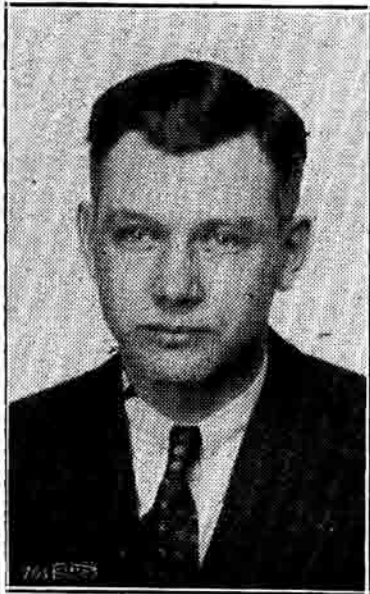


WLB UPHOLDS WAGE FREEZING FORMULA

Novack Starts National CRDC Speaking Tour

ROCHESTER, N. Y. — George Novack, National Secretary of the CRDC, addressed his first meeting on March 16, under the auspices of the Rochester Branch of the Civil Rights Defense Committee. This was the first city to be visited by George Novack, on his coast to coast tour. Many members of the audience decided to join the CRDC after listening to Novack's talk on the Minneapolis Labor Case.

Mr. Hansen, ex-Teamsters Union official and delegate to the Rochester Trades & Labor Council, now a prominent figure in the Firemen's Union, was elected president of the expanded Local CRDC Committee. Other union leaders who offered their services in the Local Committee included a second chief of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, a steel worker who belongs to the only steel workers local in town, and several additional railroad union men. A program of activity was mapped out which will include securing support from local unions, petition gathering and the raising of funds to provide relief for the 18 prisoners and their families. It is anticipated that resolutions and petitions will come pouring in during the next few weeks.



GEORGE NOVACK
CRDC Secretary

GOOD RESPONSE

"This strengthening of the CRDC is the result of the excellent work done by our friends in Rochester and my visit gave an impetus to their efforts," reported Mr. Novack. "The case of the 18 is already known to many of the railroad workers here who are very progressive. I was taken over to the round house and introduced to a number of the rail workers and officers who had signed the petition. The poster is put up right there in the round house office and looks impressive. It was a pleasant note for me to be talking about the case to workers right on the job with the steam billowing up around us. We distributed a number of the new pamphlets to them and got promise of individual contributions."

George Novack, Secretary of the Civil Rights Defense Committee is among the most prominent figures in labor defense and civil liberties activities in the United States. In the past 15 years there have been few cases of national importance in the defense of labor and democratic rights in which he has not taken an active and leading part.

Novack participated in the

formation of the first committees in defense of the Scottsboro boys and in aid of the Harlan miners in 1932. As Chairman of the Non-Partisan Labor Defense, Novack helped direct the defense of Norman Thayer in the Sacramento Criminal Syndicalism case.

NATIONAL SECRETARY

He was national secretary of the American Committee for the Defense of Leon Trotsky, initiating the Dewey International Commission of Inquiry into the Moscow Trials, which branded the Moscow Trials as frame-ups.

In July 1941, together with James T. Farrell, John Dos Passos, Carlo Tresca and others, Novack was instrumental in forming the Civil Rights Defense Committee which is in charge of the defense in the Minneapolis Labor Case.

Novack is scheduled to address meetings under the auspices of the CRDC in every major city in the course of his present nationwide tour. Novack is scheduled to be in Buffalo March 18-19, in Youngstown March 20-21, in Akron March 23-24, in Cleveland March 25-26, in Toledo March 27-28, in Detroit March 29-30 and in Flint March 31.

Minneapolis Trial Judge Orders SWP Books Destroyed

In a truly symbolic climax to the Minneapolis Labor Case, the federal judge who passed sentence upon the 18 imprisoned Trotskyist and Minneapolis Local 544-CIO leaders on March 13 ordered the destruction of the Marxist literature and pictures of the great Marxist teachers which the FBI had seized in June, 1941 from the Twin Cities headquarters of the Socialist Workers Party and which constituted the Roosevelt prosecution's major "evidence" in the Minneapolis Smith "Gag" Act frameup.

Thus, the administration's prosecution of the most consistent and uncompromising working class opponents of fascism, the Trotskyists, which began with the seizing of the books and pamphlets containing their ideas, reaches a symbolic culmination with a book-burning in the traditions of Hitlerism.

SWP PROPERTY

Among the SWP property which trial Judge M. M. Joyce, of the U. S. District Court in Minneapolis, ordered the U. S. Marshall's office to destroy, are copies of Marx and Engels' Communist Manifesto and other historic writings of the founders of scientific socialism, many works of Lenin and Trotsky, and numerous publications of the Trotskyist movement. Also ordered burned are red flags and pictures of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky which had been displayed in the SWP headquarters in Minneapolis and St. Paul. Most of the socialist classics to be burned were also on the list of the Nazis and were heaped on the flames of Hitler's bonfires.

The Minneapolis Local of the SWP issued a public protest against this book-burning and demanded the restoration of its property, declaring it to be a "dangerous attack upon democratic rights" and asserting that "this material, by all rights, should be returned to the party." The statement contains the reminder that "the Trotskyists opposed fascism even before Hitler came to power at a time when many American capitalists were making financial contributions to his support. The fascist methods we opposed then are being used against us in order to stamp out free speech."

SPITEFUL ACT

The ridiculousness of this spiteful and malicious destruction of books is emphasized by the fact that all of them are available in public libraries and are sold in public bookshops throughout the country. The Militant and Fourth International, whose files were included in the "evidence," are

(Continued on page 5)

UAW Members Victims Of The Ford Motor Co.

Fifty workers, members of the United Automobile Workers, CIO, were suspended last week by the Ford Motor Company, with the tacit consent of top UAW officials, for participating in an "unauthorized" strike. A later announcement stated that 27 were fired outright. A spokesman for the company said that an even larger number would probably be suspended following further "interviews."

The victims of Ford's "disciplinary action" were part of a group which had established an automobile barricade in front of the giant River Rouge plant in protest against the discharge and suspension of 20 UAW militants in a previous dispute. Eleven of the 20 were union shop committeemen. They had been "disciplined" by the company immediately after a letter had been sent to the Ford Local by UAW president, R. J. Thomas, demanding that "drastic and effective" measures be taken against those involved in the dispute.

For over a year, the Ford Motor Company has been engaged

in a deliberate policy of house-breaking the Ford union. Union shop committeemen attempting to perform their duties of seeing that the contract was enforced, found themselves marked for special persecution by Ford's "labor relations department." Since the first of the year, the company's provocative policy has become so flagrant that it caused a number of "unauthorized" outbursts of indignation by the workers. It was evident that Ford was out to "get" those UAW militants who sought to defend the interests of the union membership.

FACTS KNOWN

These facts were known when the International Executive Board of the UAW met last

month. The board adopted a resolution acknowledging that "the corporations" were deliberately pursuing a course intended to deny the union membership "their rights under their contracts and to provoke them into engaging in work stoppages." Instead of advocating effective measures to halt the corporation onslaught against the union, the executive board proceeded to "reaffirm without qualification, its no-strike pledge," and threatened to impose drastic penalties against locals and individuals who resisted company provocation by engaging in "work stoppages."

In commenting on this, an editorial in the March 11th issue of The Militant warned that: "This resolution can only serve to embolden the union hating corporation executives. The corporations now have the green light to go ahead and declare open season on all shop stewards and committeemen who try to make them

(Continued on page 5)

Book-Burning In Minneapolis



Badoglio And King Endorsed By Stalin

By James Cowan

To its numerous crimes against the international working class, the Kremlin bureaucracy has added one more in its diplomatic recognition of the reactionary regime of Badoglio and the Italian king, a regime which is hated by the Italian masses with the same detestation that they manifested toward the regime of Mussolini and his Blackshirt mobsters.

The timing of the act of recognition is significant. It occurred on March 11, when millions of workers in northern Italy were out on the streets in a general strike and giving battle to Nazi troops in the first gigantic mass upsurge of the present world war. It preceded by only one day a great demonstration in Naples, where the masses gathered to condemn Churchill's support of the Badoglio-Victor Emmanuel regime and to voice anew their determination not to permit this militarist-monarchist clique to rule their destinies.

What does this latest act of perfidy of the Stalin government signify? Stalin himself has thus far vouchsafed no explanation. This has been left to his stooges abroad. Paolo Tedeschi, leader of the Italian Communist Party in Naples, was quoted in the Daily Worker of March 15 as saying that Moscow's action, far from indicating that "the Soviets have put their stamp of approval on the king and Badoglio . . . is a gesture of friendship to the Italian people," and would in no way affect the opposition of Italian democrats to King Victor Emmanuel.

STALINIST EMBARRASSMENT

"Perhaps," Tedeschi added, "the recognition embarrasses us somewhat, coming at this particular time, but it will neither lessen the sympathy we naturally feel for Russian Communists nor in any way upset our determination to work ceaselessly for the removal of the king."

The embarrassment of the Italian Stalinist bureaucrats can readily be appreciated. For months on end they have been

(Continued on page 4)

POSTAL AUTHORITIES REMOVE RESTRICTIONS ON 'MILITANT'

The U. S. Post Office authorities on March 17 withdrew the discriminatory censorship restrictions which they had continued following their restoration two weeks ago of second-class mailing rights to The Militant.

When the second-class rights were restored, the postal officials at the same time informed The Militant that its issues would not be dispatched until each one had been examined for "mailability."

(Continued on page 4)

Carolina Bourbons Still "Lily-White"

The rich white ruling class of South Carolina recently passed a resolution through their State House of Representatives to reassure themselves that they are the Earth's chosen because they were born with light skins.

Voicing "firmly and unequivocally" the demand "that henceforth the damned agitators of the North leave the South alone," the resolution reaffirms "our belief in and our allegiance to established white supremacy as now prevailing in the South and we solemnly pledge our lives and our sacred honor to maintaining it."

However, the South Carolina legislators have never put the question of their "white supremacy" to a popular test, since by virtue of the poll tax and other repressive election measures less than five percent of the population is permitted to vote in elections. This is the lowest voting percentage of any state in the country.

Pamphlet Exposes Race Prejudice, Barred from Army

Roosevelt's War Department not only maintains a strict policy of Jim Crow segregation and anti-Negro discrimination in the armed forces, but it deliberately tries to foster race prejudice and to prevent the soldier ranks from receiving scientific information exposing the fallacies of all theories of racial superiority, particularly the theory of "White Supremacy."

At the behest of Southern Democratic Representative Andrew J. May of Kentucky, chairman of the powerful House Military Affairs Committee, the War Dept. recently announced that it was shelving the distribution of 55,000 copies of a pamphlet, The Races of Mankind, which by some apparent accident had been purchased for use in the Army's orientation courses. The pamphlet was written by two leading authorities, Dr. Ruth F. Benedict and Dr. Gene Weltfish of the Columbia University Dept. of Anthropology, and scientifically debunks the notions of racial, national or class superiority.

