 Trotskyist and CIO Truckdriver leaders who were railroaded to prison under the notorious Smith "Gag" Act. Thereby he has flung a challenge to the teeth of the entire labor movement — the very workers whose votes he now solicits for a fourth term on the ground that he is their "friend."

Three hundred labor organizations representing three million workers backed the pardon campaign for the 18 which was inaugurated and carried through by the Civil Rights Defense Committee after the Supreme Court had three times refused to review the case.

These labor organizations based their demand for a pardon upon the unanswerable arguments that the Smith Act, which makes the mere expression of opinion a crime, is a violation of the Bill of Rights and that the 18 were and are still unjustly deprived of their civil rights. They know that the 18 are imprisoned because of their militant championing of labor's rights and their revolutionary socialist views.

Roosevelt has contemptuously brushed aside their petitions, thereby serving notice of his intention to continue his conspiracy against labor to the very end by keeping the 18 behind prison bars until their full sentences have been served.

The 18 were brought to trial, convicted and sentenced on the eve of America's entry into the imperialist war. Roosevelt himself ordered the prosecution. By putting the Trotskyist leaders in prison, Roosevelt aimed to stifle the voice of militant labor. This was part of the administration-Wall Street preparations for war and its opening gun in a campaign to gag the workers and tie them to the war machine.

The Supreme Court's refusal to review the case, and now Roosevelt's denial of a pardon, constitute the clearest evidence that the Smith "Gag" act will again be used against the labor movement — unless organized labor succeeds in securing the liberation of the 18 and the repeal of this instrument of oppression.

In Great Britain last June, four Trotskyist lead-

ers were imprisoned under a similarly repressive anti-labor statute, but the protesting voices of the British workers compelled the Churchill government to set them free. This shows what the united power of organized labor can accomplish.

Demand that the 18 be set free! Fight for the repeal of the Smith Act!

## CIO Conventions

The recent conventions of four prominent CIO unions — auto, rubber, shipyard and electrical workers — have all displayed the development of opposition movements against the unconditional surrender policy of the top bureaucrats. Although varying in degrees, these opposition movements were characterized by common slogans and their development was pointed in a common direction — toward the organization of a genuine left wing based upon a militant program of struggle. The slogans around which they sought to rally support are gaining more adherents every day. Corresponding to the needs of the workers, these slogans form the basis of a realistic program around which the union militants are mobilizing their forces.

Representing the most militant traditions of the CIO, the opposition to the official leadership at the convention of the United Automobile Workers mobilized an important section of the delegates around the slogan of rescinding the no-strike pledge. Despite the united efforts of the Thomas-Reuther-Ades-Frankensteen leadership to stem the opposition, the auto militants conducted an uncompromising struggle for their program and succeeded in having the question of revoking the no-strike pledge submitted to a referendum of the union membership.

The opposition at the United Rubber Workers convention fought under the slogans of rescinding the no-strike pledge and for democracy within the union. They rallied approximately one-third of the delegates comprising the most important section of the industry, and, although in a minority, succeeded in forcing important concessions from the Dalrymple leadership. At the shipyard convention the militants fought to revoke the no-strike pledge and to remove the labor members from the War Labor Board. Even the United Electrical Workers convention, which in previous years had been little more than a rubber stamp for the policies of the Stalinist leadership, saw the emergence of strong opposition tendencies.

In piecing together this picture of the recent conventions of these leading CIO unions, the outline of a common program and goal becomes clear. This program was first advanced by the Trotskyists as a way out of the blind alley into which the unions had been led by the false and treacherous policies of the labor bureaucrats and Stalinists. The slogans around which the best union fighters are rallying lead to one and the same conclusion. It is necessary to break with the policy of class collaboration, to regain the unions' independence of action on the economic field, and to forge the indispensable political instrument for advancing the interests of the workers, the independent labor party.

## Legal Lynchings

The capitalist ruling class of the State of Florida last week pulled the Raiford State Prison electrocution switch to murder three Negro youths, James Davis, 16, Freddy Lee Lane, 19, and James Williams, 26. It was a streamlined job of legal lynching.

First, there was the hue and cry that a white woman had been "raped." Then, there was the quick seizure of three Negroes—the first three who came along. A little "encouragement" with fists, boots, rubber hose and clubs extorted the usual "confessions."

"Strictly legal" was the motto. On August 31 there was a "trial." No other Negroes were present. No jury. It was held in secret session before a Judge and 20 selected white spectators. Florida law says that's legal, when you have a "confession."

Outside the courthouse a mob gathered. "Order" was preserved by the militia, whose commander reassured the "defenders of Southern white womanhood" that "justice" would be done. He pronounced the verdict in advance: "They will be electrocuted." The "trial," from the entrance of the Judge to pronouncement of the death sentence, took less than 80 minutes.

Some liberals, learning of the case, finally secured a defense lawyer on September 14. An appeal was filed. The States Attorney duly filed a counter motion before the Florida Supreme Court to dismiss the appeal because it was "frivolous." No defense lawyer was present at the "hearing." The Ku Klux Klan had been holding meetings. Word had been spread it wouldn't be "healthy" for any lawyer to defend the convicted Negroes. The State Supreme Court speedily dismissed the appeal.

Thus these three Negro youths were rushed to their execution amid conspiratorial silence from the Big Business press, the Roosevelt administration, and the Republican candidate. All these false "friends of the Negro people" keep quiet about this crime because it belies their blabber about "democracy" and "equality," because it is an integral element in the Jim Crow system they uphold together.

This latest legal lynching once more demonstrates that the working class can place no reliance whatsoever upon the capitalist government or its supporters to halt murder and oppression of the Negro people in the South—or in the North. Only the mass pressure and action of the organized workers, white and Negro, can effectively oppose the vile Jim Crow system and its murderous consequences.

# 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.

## Fight Cutbacks

The Mahoning County CIO Industrial Union Council, in a meeting held September 19, passed a resolution to be sent to the Ohio State CIO Convention urging that body to adopt the policy of fighting for a gradual reduction of the working week, without any cuts in the weekly earnings, when production drops off.

The resolution, which had been submitted by the anti-discrimination committee, pointed out that the minority groups and particularly the Negroes would be the first discriminated against and that it was necessary to fight for full employment for all to prevent a division in the ranks of the workers. It correctly pointed out that the employers would be pleased to see a huge army of unemployed to drive down the living standards of the workers, not only of the minorities but all the workers.

Since that resolution was passed, many workers in the Youngstown district have been laid off

because of cut-backs, 750 at one fabrication plant. Other plants are talking about going on the 40 hour week with the same hourly wage, which means wage cuts of between 20 and 30 percent a week.

This problem of cutbacks is starting to cause the workers to wonder what is happening to their raise before the WLB. The workers are starting to realize that the no-strike policy of the leadership is not getting results but will result in reduced earning power.

The action of the CIO Council here is the kind of action that will be necessary if the workers are to retain a solid front to meet the offensive of the bosses.

A. N.  
Youngstown, Ohio

## Attack Labor Press

The lone Stalinist in Berkshire Machinists' Lodge 682, Reading, put a motion before the September 24 meeting to ask the FBI to

"investigate" the Reading Labor Advocate, local Socialist Party paper. This motion was rejected by the membership, which understood that the Stalinist was attempting to use the union to call out the cops against the Socialist Party, whose candidates for state and congressional offices have been endorsed by the union.

This Stalinist demand for "investigation"—read persecution—by the FBI is of a piece with other Stalinist attacks all over the country on labor publications and organizations which do not accept the Stalinist line.

The Militant has correctly warned that if the Stalinists and the Administration were allowed to get away with their attacks upon the rights of labor publications such as The Militant and Fourth International, they would go further in their attacks against the entire section of the labor press which does not follow the policy of servility to Roosevelt.

J. T.  
Reading, Pa.

# Workers' BOOKSHELF

THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION, by James P. Cannon. Pioneer Publishers, New York. 30 pp. 10 cents.

The Russian Revolution stands today as the greatest testimony to the power of the working class and its ability to take its fate into its own hands. That is why today, when the proletarian revolution is once more on the order of the day in Europe, the European masses find inspiration and example in Red October. And that is why today James P. Cannon's pamphlet, "The Russian Revolution," recently published by Pioneer Publishers, is of such vital interest to every serious worker.

The pamphlet consists of two speeches. One was delivered by Comrade Cannon on the occasion of the fifth anniversary of the Russian Revolution in 1923, after his trip to the Soviet Union and following his return from the 4th World Congress of the Comintern. Comrade Cannon was a delegate to this congress from the Workers Party of America, which was then the legal form of the Communist Party. The second speech was made in 1942 at a meeting of the Socialist Workers Party to celebrate the 25th anniversary of the October revolution.

All the capitalist political parties, as well as their petty bourgeois camp followers, squirm when confronted with what they said yesterday, if they haven't already openly repudiated it. Although an interval of twenty years elapsed between the two

speeches contained in this pamphlet, every line has withstood the test of events and retains its validity today. That is because both speeches were solidly based upon the Marxist principle of working class internationalism and the revolutionary program consistent with it.