REP. MAY

Rep. May, a leading administration spokesman and a key mouthpiece for the Southern Bourbons, demanded the banning of the pamphlet and declared that it has "no place in the Army program." The high-up military authorities, when the pamphlet's contents were brought to their attention, promptly demonstrated by their ban that they also

(Continued on page 5)

Rejects Labor Members Plea To Recommend Wage Revision

Unions Led Into A Trap By Labor Fakers As Roosevelt Shunts Wage Dispute to Congress

By R. Bell

For two years the top leaders of the AFL and CIO have led the labor movement in a merry chase after the will-o-the-wisp of Roosevelt's promises to "stabilize" the cost of living. In exchange for these promises they accepted the Little Steel formula and took an active part in doing the dirty work of the board in enforcing the wage freeze on the workers. When the coal miners struck for higher wages to compensate for the rise in the cost of living, the labor bureaucrats joined with Roosevelt in attempting to crush the miners' struggle. After it became evident to all that the cost of living had risen far beyond the limits imposed by the Little Steel formula, they played an active role in Roosevelt's "price roll back" farce, (which isn't even mentioned any more) in order to divert the workers from engaging in an effective struggle for wage increases.

The net result of this bankrupt policy has been (1) an increase in profits in 1943 to the point where corporation earnings were the highest ever reached in the history of the country; (2) a rise in the cost of living of 43.5 or 28.5 above the wage ceiling limit imposed by the Little Steel formula, and; (3) a steady decline in the standard of living of the American workers. Even so case hardened a labor bureaucrat as the AFL secretary, Geo. Meany, writing in the March issue of the American Federationist is now compelled to question:

"Both the WLB in its rejection of the petition and Roosevelt, in his refusal to discuss 'wage stabilization' with the board members, offered the same reason: 'Wage stabilization was declared to be a matter for Congress and not for the Chief Executive' (N. Y. Times, March 16). This cynical declaration leaves one aghast at its sheer effrontery!"

MEANY QUESTIONS

"Is there anyone in America who really believes that the cost of living has been controlled by the government in the last two years?"

"Is there anyone so simple-minded as to believe that price control as it now functions can be relied upon by the American workers. . . ?"

"Can the present attitude of Congress in attempting to force close the use of public moneys for food subsidies be interpreted as an effort to hold down the cost of living?"

"All these questions," concludes Meany, "must be answered in the negative."

The conclusion drawn by Meany of the experience of the last two years is that a "readjustment" is required that must "take the form of a realistic modification of the Little Steel formula designed to bring real wages again into balance with actual prices." And how is this readjustment to be brought about? Meany, along with the other labor bureaucrats in the AFL and CIO have only one answer: "We'll request our 'friend' in the White House to 'modify' his wage freezing program."

This has been the sum and substance of the "fight" conducted

A TRAP

The top leaders of the AFL and CIO have led the labor movement into a trap and are now standing idly by waiting for the trap to be sprung.

After saddling the wage-freeze on the workers by executive decree—not without the valuable assistance of his labor lackeys—Roosevelt washes his hands of the whole business by turning the matter over to Congress to be nailed down by legislative action. The workers can expect short shrift from a Congress which has authorized the most reactionary anti-labor legislation in decades. One would think that this ominous development would spur the union leaders into action. Not at all. The AFL and CIO bureaucrats continue to sit on the WLB and meekly submit to the "majority decisions" against labor.

In the meantime, the wage demands of the steel workers are being kicked around by the WLB. After the events described above, Murray still insisted that the steel panel of the WLB continue its hearings on the wage demands of the steel workers. A labor re-

(Continued on page 2)

Pucheu Trial Bares Betrayal Of France

By Ralph Graham

When Gen. Charles de Gaulle and the capitalist "patriots" who compose the French Committee of National Liberation were considering bringing Pierre Pucheu, former minister of interior in the Vichy government, to trial on charges of treason, they were confronted with a dilemma.

Refusal or failure to bring him to trial would have meant giving mortal offense to the underground movement in metropolitan France which had already sentenced Pucheu to death as a traitor. It would have shattered whatever illusions the French masses still retain regarding the pretended "patriotism" of the French capitalists. But bringing Pucheu to trial meant risking an expose which would tar many of de Gaulle's own henchmen with the brush of collaboration with the hated Nazis. It also meant in-

troducing discord and apprehension into the ranks of the French capitalists, for none of them thereafter would feel safe.

De Gaulle was unable to avoid holding the trial, however, which soon developed into a dramatic expose, not alone of the treachery of the single defendant who appeared, but of the French ruling class as a whole. (Dispatches just received say Pucheu has since been executed.)

THE TRIAL

The trial opened in Algiers on March 4 and ended on March 11 when Pucheu was found guilty on one of a series of charges and sentenced to death. The condemned man is expected to appeal to de Gaulle for a commutation of the death sentence.

Dispatches filling many columns of the New York Times during the week of the trial testify to the importance which the capital-

(Continued on page 4)

Anti-Union Record Of The War Labor Board

By Ruth Johnson

Since Pearl Harbor, the Roosevelt administration has intensified and accelerated its program of binding the labor movement within the governmental strait-jacket and subordinating it to the war machine and its needs. The prime agency which has carried through this policy, is the War Labor Board, which has assumed ever greater authority over the labor movement and arrogated to itself powers of a supreme arbiter over the affairs of the labor unions.

The entire officialdom of the AFL and CIO surrendered to the war machine, immediately after U. S. entry into the "shooting war" by giving up labor's strike weapon. In return for this labor disarmament, Roosevelt set up the War Labor Board, composed of 4 employer members, 4 representatives of the AFL and CIO and 4 "public" members. This board was supposed to give "justice" to the labor movement. Roosevelt, through the WLB, also promised the bureaucrats to guarantee their organizations by the grant of the mongrel closed shop—"maintenance of membership."

WLB Procedure

By January 1942, the rigamarole of WLB procedure had been set. It provided for (1) Direct labor-employer negotiations until the possibility of agreement had been exhausted; (2) Further negotiations under the supervision of the United States Conciliation Service; (3) Certification of the dispute to the WLB; (4) Mediation by a WLB panel which had no power to make public recommendations; (5) Voluntary arbitration through an arbiter selected by the

WLB, or in case of disagreement, by an arbiter chosen by lot from a panel named by Roosevelt; (6) Final arbitration by the full WLB, empowered to make binding determinations and awards.

Basing its policy on Roosevelt's wage-freeze directives, the War Labor Board established the Little Steel formula in July, 1942, setting the precedent for a maximum increase of 15 per cent to compensate for the 15 per cent increase in the cost of living between Jan. 1, 1941, and May, 1942. A few days later in the case of Remington Rand, the WLB announced: "Contrary to some reports it (the Little Steel formula) does not guarantee to labor that existing standards of living will be maintained throughout the war." Thus the board made clear very early in the game, that it would not consider further increases in the cost of living a justifiable reason for adjusting the wage-freeze formula.

Following this pronouncement, the Board on September 17, 1942 ruled against the United Automobile Workers, CIO, rejecting the union principle that wage differentials in an industry should be wiped out. The UAW, seeking at that time a \$1 a day increase at General Motors, had presented data to show a 6.7 cents differential between General Motors and Ford workers. The WLB would permit no more than a 4 cents an hour token increase.

Step Further

The Board took a step further a month later, when it refused to remove wage inequalities existing in Ford plants in various parts of the country. Not a single penny was granted to the Ford workers.

It had taken the steel workers over eight months, the auto workers seven months, to wrest even these anti-labor decisions from the War Labor Board. And that was no accident, for the entire bargaining machinery was deliberately designed to prolong negotiations and to discourage the labor movement from even presenting its wage demands and grievances. The board would have an "advisory panel" take months to study an important case and bring in recommendations. The board would then brusquely set aside its own panel's studies and recommendations. The advisory panel recommended in the steel case, an increase of \$1 a day, which the Board whittled down to 44 cents; in the later case of the United Rubber Workers, the panel's recommendation of 8 cents an hour was tossed out, and a meager 3 cents an hour increase finally voted by the Board.

Lee Pressman

Lee Pressman, CIO Chief Counsel, reported to the 1942 CIO Convention: "As of a week ago, there were in the offices of the War Labor Board, about three or four thousand wage agreements. . . the division handling voluntary agreements. . . simply had not made any record of them. . . it may take anywhere from a couple of weeks to eight months to get approval. . . then if the employer has indicated a price increase may be necessary. . . you. . . must go to the OPA for approval." He further pointed out that the head of the conciliation service had 8000 disputed cases to which he was supposed to assign mediators.

Other union officials described the attitude of management, more arrogant than

ever because of the helplessness of the unions before the time-consuming processes of the WLB. On every grievance, no matter how small, the bosses would cynically say, "Take it to Washington!"

Growing Resentment

The growing resentment of labor to the incessant delays, finally forced the Board in 1943 to set up regional offices to "expedite" negotiations. But to assure even greater delays where they were deemed advisable, the National Board reserved the right to review on its own initiative, any cases it chose.

In addition to keeping wages frozen and tying up the labor unions in the endless red tape of WLB "mediation machinery," the board undertook to intervene directly into the internal affairs of the unions, dictating local constitutions, determining questions of union security and "disciplining" the membership.

In May 1942, the War Labor Board set the pattern for this usurpation of union rights. While awarding maintenance of membership to the union at International Harvester, the WLB added that the government would conduct a secret referendum of the workers, to determine whether they wished to accept the Board ruling. This was a direct encroachment upon the union's rights to conduct its own meetings and to independently ratify or reject its contracts.

Almost simultaneously, the Board, in the New Jersey Walker-Turner Co. case, insisted on reviewing the constitution of the union, a local of the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers, CIO, assuming the right to pass judgment on union policy.

The Board then ordered the local not to charge more than \$1 a month dues and \$2 initiation fee. Thus, questions of union finances and constitutions were now subject to the arbitrary decision of the WLB.

From these invasions into the internal affairs of the unions, it was a natural step for the War Labor Board to seize the right to police and punish the labor movement.

Punishments

In June 1942, weary of delays in negotiations, 140 workers at the Arkwright Corporation Textile Plant in Fall River, Mass., went on strike. William Davis, "public" member and chairman of the WLB, rushed a telegram to the local offices of the United States Employment Service, stating "Fixers and changers at Arkwright Corporation have failed to end strike in accordance with NWLB request. . . proceed at once to . . . secure necessary replacements as previously arranged."

Following up its successful venture into the field of strike-breaking, the WLB began to mete out penalties. In September 1942, the board denied to the AFL Federal General Chemical Workers of Buffalo, any form of "union security" because in June the workers, fed up with the red tape and delays, had staged a protest strike.

Three Conditions

In December, in granting maintenance of membership to the UAW at the Pontiac Yellow Coach Plant, where a series of walk-outs had followed company provocations, the Board laid down three conditions: that the security clause would be withdrawn if future stoppages occurred; that the union would be held responsible to the WLB to

discipline any members causing stoppages; and that the international union should appoint a representative to investigate the local, its leadership, and members responsible for work stoppages, and report findings to the WLB.

In the more recent Cramp Shipyard case, the Board imposed penalties on wages, by specifying that the workers would lose one month's retroactive pay.

In the course of its 27-month history, the War Labor Board has proved itself to be a policeman wielding a long club against the labor movement. Month by month, it has arrogated to itself more and more power, month by month it has established one anti-labor precedent after another, until today it stands forth as a real dictator over the labor movement, keeping wages frozen, breaking strikes, and throttling the independent existence of the unions.

First Task

The first task of the union movement, if it wishes to regain its independence and rights, is a decisive, sharp break with this wage-freezing, anti-labor agency. Once the labor members are removed from the WLB, once the labor movement declares a vote of no-confidence in the board, the WLB will burst like an inflated balloon that has been pricked with a pin. This was demonstrated during the first coal strike in 1941 when Lewis forced the withdrawal of the CIO representatives from the old labor board and the board promptly went up in smoke. The rank and file must make the demand loud, clear and unmistakable to the union bureaucrats: Get off the War Labor Board! Labor needs a new declaration of independence!

TRADE UNION NOTES

By Joseph Keller

Four officers of the Truesdale, Pa., local of the United Mine Workers were arraigned last week in the Scranton, Pa., federal court for violation of the Smith-Connally anti-strike law in connection with a local strike against the Glen Alden Coal Company last December.

The precedent for the present persecutions was established when 27 miners were convicted in Pittsburgh last August under the Smith-Connally act and sentenced to suspended sentences of six months in prison and three years probation. The UMW national officials failed to contest this initial attack in the general witch-hunt now being conducted by Roosevelt's Attorney - General Biddle.

For these first prosecutions the government has selected participants in so-called "wildcat" strikes. The administration hopes thereby to avoid opposition from the union leaders nationally. However, once a body of precedent is established through these cases, the government will then be in a stronger legal position to launch a full-scale assault on militant labor with the weapon of the Smith-Connally law.

A typical case history of the kind of run-around the workers are getting since the union bureaucrats surrendered the right to strike is described in a recent statement sent out to all CIO United Automobile Workers locals by the executive committees of the Chicago UAW locals.

The statement is an appeal for moral, and material aid to Chicago Local 68, Automatic Transportation Company, a division of the Yale and Towne Corporation. In April 1942, Local 68 won an NLRB election. Despite this fact, the company imported spies and thugs to smash the union and set up a company union. The company refused to negotiate with Local 68, claiming it did not have a contract. The proposed contract had been certified to the WLB, which did not render a decision until a year later, April 15, 1943. Meanwhile, says the UAW statement, "almost all of our leaders in the Local were either discharged or quit the plant."

For eight months, until Jan. 19, 1944, the company refused to sign a contract despite two WLB directives and six show cause hearings in Washington. The Company, which had defied the WLB and NLRB with impunity, then refused to carry out the contract signed in Washington, calling it "a piece of paper."

Finally, after 22 months of stalling and provocations, the workers walked out. The WLB ordered the workers back, promising to send a representative to "assist in effectuating the terms and conditions" of the contract. The workers returned; but eight of the local officers were fired.

The government representative finally appeared, but the company refused to attend the meeting with him. The WLB representative then refused to make a decision on the firing of the eight leaders, stating that this had to be done by a different arbitrator selected by the Board. Local 68 hasn't moved an inch further.

The Chicago UAW statement discloses that Local 68's treasury is exhausted and its members demoralized. It appeals for funds to conduct a legal fight "to the Supreme Court, if necessary." This may be all right as far as it goes. There are however thousands of similar cases. The real need is for a program of united militant action, not legal shadow-boxing. Local 68 would never have had a two-year runaround to begin with if the UAW-CIO leaders had not abjectly surrendered the right to strike.

We read in the March 17 The Call an item written by one Kenneth Rogers, whoever he is, that The Militant is advising "the progressives (in Michigan), who are now organizing in the hope of building a real farmer-labor party in the midwest state, they must proceed slowly, obtain official endorsement from the CIO, and not antagonize Hillman and his political action machine. All this, in the name of revolutionary action, we assume!"

There is a good reason of course, why Rogers, does not directly quote The Militant. His statements are simply made out of whole cloth. They cannot be found in The Militant. The Militant has exposed and fought the CIO Political Action Committee from the day of its formation. The Militant has advocated building a labor party based on the trade union movement, in struggle against Hillman and the other labor bureaucrats. Every reader of The Militant knows this. We hazard a guess that even the sophomoric writer of The Call is aware of it.

Why then does he resort to this crude fabrication? With Norman Thomas' Party backing Wall Street's war, with about 95 per cent of its leading members become pie-card artists, either on the payroll of various Rooseveltian bureaus or the union bureaucrats, with most of the present writers of The Call gracing every week the pages of LaFollette's Progressive, what weapons are left for the luckless writers of The Call? Or maybe the whole thing comes under the heading of juvenile delinquency?

Another instance of Army strike-breaking, becoming increasingly frequent, occurred last week in Buffalo, when Lieut. Col. Hodge, Army Air Force resident representative for the Chevrolet plants, used troops to convoy scab trucks during a strike of 500 local truck drivers.

The strike was called by rank and file members of Local 449, AFL Teamsters, in protest against an unfavorable wage decision handed them by a U. S. Conciliation Service conciliator. The workers had been awaiting the decision for 11 months.

The truck drivers are particularly incensed against their local union bureaucrats, who have been blocking union action for a year while the men worked without a contract. These officers have for several months prevented the holding of a local meeting, and the strike had to be called by an "unauthorized" mass meeting of the members.

Subscription Campaign Planned

A nation-wide subscription campaign for The Militant will be launched on April 1. 3,000 new subs by June 30—1,000 new regular readers per month for three months—is our goal. For the duration of the drive we will offer a special introductory sub rate of 25 cents for 13 issues.

This is an INTRODUCTORY OFFER SUBSCRIPTION CAMPAIGN to acquaint thousands of new workers with the program and ideas of Trotskyism. It is made possible first of all by the magnificent response to the \$15,000-15th Anniversary Fund Campaign, in which our comrades and sympathizers went over the top by more than \$2,000. On the heels of this truly Bolshevik answer to the government's imprisonment of our 18 leaders, we now initiate a second major campaign to prove that nothing can stifle the unconquerable ideas of revolutionary socialism.

Our victory in winning back, with the support of thousands of readers and scores of unions, the second-class mailing rights of The Militant has removed the last serious obstacle to success in our INTRODUCTORY OFFER SUBSCRIPTION CAMPAIGN. In addition, The Militant's expansion from four to six pages, with its numerous added features—special columns, wider labor news coverage, fuller comment on international events, a new brilliant cartoonist—should make our paper more attractive, interesting and inspiring than ever before. We intend to provide a paper each week which our friends and comrades will be proud to circulate.

We are confident that our goal of 3,000 new subs in 3 months is realizable. The recent local sub drives have brought in hundreds of new subscriptions. Our agents and friends, inspired by these initial splendid results, have urged us to launch this nation-wide campaign.

To those who already read The Militant regularly, we recommend that you take advantage of our Club Plan of four subscriptions for \$1. This is the best way of acquainting your friends and shopmates with The Militant. Send them a 3-month subscription to our paper.

The Militant is a fighting workers' paper—the only paper in the country that tells the truth about labor's struggles for a better world—the only paper that fights consistently and uncompromisingly for labor's rights. This paper must be read by every class-conscious worker. Forward to 3,000 new regular readers by June 30!

We know that all of our agents and friends will welcome the launching of the 3-month INTRODUCTORY OFFER SUBSCRIPTION CAMPAIGN on April 1. Our aim is 3,000—25c. new subscriptions to The Militant during the campaign and we feel confident that our goal will be realized.

Although Detroit has just finished a successful campaign for regular subscriptions, as you will see from our agent's letter, they will no doubt make just as excellent a showing in our INTRODUCTORY OFFER SUBSCRIPTION CAMPAIGN: "Our campaign," Detroit writes, "came to a very successful close last Sunday night. We sold 51 subs to The Militant and Fourth International. Our group was divided into four teams and a splendid job was done by all in seeing old contacts and acquiring new ones. Our goal had been set for 80 points, but we went well over that by attaining 117 points. This coming Saturday night we are having a social in honor of the winning team."

"In spite of the fact that our campaign is over, subs will continue to come in."

The following letter from a friend in Philadelphia speaks for itself: "Enclosed is money for a year's combination subscription to The Militant and Fourth International. Your very fine publications first came to my attention when I made the acquaintance of your Seattle agent. He is doing

splendid work in that busy shipping and industrial center. He and the small group of volunteer parttime assistants who manage the Seattle branch have the priceless ability of stating simply the intricacies of past, present, and future international and domestic politics. Simple workers and seamen like myself are not overly intellectual and for an organizer to assume that we are mental-mammots is to alienate us. But your agent is first, last and always a proletarian, and an excellent and inspiring product of the working class.

"If credit is given for my subscription, your agent of Seattle deserves it."

A friend in Long Beach, California does not want to miss a single issue: "Please include the zone number in sending me The Militant, otherwise I will have trouble in receiving my favorite paper. Hoping you have the success you deserve."

In Detroit, Mich.

You can get

THE MILITANT

at the

FAMILY THEATRE

NEWSSTAND

opposite the theatre

Wage Freeze Upheld By War Labor Board

(Continued from page 1)

porter for the N. Y. Herald-Tribune commented: "It is expected that the board will direct the panel to take the evidence in the expectation that before the panel makes its final report, Congress will have passed specifically on the Little Steel formula issue." The WLB is playing its accustomed role of prolonging the proceedings and stalling a decision while Congress is preparing to strangle the workers in a new legislative strait-jacket.

STEEL CONVENTION

The National Convention of the United Steel Workers, scheduled to meet on May 9, must demand an accounting from Philip Murray of the manner in which the struggle against the Little Steel

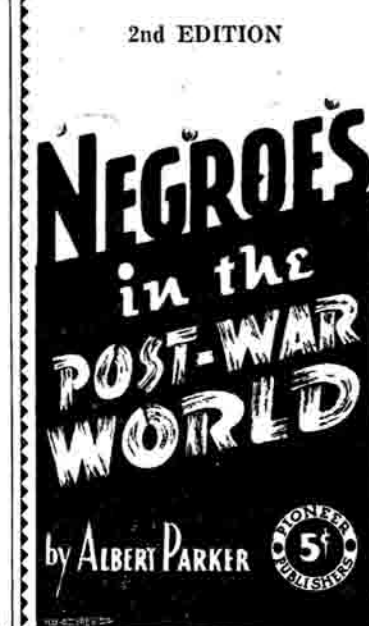
formula has been mishandled. The rank and file must raise the demand that the CIO representatives resign at once from the company-dominated War Labor Board. A national conference of all labor unions must be called to map out a program of action against the threat of wage freeze legislation by Congress. Above all, there must be a decisive break with the political parties and program of Big Business, which dominate both Congress and the President. The whole experience of the betrayals of the last two years make it imperative that labor organize its own Independent Labor Party with its own program. The independent class action of the workers can head off the impending blow against the labor movement.