The dominant note in the speech delivered in 1923 is the spirit of proletarian internationalism pervading every phase of Soviet life. This speech gives a graphic first hand account of life in the Soviet Union following the Civil War and the adoption of the New Economic Policy. Comrade Cannon quotes the speech of welcome of a young Red Army commander to a number of delegates to the Congress of the Communist International:

"Comrades, we greet you as comrades and brothers in the same army with us. We do not want you to think of us as soldiers of Russia, but as soldiers of the international proletariat. Our army is a working class army and the working class of the world is our country. We will be very glad when the workers of Europe rise in revolt and call on us for assistance; and when that day comes they will find us ready." How different is this revolutionary spirit from the reactionary nationalist slogans of the Stalinized Red Army. But we can be sure that many Red Army fighters and Soviet workers are still animated by these traditions and ideas.

This same Marxist-Leninist spirit of working class solidarity is expressed by Comrade Cannon

in his speech delivered 20 years later. By this time Stalin had usurped the power in the Soviet Union for his own; his crimes against the working class were many and monstrous; but he had not yet succeeded in destroying the fundamental conquests of the Russian Revolution made in October 1917. The Russian Revolution, which has shown that the proletariat can take power, and once in power can set up a system of planned economy which is superior to any economic system ever known to mankind—this revolution still lives.

"Never surrender a position before it is lost," said Comrade Cannon in 1942. "We know all the defects of the Soviet Union. We know all the crimes of the bureaucracy. But we know also all that mighty power of those conquests of the progressive revolution which remain still intact, and therefore we continue to defend the Soviet Union."

We defend the Soviet Union despite its deepening degeneration under Stalin's regime in the only way it can be defended—by calling upon the international working class, the true allies of the Soviet Union, to follow the example of the Russian proletariat and overthrow their capitalist oppressors, who today constitute the greatest menace to the workers' state.

Every worker who wants to know the Trotskyist position on the Russian Revolution and the worker's state that issued from it should read this pamphlet.

Reviewed by  
MIRIAM CARTER

# INTERNATIONAL NOTES

## BELGIUM

The spectre of socialist revolution is deeply disturbing the capitalists of Belgium and the imperialist "liberators." The workers and peasants, large numbers of them, are armed. They refuse to disarm or disband the underground organizations formed during the Nazi occupation. They don't intend to tolerate the old social order.

The Stalinist party, which before the war had an enrollment of 10,000 now has a membership of 45,000 thanks to a PM dispatch from Brussels. But instead of leading the workers in a struggle for socialism, it is concerned to maintain "order" and preserve the capitalist status quo.

Edgar Lamand, secretary-general of the Stalinist party, told PM that "the only thing that counted was to mobilize the country to win the war and that people who talked about social and economic programs now could be considered almost as agents provocateurs" (upon which PM's editor commented: "I suspect the U. S. State Dept. will approve of that, at any rate.")

This Stalinist traitor admitted, however, that it was "difficult to keep factory workers satisfied when they saw their old collaborator bosses still on the job and that strikes might be feared if this were not corrected."

But the Stalinists have sent two members into the capitalist government of Hubert Pierlot which, aided by the imperialists, is protecting the collaborators from the wrath of the people. The revolutionary-minded workers are confused by this treachery which they do not as yet understand. But, as PM states, they are deeply suspicious and are holding their guns in readiness:

"Today, Belgian cities carry that same revolutionary air of armed civilians that gives conservatives the creeps — Belgian conservatives no less than French ones. A stern-faced elderly worker stands on the curb, air rifle over his shoulder. Youths with arm bands and rifles in their hands guard public buildings. A youngster with a light parachute-dropped machine gun comes into the cafe with his girl and parks the gun on the chair next to him."

This is what worries the Belgian capitalist and their Anglo-American patrons — an armed, rebellious working class. The Chicago Daily News correspondent in Belgium wired on Oct. 6 that the disarming of the masses was the "one thing which must be done and probably cannot be done without going the whole hog... either the Belgian government has got to do it or we, ir-

respective of our status in Belgium, must do it."

## FRANCE

The situation in Belgium closely patterns the situation in France where, too, the masses, are in effect exercising an independent power of their own alongside the capitalist power represented by the De Gaulle government.

A N. Y. Times dispatch from Paris on Oct. 12 asserted that units of the FFI (French Forces of the Interior) which are combined in the Stalinist Council of Resistance "do not yet accept the Government's decree putting them into the regular army," which is a mild way of saying that they distrust the capitalist government and therefore refuse to disarm and disband. In this, the dispatch states, they are supported by the local Committees of Resistance which "take the side of the FFI against the Government's plan."

What's more, the De Gaulle government "has no police force with which to assert its authority."