We Still Have In Stock a Limited Supply of the Following Bound Volumes:

The Militant	
1939 (two volumes)	\$5.00
1940	5.00
1941	4.00
Fourth International	
1938	\$5.00
1939	5.00
1940-41	5.00

Complete your library while these bound volumes are still available

Order from
Business Manager
116 University Place
New York 3, N. Y.



PIONEER PUBLISHERS
116 University Place
New York 3, N. Y.

NOW OFF THE PRESS!

WHY WE ARE IN PRISON

Farewell speeches of the defendants in the Minneapolis Labor Case, with a special introduction on the background and the issues in the case.

56 pages, paper

10 cents

Pioneer Publishers

116 University Place New York 3, N. Y.

Los Angeles Marxist School Drawing Record Attendance

LOS ANGELES, Calif. — The Los Angeles School of Social Science launched a six weeks course of four classes on Tuesday, February 29. The opening sessions were well attended both in Los Angeles and San Pedro with the school running simultaneously in both cities. 58 students registered in the first week. Expressions of appreciation by many students showed that the quality of the lectures exceeded all expectations.

A large sale of the basic socialist literature proves that the students were there for an intensive study of Marxism. Also the number of those who registered for the entire series was very high.

Murray Weiss lectured on the problem of Imperialism and World Economy in its relation to the theory of Permanent Revolution. James Dall gave a lecture on an introduction to Marx's classic economic theories.

In the Thursday lectures at Los Angeles (Tuesday at San Pedro), Frank Graves discussed the class struggle as expressed in the struggle between the Soviet Union and the Imperialist world. Janet Bowers, in the second lecture of the evening, gave a detailed and vivid account of the rise of the CIO and its relation to the American labor movement today.

A particularly impressive phase of the School noted by everyone was its excellent organization. Classes opened and closed exactly on time, setting a standard of punctuality and efficiency that speaks well for the future of the School.

IMPRESSIVE PHASE

In the prefatory remarks to his lecture which marked the opening of the School in Los Angeles, Murray Weiss commented on the significance for the American Marxist movement of the launching of the Los Angeles School of Social Science. He observed that the complete renovation and redecoration of the headquarters had provided the proper setting for the School, and recalled that when Vincent Dunne was on tour late in 1942 he had strongly urged the Los Angeles movement to secure a headquarters to house such institutions as the School. "At the time," Comrade Weiss said, "we had been operating from a small and dingy office. I am sure that comrade Dunne would be proud of our new headquarters. Of course he won't be able to see it for some time yet because he and 17 others are incarcerated in a penitentiary for their socialist convictions."

NOW OFF THE PRESS

SOCIALISM ON TRIAL

—2nd Edition—

by JAMES P. CANNON

The text of testimony in the Minneapolis trial.

A Primer of Socialism

112 Pages - Indexed - 10c

IN DEFENSE OF SOCIALISM

THE OFFICIAL COURT RECORD OF ALBERT GOLDMAN'S SPEECH TO THE JURY IN THE FAMOUS MINNEAPOLIS LABOR TRIAL

95 pages

10 cents

DEFENSE POLICY

IN THE

MINNEAPOLIS TRIAL

1 — A CRITICISM BY GRANDIZO MUNIS

2 — AN ANSWER BY JAMES P. CANNON

Marxist principles, strategy and tactics — how they were applied in the historic Minneapolis Trial.

64 pages — 20 cents

Pioneer Publishers

116 UNIVERSITY PLACE NEW YORK 3, N. Y.

In The Colonies

By LI FU-JEN

It is an old trick of the imperialist slavedrivers to make relatively unimportant concessions to their colonial slaves in order to postpone the day of reckoning. Most frequently, the concessions are given only to a section of the population. By this means a colonial people can be divided, with the privileged section becoming a prop and support for the rule of the imperialists.

An example of this kind of trick is to be seen in a communique by the French Committee of National Liberation published in "Free France," a de Gaulle organ. The communique announces a new policy in regard to French Moslems in Algeria, describing it as a "continuous and progressive effort to better their political, social and economic conditions until they reach the same level as Frenchmen who are not Moslems." The policy is embodied in four points, as follows:

"A—To bestow French citizenship on the Moslem elite at once without demanding that they should give up their belief in and obedience to the laws of the Koran.

"B—To increase the number of Moslem representatives in Algerian deliberative assemblies and to extend the right of suffrage to more Moslems.

"C—To make it possible for Moslems to fill a larger number of government positions.

"D—To outline and realize a complete program of social uplift and economic progress for the benefit of all French Moslem peoples."

The purpose here is all too plain. It is to sift out an "elite" from among the Moslem population, place them in a highly privileged position in relation to the broad masses, and thus create a supporting social base for the French imperialists. It is hoped thus to divide the Moslems by buying the "elite" into the imperialist camp. The British have used this method in many of their colonies whenever the rule of naked force created a dangerous situation. The American imperialists did the same thing in the Philippines. And the Japanese imperialists are now trying it in Burma and other conquered Oriental countries.

"Free France" exposes the real motive of the de Gaulle imperialists when, in commenting on the Algerian "reforms," it recalls that after the defeat of France in the war with Prussia in 1871, the people of Algeria took advantage of the opportunity to rise in revolt against their French imperialist oppressors. "The events of 1871 came back to the memory of everybody" after France's subjugation by Nazi Germany in 1940, the journal declared. "Then, after the defeat of France, a violent insurrection had broken out in Algeria, endangering the effort of 40 years of pioneering work."

The defeat of France in 1940 has not yet led, as in 1871, to revolt in Algeria. But the danger is there, and well the French imperialists realize it!

*** In last week's issue of the Social-Democratic New Leader, Pearl Buck, a sentimental sympathizer with the colonial peoples in their struggle for national liberation, complains in a lengthy article of the "betrayal" of Korea by American imperialism. There were two "betrayals"—first in 1894-5 when America went back on a treaty obligation to aid Korea if attacked and permitted Japan, unhindered, to conquer the country; second, in 1919 when the Korean people rose in insurrection against the Japanese conquerors and failed to receive any help from America despite Woodrow Wilson's promise of self-determination for all nations.

Now Pearl Buck is perturbed by the statement concerning Korea that came out of the Cairo conference. Roosevelt and Churchill contented themselves with a perfunctory promise that Korea would be "given" its freedom—"in due course." None of the imperialists has ever "given" freedom to any of the peoples they oppress, though they have always given plenty of promises. Churchill only lately rejected with heat any suggestion that Hongkong, a part of China, and now occupied by Japan, be returned to China at the end of the war. The words "in due course" used in connection with Korea have a

meaning which is all too clear. If and when Japan is defeated and driven out of Korea, the American imperialists intend to step into Japan's shoes, to dominate the country and exploit its people and its riches for the greater glory of Wall Street.

Pearl Buck has no more understanding of the realities of imperialist politics than a jungle medicine man has of scientific medicine. For her, the American imperialists are not following a consistent policy in conformity with their basic interests. They are merely "bungling." "We have bungled very badly in our treatment of our allies," she writes. "We have alienated many peoples through our fear of standing on the eternal principle of freedom as a natural and inalienable right of all. The peoples of France, Russia and Italy doubt our sincerity today. We have even alienated to some degree those warm friends, the Chinese. The people of India are beginning to classify us as tyrants."

And now Korea!—"Nothing so discouraging as those three little words 'in due course' has happened to the Koreans since the last war."

Actually it is a good thing for the Koreans to find out that the American imperialists and the Japanese imperialists are brothers under the skin, so that when the time comes for them to renew their struggle for independence they will not suffer defeat through a false belief that the American capitalists are their disinterested friends and liberators.

*** The future colonial policy of American imperialism, as envisioned by the pundits of capitalist education and the big business interests that stand behind them, is already beginning to take shape. Faculty groups in 42 colleges and universities recently issued a report urging the United States to assume its "fair share" of "colonial responsibility" after the war. They want an International Colonial Commission established which will do just what the Mandates Commission of the League of Nations did after the last war—parcel out the colonial loot among the victorious powers, with a large share of territory, especially in the Pacific area, handed over to the United States.

Does this smack of imperialism? The learned educators in their report, which was featured prominently in the New York Times on March 10, undertake a little sugar-coating: "We should beware both of imperialistic expansion and aloof isolationism. But we should participate fully in a regional or international program of trusteeship over dependent peoples."

How it is possible for the United States to take over colonies and not be imperialist is not explained, beyond saying that the imperialists should act benevolently toward their new subjects and that their aim should be "to stimulate, but not exploit, the economic development of the area for the long-range welfare of both that area and the world."

If one were to believe the British, the French, the Dutch and all other imperialists, their presence in the colonies never had anything but the most benevolent of purposes, but the revolt of colonial peoples alone gives the lie to this hypocritical pretense. Regardless of their nationality, the imperialists grab colonies for one purpose and one purpose only—to rob and exploit the native populations. As it was with the older robber empires, so it will be with the newer American empire. No fancy window-dressing can conceal the predatory appetite of Wall Street.

In the past, defenders of American capitalism pointed to the absence of American colonies as proof that America was not an imperialist power. They conveniently overlooked the grab of Mexican territory, the seizure of the Philippines and Puerto Rico—not to speak of the financial domination of Latin America. Nevertheless many were hoodwinked into believing that capitalist America was "different." The proposals of the capitalist educators represent advance notice that their Wall Street masters are now dividing the world on paper in preparation for the real division.

Labor Must Rally To Free Kelly Postal, A Gallant Fighter Framed By The Bosses

Kelly Postal, life-long fighter for labor and militant defender of trade union democracy, has been rotting in the State Prison at Stillwater, Minnesota, since June 21, 1943. Dictator Daniel J. Tobin of the AFL Teamsters, with the connivance of the Minneapolis, Hennepin County and Minnesota boss-dominated courts, had him "put away" for up to five years in one of the dirtiest and crudest frameups ever perpetrated against an incorruptible and fearless union leader.

The charge which Tobin brought against Postal was "embezzlement of funds," because Postal, as Secretary-Treasurer of Local 544, had loyally fulfilled the overwhelming vote of the local membership directing him to transfer the local's funds to the new affiliation when the Minneapolis truck drivers in June 1941 voted to disaffiliate from the AFL and join the CIO.

Real "Crime"

His real "crime," which brought upon him the relentless and vindictive persecution of the gangster-ridden Tobin machine and the federal, state and local governments, was his outstanding role as one of the leaders of famed Local 544, which had dared to oppose the corrupt overlordship of Tobin and had transformed the once open shop citadel of Minneapolis into a union town.

Although the mechanism of the frameup differed, the Postal case is in reality part and parcel of the Roosevelt administration's frameup and imprisonment of the 18 Trotskyist and Local 544-CIO leaders under the Smith "Omni-bus Gag" Act. Postal was one of the original 28 defendants in the Smith Act case who went on trial in the fall of 1941, but he was acquitted with nine others. His acquittal, however, only infuriated the Tobin gang, which then sought other means for wreaking vengeance upon a man whom they correctly considered to be one of their most uncompromising opponents.

A Frameup

They seized upon Postal's legitimate compliance with the will of his membership in transferring the Local 544 funds as a peg on which to hang a frameup. They induced the county prosecutor—a not unwilling agent of the employing interests—to bring Postal to trial on an embezzlement charge. No one, however, claimed that Postal had used a penny of the allegedly embezzled union funds for other than union purposes.

This first frameup attempt misfired. Presiding Judge Hall refused to become a party to the frameup, and ordered a directed acquittal for Postal. In his declaration to the jury, Judge Hall stated: "By a resolution of the majority of the Local 544 membership, he (Postal) was directed to turn over all the monies of the union to the Union Defense Committee. That this resolution, directing him to turn over the monies was open and avowed, cannot be disputed, as it was heard, according to State witnesses, through the loud-speaker system, even by those assembled outside the building."

"The membership of the union must have believed they had a right to transfer these monies by resolution, as they attempted to do. Postal, the defendant was the agent and steward of the membership and turned over their money at their direction."

Shyster Lawyers

This acquittal only made Tobin more determined to "get" Postal. His shyster lawyers figured out a new legal subterfuge, and after scouring the judicial rolls finally found a compliant judge. Postal was hauled up to trial once more. The charge, the witnesses, the testimony, the "evidence" were the same as those previously thrown out of court. Only the sums involved in the alleged "embezzlement" were slightly changed, thus constituting a "new" count.

This time, the judge instructed the jury to find Postal guilty. Even open enemies of Postal and the labor movement pinched their noses at the stink of this frameup.

The Civil Rights Defense Committee, which is the national body organizing the defense of the Minneapolis Labor Case victims, immediately launched a vigorous campaign to appeal the verdict to higher courts. Scores of unions throughout the country came to Postal's aid. Thousands of workers signed petitions on his behalf. Labor and liberal leaders denounced the frameup and appealed for his freedom.

Upheld Conviction

But the Minnesota Supreme Court upheld the conviction, and subsequently, the state pardon board rejected an appeal for an unconditional pardon. Thus, through its juridical minions, the Minnesota owning class revenged itself on a courageous opponent of class oppression and paid its debt to Daniel Tobin for services rendered.

CIO Unionists At Weirton Steel Face Company Reign Of Terror

Down in Weirton, W. Va., where the open shop Weirton Steel Company is coining millions out of juicy government war contracts to help "make the world safe for democracy," the company has declared open season on CIO organizers and union men.

Last week, the company union minions of Ernest T. Weir, fuhrer of an industrial dictatorship that for eight years has successfully fought CIO unionism with club, knife and gun, beat up three CIO Steelworkers Union organizers who tried to distribute union literature at the plant gate.

A few weeks before, Weir's "hatchet gang" of company union thugs beat up three other CIO organizers similarly engaged. In both instances, the sheriff and his armed deputies, who have been patrolling the plant day and night since the USWA-CIO re-initiated its open unionizing drive last January, suddenly disappeared from the scene—just before Weir's goons made their assault.

NEW CHAPTER

All this is just a new chapter added to an old story in this last major open shop stronghold of the steel industry. But this new chapter has special significance because it foreshadows the methods and aims Big Business intends to reintroduce against all organized labor.

Down in Weir's town, which is unincorporated and owned lock, stock and barrel by the company, they have a special department manufacturing riot sticks and

other anti-union "persuaders." Down in Weir's town, the company has fired 1,500 union workers in the past three months. And what with the manpower "shortage" and all, the Weirton office of the War Manpower Commission has still seen to it that equal replacements have been forthcoming.

Down in Weir's town, his sheriff, who admits having 120 deputies on the company payroll, has forbidden assemblies, and ordered the union to give two days' notice before distributing leaflets outside the plant gates. The Weirton Independent Union, however, distributes its "independent" literature inside the plant, contrary to company regulations.

ENSLAVED WORKERS

One day recently, 50 union steel workers went to Weirton from Youngstown to help their 10,000 enslaved brothers fight for union freedom. These 50 workers understood that the open shop cancer anywhere in the industry is a malignant growth which can spread with deadly speed and violence. Machine guns were posted around the company grounds to greet them. Armed uniformed thugs swarmed the streets.

All this goes on today in a town where the company was ordered in 1941 by the National Labor Relations Board to cease and desist from fighting unionism by "assaulting and beating" its employees. This goes on in the face of a decree issued last fall by the Third Federal Circuit Court of Appeals upholding the previous



KELLY POSTAL

Today, the fight to free Kelly Postal stands on a broader plane than opposition to an individual act of injustice, important as every such act is. The whole question of trade union democracy is involved. Has a local union the right to dispose of its own funds, have union men the right to say what shall be done with the money they voluntarily contribute to their own union? That is the issue.

But even more than this is involved, as Kelly Postal's life record in the labor movement indicates. Postal has been a militant trade unionist for more than thirty years. After serving with a machine gun company in the front lines throughout the last war, he worked as a coal miner, railroad worker and a skilled crane operator. As a member of the United Mine Workers, he fought in the historic Herrin County Coal strikes of 1921-23.

Respected Leader

He joined the organizing drive of the Minneapolis teamsters back in 1933, and became an outstanding, highly respected leader in the great strikes of the following year. His personal courage, his spirit of self-sacrifice, his integrity won him wide recognition, and he was elected Local 544 secretary-treasurer in 1938. To the unionists of the Northwest, Kelly Postal represents the best and most honest type to be found in the labor movement. His justly-deserved authority among union men constitutes a danger to the bosses and union bureaucrats. They determined that he, along with the other leading spirits of Local 544, had to be silenced by any means and at all costs.

The fight to free Kelly Postal must go on with greater vigor and determination than ever before. His victimization, along with that of the 18 imprisoned under the Smith "Gag" Act, is integrally linked with the whole anti-labor drive pressing down upon the American working class today. The voice of American labor, of all progressive, liberal forces, must din persistently into the ears of the capitalist jailers: "FREE KELLY POSTAL."

Canadian News Letter

Mackenzie King's new straight-jacket for labor, the "National Labor Relations Order," is being tried on for size, and despite the anxiety of both the trade union and CCF leaders to find a basis of agreement with Mr. King, they have been compelled to complain that the pants are too long.

The CCF leaders were over-hasty in their attempt to find something good to say about the anti-labor Order. The first week they rushed into print in the New Commonwealth with a "qualified approval." In their next issue they were compelled to make a retraction. The fact is that the trade union membership of the CCF quickly showed the lawyers and professors at head office that they would stand no nonsense. In the Ontario legislature, the CCF was likewise compelled to take a strong stand against the order.

*** But why just in the Ontario House? The order did not originate in Ontario. It originated with the Federal House. But the CCF leaders there seem to be too busy to bother about such trifles as the Labor Relations Order. However, judging by the force of the union attack, it is safe to predict that the CCF leadership will be forced into a more active role in the fight.

It was the Auto Workers Union which spearheaded the fight in the Ontario House. Arthur Williams, CCF provincial member quoted from a telegram by George Burt, regional UAW-CIO director:

"The Federal Code does not make bargaining compulsory. Does not compel employers to recognize trade unions. Does not make company-sponsored unions illegal. Does not require a company to bargain in good faith. Does not protect employees' right to organize. Does not protect the position of collective bargaining agencies already certified. The old conciliation boards which have proven failures are included."

*** Williams pointed out in his speech that all penalties are upon the employees, including fines for individual workers, trade unions and union officials. The sections referring to obligations of employers leaves them optional, not compulsory.

Naturally, the Conservatives at the head of the Ontario Government did not find it too difficult to adopt this anti-labor code drawn up by the Liberals at Ottawa. They could not have done better themselves. But then, Mackenzie King, father of the Company Union, is an expert in the "art" of strangling unions.

However, Mr. King and his collaborators are in for a bitter surprise if they think that organized labor is going to take this lying down. True, under Stalinist influence, the AFL leadership did no more than submit a mildly reproachful brief on the Order. But the CIO unions are in a fighting mood. They know that the Order is aimed directly at throttling their expansion, which has been proceeding at an accelerated pace particularly in Quebec, stronghold of the Liberal Party.

Militants in the CCF are planning to force this issue to the top of every local agenda, to demand the co-ordination of CCF club and union activity in the fight against this vicious piece of legislation. The issue can be fought provincially as well as federally. King's straight-jacket for labor can be torn to shreds by the combined attack of party and the unions.

*** Today, in Canada, the Liberal government is losing support, literally left and right. To the left are moving both French-speaking and English-speaking workers and farmers and many of the lower middle class. To the right are moving the big interests who are finding that the Liberal Party is no longer able to pull the wool over the eyes of the French workers and farmers, no longer able to play the old "middle-of-the-road" game between conciliation and coercion.

The CCF is becoming a mass movement. Into the party are pouring workers tempered in the fire of strike combat with the bosses and with the government. These militants must be aided in developing an alternative leadership to the mealy-mouthed Christian Socialists now at the helm. Over and over again the Coldwells, the Joliffes and the Winches have proven their incapacity for serious socialist leadership. Their repeated failures are not lost upon the membership.

10 Years Ago In The Militant

MARCH 24, 1934

Detroit — The auto workers were preparing to strike for their wage demands. The Militant predicted: "The impending class battles will mark an important step on the road to the class awakening of the American workers and consequently to their political organizations. . . A trade union movement dominated by the factory proletariat would be too wild a horse for Green and Co. to ride. . . The express determination of the automobile workers to strike for the enforcement of their demands signals a profound change in their attitude toward the NRA. . .

"The forces are lining up along the whole front for the greatest labor struggle since the post-war days." Less than two years later, the General Motors sit-down strike paralyzed American industry.

New York — Mass delegations of CWA workers from New York, Chicago, Pittsburgh, Baltimore, Philadelphia and Camden converged on Washington on Saturday, March 24, united in presenting their demands to Hopkins and Roosevelt. The Militant, in a front-page article supported the plans of the "On To Washington" drive.

Feature Article — Summarizing "One Year of Roosevelt's New Deal," The Militant described Roosevelt's policy as "The technique of serving the exploiters and fooling the masses." In a detailed study, it showed that his program was "motivated by the fear of decay and collapse of the capitalist system. . . to reinforce its basis, consolidate its most essential parts and strengthen its whole structure."

April Fool's Day Jamboree

WHERE? 116 University Place
WHEN? Saturday, April 1, 8:30 P. M.
WHY? Just for fun. . . all kinds of fun. . . surprises galore.

Bring your friends! Bring lots of pennies!
Come prepared for anything!

Auspices of N. Y. Central Branch

Subscription 35c

Los Angeles SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCE

Six Tuesdays
THE THEORY OF THE PERMANENT REVOLUTION
Lecturer: Murry Weiss — Time 8:00 P. M.
AN INTRODUCTION TO POLITICAL ECONOMY
Lecturer: James Dall — Time 9:10 P. M.