Side by side with the armed people are workers' committees which have taken control of many factories in the Paris region and elsewhere. They run the plants and refuse to relinquish their control to the representatives of Big Business.

## Big Business Grows Bigger Under Roosevelt's Regime

How big is Big Business, what power does it wield over the life of the nation, how has it prospered under the Roosevelt "war deal?"

The September 1944 CIO Economic Outlook provides illuminating answers to these questions.

In 1943, concentration of wealth and productive resources in the hands of a few private monopolists had advanced to a point where the 31 largest industrial corporations, .01 per cent of all manufacturing firms, controlled \$23 billion of assets, or 27 per cent of the total assets of all manufacturing corporations.

Just 29 such corporations employ one-sixth of the total industrial force; 5 per cent of all manufacturing concerns employ 76 per cent of all industrial workers. It is this handful of industrial giants who directly determine the wages, conditions of employment and security of the industrial working class, and indirectly of all the wage earners in the United States.

Behind these corporations, according to a report of the National Resources Planning Board cited by the CIO Economic News, are about eight financial "interest groups," such as the J. P. Morgan First National Bank coterie, which by 1935 controlled 41 major corporations with assets of \$30.2 billion.

This concentration of wealth and monopoly power has been intensified during the war. 31 corporations operate 50 per cent of the government-owned plants. 100 companies have received over 70 per cent of the value of all government war contracts.

A top inner circle, working secretly and closely together, guides the common policies of the biggest and most powerful corporations. Evidence of this organized conspiracy of capital was revealed by the LaFollette Senate Committee which in 1935 exposed the existence of what was called the Special Conference Committee, composed of key representatives of the 11 largest corporations in America.

This Committee met regularly once a month and "entertained an interest in practically every aspect of economic development." It had "no funds in its own name. It had no letterheads carrying its name. It was not listed in the telephone directory." But it wielded, and its counterparts still wield, tremendous plutocratic power over the lives and destinies of the American people.

## Picking The Right Man To Do The Right Job

One of the chief aspirants to the job of administrator for the disposition of American surplus war materials in Europe is reported to be William L. Batt. As vice chairman of the War Production Board, Batt is close to the ear of Roosevelt and is considered a likely candidate for the post.

The job will entail the disposal of billions in goods and equipment of particular value to the international cartels. Hence, Batt meets with the approval of some of the most powerful international monopoly interests.

Batt came into the limelight most recently as the result of publicity concerning the activities of the Swedish ball-bearing trust. He is president of its American subsidiary, SKF Industries. The Swedish parent concern has been shipping ball bearing supplies to the Nazis, after 1690 American airmen were lost bombing the German plants at Schweinfurt.

Batt has a long record since the last World War as an executive and agent for corporate interests closely connected with the German cartels.

## Secret Report Reveals Steel Trust Profits Grab

If the steel monopolists wangle the 10 per cent price increase they are demanding, they will be able to operate steel plants at 26 per cent of capacity in the coming period and still break even. Under the most "favorable" conditions, including no wage increases, elimination of overtime pay, and material costs at 1941 levels, U. S. Steel, for example, will be able to operate at 50 per cent capacity and still snatch \$164,000,000 profits per year, 2.5 times the best pre-war average.

Even under the "worst" conditions from the standpoint of the steel moguls—if the price increase demand is denied, the steel workers are granted a 17 cents an hour general wage boost, and with overtime pay and material costs at 1943 levels—U. S. Steel can operate at 68 per cent of capacity and break even. At 90 per cent capacity, it would "earn" \$113,000,000 annual profits.

These are some of the startling facts from official government sources about the plans of the steel industry to rake in fantastic profits during the coming period on the basis of low production, reduced labor costs, unemployment and high prices. The revelations about the industry's schemes are contained in a secret, suppressed OPA report in the hands of Price Administrator Chester Bowles. The contents of the report have been disclosed by the New York daily PM.

If prices, wages, overtime pay and material costs remain at present levels, and the steel plants operate at above 52 per cent capacity, the monopolists will make profits. With steel prices and wages remaining fixed, but with overtime pay eliminated and material costs at 1941 levels, as the OPA report anticipates, the steel industry will make profits at only 35 per cent of capacity operations. Under the same conditions, the industry could grant a 17 cents an hour general pay increase and break even at only 47 per cent of capacity production.

Bowles, in a personal statement based on the findings of the unpublished report, was compelled to admit that if the steel industry succeeds in realizing the major part of its schemes, it would mean "diminishing production and dangerous unemployment." One of the most important factors in the ability of the steel industry to curtail production drastically and still maintain huge profits, says the report, is that "since 1939, output per man hour has increased more than hourly earnings."