Six Thursdays
THE CLASS STRUGGLE IN WORLD WAR II
Lecturer: Frank Graves — Time 8:00 P. M.
PROBLEMS AND PROSPECTS OF THE AMERICAN LABOR MOVEMENT
Lecturer: Janet Bowers — Time 9:10 P. M.

232 So. HILL ST., ROOM 201 PHONE VANDYKE 7936
LOS ANGELES, CAL.

SUBSCRIBE NOW TO

The Militant WEEKLY

Clip and mail this coupon
THE MILITANT PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION
116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.
I enclose ☐ \$1.00 for a 6 month subscription to The Militant
☐ \$2.00 for a year's subscription to The Militant.

Name
Address
City Zone State

GPU Gunman Returns To Mexico

The recent radio report that David Alfaro Siqueiros had returned to Mexico, a report which did not appear in the capitalist press here, has now been confirmed by the Mexican daily, *Excelsior*. Siqueiros, named by Trotsky before his death as an agent of the GPU, organized the May 24, 1940 machine-gun assault upon Trotsky's home and kidnapped Robert Sheldon Harte, one of Trotsky's guards. Harte was later found by the Mexican police in a shallow lime-filled grave, one bullet hole through the back of his head another through his temple.

In the police investigation of this murder and the attempt to assassinate Trotsky and his wife Natalia, Siqueiros was proved to have been the organizer. Later he was apprehended. He attempted to defend himself by claiming that the attack was a "justifiable" political action. But when the investigation of Jacobson, who succeeded on August 20 of the same year in driving a pick-axe into Trotsky's brain, drew close to Siqueiros as the organizer back of Jacobson, his escape was arranged and he fled to Chile and later to Cuba.

JUMPED BAIL

The fact that he is now able to return to Mexico despite the fact that he jumped bail and wander with immunity from the police through the streets of the capital, is another proof that Stalin's murder machine, the GPU, is still very much alive. Just as it has succeeded in providing Jacobson with funds and in putting up an active legal defense for him in Mexican courts, so in the case of Siqueiros it is able to demonstrate its ability to take care of its assassins.

Why did the GPU bring Siqueiros back to Mexico? *Excelsior* hints that he became involved in the murder of a Cuban woman and that possibly the Cuban authorities were preparing to take action against him. A more plausible motive however may be deduced from the fact that Oumansky was designated by Stalin as Soviet Ambassador to Mexico upon Mexico's recognition of the Soviet Union.

Oumansky was designated by Trotsky before his death as an old GPU agent. Trotsky charged that Oumansky, then Ambassador to Washington, had been sent for no other reason, since he is by no means a professional diplomat, than to organize the assassination of Trotsky. When Krivitsky was murdered, The Militant demanded that the Washington police ask Oumansky what he knew of the affair. The Washington police however, hastily dropped the case.

Did Stalin send Oumansky to Mexico City to organize from that center GPU activities in the Western Hemisphere? Is Oumansky preparing a new series of murders of working class leaders who are in opposition to the Stalin regime or to Stalin's capitalist allies? The appearance of the GPU assassin Siqueiros in Mexico City is an ominous sign. We are reprinting sections of the articles on Siqueiros which appeared on March 1, 3 and 4 in *Excelsior*, Mexico City daily newspaper.

MEXICO CITY, March 1. — David Alfaro Siqueiros, artist of reputation, globe-trotter, and renowned fugitive from justice, has for some hours been quietly walking through the streets of Mexico City.

The method by which Siqueiros re-entered the country—coming from Cuba and accompanied by his wife, Angelica Arenal—is one of those things which would seem destined to remain a profound mystery.

We were remembering the promise which the artist himself had made to the Attorney General not to go out of the country until he had explained away his responsibility in the assassination of Leon Trotsky—remembering too that the rumors surrounding the bloody tragedy in which the Bolshevik leader lost his life, had involved Siqueiros; and that when he saw himself implicated, he went flying off to Central America. And then, a few minutes before one o'clock, on a bus on the Lomas de Chapultepec line, we ran into this "most discussed man of the hemisphere."

OUR SURPRISE

Our surprise took us in one jump to the seat which Siqueiros was occupying on the bus. A large dark green hat—one of those which has always accentuated the natural sloppiness of his clothes—almost covered his eyes. Our greeting turned quickly into a questioning, which Siqueiros evaded with an evident nervousness that reflected itself in his face.

"What's going on, David, how long have you been around?"

"Well, you know . . . not long . . ."

The vagueness of his answer showed also in the look which the genial painter's wife gave us as a reproach for our insistence. It was she who, without giving us a chance to say more, raised her hand and pulled the bell-cord to stop the bus.

The two of them got off almost at a run. We continued to follow the illustrious pair for a very short distance, when they disappeared into an office building on Avenida Juarez.

Siqueiros even turned back to face us; but he did not listen to what we were saying, and kept a stony silence which prevented us from getting anything more out of him. But at least *Excelsior* is able today to report exclusively



GPU Gunman Siqueiros

the return of two people who have known well how to make a mockery of everyone.

MEXICO CITY, March 3.—In order to come to Mexico, David Alfaro Siqueiros, communist artist and colonel in the Spanish Republican Army during the Civil War, certainly must have received assurances that no trouble would be made for him here, in spite of the order for his arrest which is still in force against him. Otherwise he would not have had the audacity to break the solemn promise not to return here,—a promise which he is said to have made before he "escaped" from the country.

Since his arrival in this city seven or eight days ago he has been seen widely and has made no attempt whatsoever at concealment. It is obvious from this that he "does not fear the police" and that he doesn't care a hang about the charges that are still pending against him in the First Penal Court—charges of the crimes of attempted homicide, discharging of firearms, housebreaking, and property damage.

MEXICO CITY, March 4.—Because of the limited jurisdiction of the First Penal Court, and the attitude taken by the police—who now have to prepare themselves with the necessary papers before trying to arrest the fugitive

painter Siqueiros—everything seems to indicate that the illustrious "colonel" will not be touched and that the crimes for which he was tried will go unpunished.

PUT ON TRIAL

Siqueiros was put on trial for having participated, among other things, in the shooting in the house of Trotsky. In this attack one of the guards in the house was kidnapped. He was later found assassinated.

The judge of the First Penal Court has already declared that his order of arrest against the artist and fugitive from justice, although never carried out, still remains in force, but that it is outside of his jurisdiction to see that it is put into effect.

For their part, the police have not tried to locate Siqueiros, nor to arrest him, as they would any fugitive criminal. They say that they must first get the necessary papers and that this is what they are doing—slowly.

Unofficially, 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; "anything which would seem to indicate to the contrary (it is said) is just a game to throw one off the scent."

despoilers and oppressors. De Gaulle and company seek to control this movement, so that when, with its indispensable help, the Nazis are driven from France, the French capitalists will be able to resume their position as rulers of society. If the masses break with de Gaulle, they will blaze their own independent political trail with their own independent program of the socialist revolution.

Thus the fundamental issue of French political life, the struggle of social classes, was injected into the court proceedings at Algiers. With a keen sense of this issue, the New York Times correspondent declared that "the shadow of civil war hung over the court room and both sides (prosecution and defense) took cognizance of it."

POLITICAL SENSE

With equally keen political sense, Pucheu himself alluded to the French Revolution in his final address to the court, declaring that "when a government begins a massacre of Girondists, it moves inexorably toward a Thermidor." He appealed to the court "not to open the way for passions and civil war."

Pucheu's simile was not very apt, because there exists not the slightest resemblance between treacherous capitalist politicians of his stamp and the Girondists of revolutionary France. Nevertheless, the meaning of his court appeal is entirely clear. Pucheu was calling upon his class—the bourgeoisie—to close ranks against the vast popular movement of underground France, a movement which holds the promise of France's socialist future and the threat of utter destruction of the bourgeoisie and the hateful system of capitalism.

HEROIC STRUGGLE

The French workers and peasants are carrying on a heroic struggle against the Nazis.

WarRefugee Board Perpetrates Hoax On Nazi Victims

By Dan Shelton

The War Refugee Board, created by President Roosevelt to presumably facilitate the rescue of the Jews of Europe and other Nazi victims, is entirely without funds. This was revealed last week by Mr. John Pehle, director of the board, when he stated that his agency had no money, definitely did not expect government grants for its work and was undecided whether to request an appropriation from Congress.

Established in January 1944, the War Refugee Board was supposed to be an expression of "the policy of this Government to rescue the victims of enemy oppression who are in immediate danger of death and otherwise to afford such victims all possible relief and assistance consistent with the successful prosecution of the war." The rescue and relief of Hitler's victims in Europe was to be carried on "with all possible speed." The U. S. policy was supposed to be one of giving relief to those who had escaped Europe and also to participate in assisting such escapes.

Mr. Pehle's statement represents a brazen repudiation of the supposed aims of the War Refugee Board. The Government will grant no funds but is rather "inclined to ask private agencies engaged in relief to furnish the funds for rescue work." Thus private charity is confronted with the impossible task of raising the several hundred millions of dollars that are required. Furthermore, the board will "not be directly engaged" in rescuing victims from Hitler's Europe but will only assist private organizations in this work.

The real purpose of the War Refugee Board is thus revealed to be not the rescue of Hitler's victims in Europe, but appeasement of aroused public opinion in the U. S. The War Refugee Board is a sop thrown to restless American Jewry and disturbed American progressives who find it difficult to reconcile the administration's high-sounding declarations on the "Four Freedoms" with their failure to be "humanitarian" in practice. The barbarous extermination of European Jewry by shooting, lethal gas and starvation is now reaching its final stage. Three million human beings have been wiped out in cold blood while the Roosevelt government has stood by and offered tears, sympathy and alibis.

BITTER DISAPPOINTMENT

The childish enthusiasm evoked by the establishment of the War Refugee Board amongst the reactionary Jewish leaders has now been converted to bitter disappointment. Their previous day dreams and hopes that "with the resources and the means of the War Department, State Department, Treasury, intergovernmental agencies, United Nations governments . . . we now may look forward to a definite program of rescue" (Congress Weekly, Feb. 4, 1944) have now vanished. Once more the Jews have been taught an object lesson on the thoroughly reactionary character of Anglo-American imperialism.

The reactionary policy of the War Refugee Board is not a sudden negation of the government's previous attitude towards the refugee problem. It is a confirmation of it. The fact that the War Refugee Board, two months after its establishment to help Hitler's victims "with all possible speed" is entirely without funds, is no accident. The betrayal of the refugees on the part of the capitalist "democracies" has been going on since the 1939 Evian World Conference. The only result of this "conference" was the creation of an Inter-governmental Committee, which, in turn, met, considered and failed to arrive at even a single decision. This was followed by the Bermuda conference on Refugees which did nothing more than "explore" the situation. Concurrent with these operetta-style conferences, the U. S. has applied its visa regulations so stringently that even the small immigration quotas were only partly filled. Now we have the War Refugee Board which is to save the lives of hundreds of thousands in immediate danger of death—without funds.

Buy THE MILITANT IN CHICAGO at THE SOCIALIST WORKERS' BOOKSHOP

Open Daily (except Sundays) 11 A. M. to 5:30 P. M. Thursday Evenings 5:30 to 9 160 N. WELLS STREET Tel. Dea. 7562

The Militant

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

Union-Busting Campaign Rousing Workers' Anger

The rising anger of labor to the union-busting campaign of the government is illustrated by the significant article reprinted here from the Midwest Labor World, organ of the Warehouse, Wholesale, Retail and Food Production Workers of Missouri, CIO. If the article is any indication, significant sections of the labor movement are getting wise to the fact that the Roosevelt government is nothing but an agency for the Wall Street masters of America.

Under the title "So! Government Can Act Tough When It Wants To!" the labor paper declares: "Every newspaper brings additional evidence of the kicking around that organized labor is getting. . .

"At Kansas City, employees of the Corn Product Company, now chartered as Local 1216, United Retail, Wholesale, and Department Store Employees, CIO, won a Labor Board election a year ago. Their union is the certified bargaining agent, but the company, controlled by Standard Oil Co., refused to meet the bargaining committee. Last week the workers were out on a 5-day strike.

ANTI-LABOR ACTIONS

"The War Labor Board ordered the men back to work, but it has yet to order the company genuinely to bargain.

"The Office of Price Administration sent out letter to strikers demanding return of their 'B' and 'C' cards.

"Governor Donnell, that great friend of labor was preparing to call out the militia. The sheriff was there Johnny-on-the-spot, to enforce an injunction issued by a Johnny-on-the-spot judge.

"We haven't yet heard, but we presume the draft boards were preparing to put strikers into the Army as a 'penalty'. It has been done before.

"All the powers of the state and national Administrations were directed against labor.

"The company was defying the law—not the union. The strike was the union's only recourse. The government closed all other avenues.

"But did the War Labor Board get tough with the law-defying company? It did not.

"Were the threats of Governor Donnell's guns turned toward the law-defying company? They were not.

THE WHOLE PACK

"As for the action of the OPA, that's a new one. This spineless, bootlicking bureau, that whimpers around the feet of Big Business, which crawled on the vital issue of grade labeling, was set up to protect the market basket of the American public. But if it were rightly named, it would be called the Office of Profit Assurance. The bureaucrats of this bootlicking outfit, who start their bellycrawling when chiseling business men even glance their way, suddenly gets very tough when it comes to helping a law-defying company in a labor dispute. Their anxiety to be helpful reveals both their guilt and their venom against the people they were hired to protect. Incidentally, aren't there supposed to be labor members on this board? If so, where were they?

"The company succeeds in defiance of the law. Labor gets fed up, and walks out for a few days. Then the whole pack starts in

full cry to 'defend the company'. The whole pack—War Labor Board, OPA, the sheriff, the state administration, and probably the Selective Service System, if the facts be known."

Stalin Endorses Badoglio Clique

(Continued from page 1)

rial aid for the Italian masses in their great battle against reaction and would seek to mobilize the international working class for similar solidarity.

The Stalin government, on the contrary, solidarizes itself with the rotten junta which the Italian masses are trying desperately to overthrow. Here we see the distance the Stalin regime has traveled away from Bolshevism, the extent to which it has become the helper and partner of capitalist reaction.

Stalin's recognition of the Badoglio regime signifies more than just a lighthearted disregard of the feelings and interests of the workers. It reveals, on the scale of the Italian events, the counter-revolutionary role which Stalinism intends to play in the coming European revolution, in which the Italian upheaval represents the first act.

SOVIET BUREAUCRACY

The Soviet bureaucracy, with Stalin at its head, has as good a reason to fear the coming storms of the proletarian revolution as the imperialists. For the imperialists, the proletarian revolution means the death of capitalism. For the Soviet bureaucracy it means the end of their dictatorial rule and the revival of Soviet democracy. Safety for the Soviet bureaucracy lies in confusing and disorienting the workers, betraying their movement to the class enemy, stabbing them in the back whenever they make a move in the direction of the socialist revolution.

The cynical and well-calculated betrayal of the struggle of the Italian workers will undoubtedly open the eyes of the advance guard to the real role of Stalinism in the labor movement. The Stalinists now comes forth openly as strike-breakers and agents of the bourgeois counter-revolution.

HEALTHY SIGN

That their role is already beginning to be understood is indicated by a recent split in the Communist Party at Naples, first reported by the N. Y. Herald Tribune correspondent, Homer Bigart and since confirmed. A large section of the party broke away and constituted an independent organization free of any ties with Moscow.

This is a healthy sign. The rift in the ranks of the Communist parties everywhere will widen and deepen as more and more revolutionary militants come to understand the character and the role of Stalinism. The workers can march forward to socialist victory only if they mercilessly root out of their ranks this gangrenous poison.

Trial of Vichy Traitor Exposes False Patriotism of Capitalists

(Continued from page 1)

ist class attaches to the case. The trial proceedings themselves obviously caused not a little consternation in the ranks of the emigrant section of the French capitalists, who live for the day in which—it hopes—it will once again rule France in its own interests. The consternation arose from the fact that the court-room happenings revealed openly to all the world what the French working-class had learned even before the Nazis overran France—namely, that the capitalist rulers will betray their country and collaborate with the enemy without the slightest hesitation when by so doing they serve their own class interests.

The French bourgeoisie were ready to betray working-class Paris to the Prussians in 1871. And when the French armies collapsed in 1941 they hesitated not a moment in collaborating with the Nazi conquerors against the interests of the vast majority of the French nation. The dissidents who followed de Gaulle were actuated by the same motives of self-interest, the only difference being that they, taking a longer perspective, preferred to tie their cause to that of the "democratic" imperialists. In principle, there is no difference between the Vichy "collaborationists" and the de Gaulist "patriots."

CONCEAL IDENTITY

But the de Gaullists have every reason for desiring to conceal the essential identity of the two capitalist camps, to preserve the fiction that they are "true patriots" concerned only with France's liberation.

One can imagine, then, how great was their perturbation when Pucheu, in his last word to the court, pointed an accusing finger at the Prosecutor, Maj-Gen. Pierre Weiss, charging him with the same type of collaboration with the Nazis for which he (Pucheu) was being tried for his life. It was an "irony of destiny," declared Pucheu with a characteristic Gallic flourish, that at the very moment when he became a minister in the Vichy regime, Weiss was advising aviators at Blida, Algeria, to follow Marshal Petain, and that just before the Allied landing Weiss "paraded with Darlan in Algiers."

Pucheu was condemned to death for "collusion with the enemy." Yet he was able, without contradiction from any source, to brand his prosecutor, one of the leading luminaries of the de Gaulist faction, with a similar charge.

CONDUCT INEPT

No wonder the de Gaullists, as reported by the New York Times from Algiers on March 11, "declared the conduct of the case by the prosecution had been inept." It revealed more than was intended or desired. Little wonder, also, as the same source reveals, that the French Committee of National Liberation has decided to hold no more treason trials until after the "liberation" of France. Flandin, Boisson and Peyrouton, also accused of collaboration with the Nazis, will not have their day in court for a long time to come.

De Gaulle and his capitalist "patriots" are meanwhile confronted with a fresh dilemma: what to do with Pucheu? As one

of them expressed it to the New York Times correspondent: "If de Gaulle should commute Pucheu's sentence, de Gaulle would never set foot in France, for he would be condemned by public opinion there." And if, on the other hand, he decrees that Pucheu must die, what of the other traitorously "collaborators," including those de Gaulle's own camp, not forgetting Pucheu's prosecutor, Maj-Gen. Pierre Weiss, and what of the capitalist class as a whole, which in France collaborates with Hitler?

Pucheu was condemned to death by the French underground movement before he departed for North Africa in 1942. As Vichy's minister of interior, he was responsible for the anti-Semitic laws that were adopted and for the vicious police measures taken against underground opponents of the Nazis. When things became too hot for him at home, he fled to North Africa, hoping to attach himself to that section of the French bourgeoisie which was collaborating with the "democratic" imperialists.

De Gaulle, no doubt, was ready to accept Pucheu into his clique as he has accepted many others with records just as black. But he could not ignore the demands of the French underground, for it is upon de Gaulle's ability to maintain friendly relations with, and a measure of control over, the battling workers and peasants which that underground represents, that the future of the French capitalist class now depends.

HEROIC STRUGGLE

The French workers and peasants are carrying on a heroic struggle against the Nazis.

POST OFFICE CENSORSHIP OF 'MILITANT' IS DISCONTINUED

(Continued from page 1)

fight to halt Post Office censorship and suppression has been won.

The government's move to suppress *The Militant*, the weekly organ of Trotskyism in America, has been part of the Roosevelt administration's frameup drive to silence the voice of revolutionary socialism through the imprisonment of the 18 Minneapolis Labor Case victims and Kelly Postal.

Following the seizure and destruction of several issues of *The Militant*, Postmaster General Walker in January 1943 ordered a hearing before his own hand-picked board of three for *The Militant* editors to "show cause" why its second-class mailing privileges should not be withdrawn.

BIDDLE'S ROLE

This action had been preceded by a directing letter to Walker from Attorney General Biddle, who had organized the Minneapolis prosecutions, in which "as part of the joint cooperation which has existed between your Department and this Department (of Justice)" Biddle proposed "that you may wish to consider the issuance of an order to show cause why *The Militant* should not be denied second-class mailing privileges," and offering "complete cooperation in any action you may deem advisable."

At the farcical hearing, where the Postal authorities acted as plaintiffs, prosecutors, judges and jury, the Post Office attorneys introduced as "evidence" scores of excerpts from *The Militant*. These included condemnations of the Darlan deal and Roosevelt's friendly dealings with Fascist governments, exposure of Army and Navy Jim Crow practices, Big Business war profiteering, anti-labor legislation, etc. The Post Office attorney flatly stated: "We are not concerned here with questions of truth or falsity. It does not make any difference if everything *The Militant* said is true."

On March 3, 1943, an order was issued depriving *The Militant* of second-class mailing rights.

PROTEST CAMPAIGN

An extensive protest campaign began against this attack on the free press. *The Militant* made plans to institute court action for restoration of its rights. Even leading capitalist newspapers and magazines, like the N. Y. Times and Collier's, condemned the action.

Last July *The Militant* was requested to refrain from court action and reapply for its second-class rights. This was done. Following a further delay of eight months, the Solicitor of the Post Office Department on March 7 finally approved the restoration of these mailing rights.

Off the Press!

Second and Enlarged Edition

The Struggle for Negro Equality

by

John Saunders and Albert Parker

Contents:

1. The Struggle for Negro Equality
2. The Anti-Negro Terror in Detroit
3. The Harlem Outbreak—A Protest Against Jim Crow
4. Trotsky and the American Negro Struggle

48 PAGES 10 CENTS

Order from

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

The Negro Struggle

By Charles Jackson

The Housing Problem

There is growing resentment among Negro workers in the Detroit area against the federal government's continued policy of discrimination in the occupancy of public housing projects. On February 28, 1944 the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People filed a suit against the Federal Public Housing Authority in the U. S. District Court on behalf of Howard Flowers, a homeless Negro war worker. The action would "restrain the FPHA from denying applicants solely on the basis of race or color" as had occurred in the case of Flowers at the all-white Willow Run housing project.

According to a memorandum signed by Sherwood L. Reeder, FPHA director, this project was reputedly constructed for the purpose of "accommodating war workers who now live in sub-standard housing." Although the NAACP lawyers could find no written directive of segregation in the FPHA set-up, yet such a policy has been rigidly followed in the occupancy of all such projects in the Detroit area.

The paradoxical consequences of this government-sanctioned policy in Detroit can best be seen when we realize that there are many new "white" housing units now standing empty because the demand was over estimated, while at the same time there are thousands of Negro war workers whose families have no adequate quarters in which to live.

NAACP STATEMENT

Attorney Thurgood Marshall, chief counsel for the NAACP stated: "As matters now stand in the Detroit area there are some 800 vacant family units in the Willow Run projects for which you have been unable to find any white applicants despite the lowering of the requirements for leasing. Recent surveys show that there are no white families in the Detroit area who are not properly housed or who are eligible for the Willow Run projects. There are at least 11,000 Negro families with an estimated 40,000 to 50,000 Negroes who are inadequately housed living in store fronts, basements, and all other types of unsanitary lodgings. These Negro war workers . . . paying taxes, part of which taxes were used to build the Willow Run projects, are denied admission to these vacant family units solely because of their race or color."

In fact, it was revealed in the Detroit Free Press weeks ago that there are altogether 3,500 empty units and apartments now vacant in the metropolitan area because there are no (white) applicants.

Carleton F. Sharpe, regional director of FPHA has admonished the NAACP that it is "unwise" to proceed with a test case "at this time." He suggests that the organization direct its attention

to "correcting the local pattern thru education and persuasion." According to the NAACP communication, however, such tactics have been carried out "for years." Furthermore, Mr. Flowers and thousands like him have been without adequate housing facilities over a year while "by letter, telegram and personal conference" fruitless attempts have been made to persuade the FPHA to abandon its "unlawful, undemocratic and unreasonable policy of segregation."

Representatives of the reactionary Detroit city government, however, have made two proposals that are a bit more "practical" than the age-old wheeze of "correcting the pattern by education and persuasion." First, they have suggested that the state withhold tax-delinquent land north of the city adjacent to a "non-controversial," (all-Negro) area for "future construction" of additional jim-crow units. Secondly, they have pointed to the feasibility (no joke) of dismantling the empty units, moving them to outlying all-Negro districts and reconstructing them over "on the other side of the tracks" where Negro occupancy would be acceptable.

We know that if Negro war workers are to efficiently produce the weapons of destruction they must have adequate housing. They must get their physical rest as well as retain peace of mind as to the welfare of their families. We know there must be proper sanitary facilities to hold down infectious diseases. We know that 3,500 modern family units with such facilities are today standing empty and unused and have stood in such condition for many months. We know that 11,000 Negro war workers in the Detroit area are denied the privilege of living in these housing units simply because of the color of their skins—and remember, all this in spite of the fact that anything which interferes with "the war effort" must, we are told, be pushed aside.

JIM CROW

This case, however, hammers home the fact that the government acts on the policy that anything that interferes with the policy of Jim Crow must be pushed aside.

The advance from methods of protest and persuasion into the field of legal action as initiated by the NAACP in the suit of this homeless war worker represents a definite step forward. Even though such action, by itself, is insufficient to change the federal policy, it will help expose the characteristically reactionary conduct of agencies operating under a government that is controlled by—and will inevitably protect—the interests of big business as opposed to the interests of the working class.

PIONEER PARAGRAPHS

MANKIND CAN PROGRESS ONLY THROUGH NEW SOCIAL SYSTEM

Throughout history there have been men who dreamed of changing society. They saw the poverty, the oppression, the persecution and hatred that prevailed in the world and concluded that the only way by which these evils could be abolished was to have men accept the right kind of beliefs. The prophets of old, Christ, the philosophers of the Middle Ages thought they could change society by teaching men to be good. If only people actually practiced the commandments!

Then came Karl Marx who presented the startling proposition that to change man, you must change the social system. It is impossible to have a society where love between human beings prevails, unless you have a society where the struggle for economic existence is done away with. Under the present social system, mean, petty and violent struggles prevail in all classes. Way up on top there are struggles for colonies and spheres of influence; then there are struggles in the form of bitter competition between business men; there are struggles between workers. Everywhere in society struggle prevails.

There are some people who claim that the human being is essentially bad and no attempt to change his nature can succeed. But when one considers that in spite of the meanness and violence that prevail in society, there are millions of decent human beings, one must come to the conclusion that the human being is essentially good.

Marx concluded that before man can develop to a point where the relationship between one human being and another will be on a decent basis, society will have to be altered. Under the present social system all moral codes and all ethical concepts are accepted, by and large, only in words. People believe in religion, believe in the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man and yet they kill one another by the millions.

Marx formulated the following proposition: that the ideas, the philosophies, the religions and the morals of a certain epoch are determined fundamentally by the prevailing social system; change the social system and the ethical codes and philosophies will also change.

(From "In Defense of Socialism," by Albert Goldman, pages 30-31; Pioneer Publishers, 1942; 95 pages, 10c. Order from Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.)

Robert Minor 'Explains' Why Stalinists Support Wall St.

By Ralph Graham

During the past several weeks, in the columns of the *Daily Worker*, Robert Minor has essayed the difficult task of dissolving doubts, bewilderment and misgivings of Communist Party members over the new party line announced by Earl Browder in his Madison Square Garden speech of Jan. 10—a line which spells the formal abandonment of the last pretense of a struggle for socialism and an open unabashed policy of collaboration with the capitalists for the preservation of the capitalist system.

Minor's job has been to make palatable to the Stalinist rank and file a "pill" which, according to Mike Gold, is "fit only for a horse."

That Minor was given this job, and has already spewed forth many columns of writing on the subject, is evidence of the unrest which the new party line has stirred in the Stalinist ranks. The members duly swallowed all the previously dispensed bitter pills of party policy because these were sugar-coated by Browder and Co. and depicted as serving the best interests of the American working class and the Soviet Union.

STALINIST PILL

The latest Stalinist pill is of a type which resists sugar-coating and Minor's attempts to make it palatable can evoke nothing but contempt among honest, class-conscious workers. His answers to questions regarding the new party line have ranged all the way from outright falsehood to a murky compound of casuistry, evasion and half-truth.

It was one thing to persuade the ranks of the Communist Party that Stalin's pact with Hitler served the interests of the Soviet Union, and thereby also, the interests of the American working class. But it is more difficult to ask them to abandon the class struggle, relinquish the fight for socialism, make peace with the capitalist exploiters and imperialist war-mongers, and to regard this shameful desertion of the socialist program as being in any way consistent with Marxism.

MINOR ANSWERS

In the Feb. 18 issue of the *Daily Worker*, Minor undertakes to answer a 16-year-old high school boy, Arthur D., who said he was "puzzled and a little disgusted" by recent happenings in the party. Arthur, it seems, found it difficult to swallow the dissolution of the Young Communist League, the abandonment of the "Internationale" as the Soviet anthem, and now the dissolution of the Communist Party in connection with the openly avowed program of collaboration with the American monopolists.

"Probably," he wrote, "some ultra-patriotic name will be adopted, thus forgetting all ideals concerning socialism, internationalism and class consciousness. . . Please answer this letter not by saying, 'C'est le guerre'."

Minor sails into his youthful interrogator with a series of questions: "And why the expression 'ultra-patriotic'? Are you really under the impression that Marxism-Leninism rejects patriotism? And in this war? What Trotskyite has been lying to you, Arthur? Whoever told you that patriotism in a real sense is a violation of 'ideals concerning socialism, internationalism and class-consciousness' is either very much confused or else deliberately exposing the cause of the worst enemies of mankind."

The Stalinist hack then refers to Lenin's distinction between just and unjust wars, progressive wars and reactionary wars. The present war, you see, is a progressive war as far as the "United Nations" are concerned because it is being fought for "democracy" in alliance with the Soviet Union.

UTTER DISHONESTY

With that contemptible dishonesty which characterizes the pundits of Stalinism, Minor refrains from telling Arthur D. that in Lenin's view, confirmed over and over again by events, no imperialist power is capable of conducting a progressive war, for the very simple reason that imperialism everywhere is reactionary. The imperialists fight and can fight only for imperialist aims. And imperialist aims are reactionary in their very essence because the imperialists themselves are a reactionary class with reactionary interests. This is confirmed in practice today by the ultra-reac-

tionary policies of Roosevelt and Churchill, the Darlan Deal, the Badoglio deal, the imperialist scramble for oil etc.

Lenin castigated the leaders of the Social Democracy for abandoning the struggle for socialism upon the outbreak of the first World War, and joining with the capitalists of their respective countries in "defense of the fatherland." Lenin pointed out again and again that this meant only selling out to the capitalists and a complete betrayal of socialism. Lenin had a word which described the leaders of the Social Democracy: "Scoundrels." The same description fits the Stalinist betrayers of today.

Another questioner wanted to know: "How does Browder's class collaboration differ from Kautsky's which Lenin denounced so



formidably?" Minor answers this one by saying that whereas Kautsky "deserted the cause of the workers of Germany and the cause of internationalism and Marxism, taking a position which, with certain qualifications, was in substance a support of the German Kaiser's government in the war of 1914-18," Browder is supporting a "people's war" which is "in the interest of all workers and the labor movement, as it is in the interest of all progressive mankind."

BROWDER'S ATTORNEY

Browder's attorney naturally makes no attempt to explain how Britain and the United States, leading states in the "United Nations" war coalition, have suddenly acquired a "progressive" role in the present war against imperialist Germany and imperialist Japan, whereas their

role in the last war was imperialist and reactionary.

He does not try to explain how imperialist Britain, which holds 400 million Indians in colonial slavery and which, through its leading spokesman, Churchill, proclaims the maintenance of this slavery to be one of the primary aims of British policy, can conduct a war which "is in the interest of all progressive mankind?"

The imperialists in this war—whether they are fascist or "democratic"—are striving for the same things as in 1914-18, for markets, raw materials, the opportunity to exploit colonial slaves. These essential aims are not in the least modified, much less cancelled out, by such documents as the Atlantic Charter or talk of the "Four Freedoms." All the imperialists employ a certain idealistic camouflage to conceal their predatory appetites and purposes. If they stated their real aims frankly and honestly, whom would they get to fight for them?

TRUE ANSWER

The true answer to this question is that Browder has sold out to the capitalists in the second World War just as Kautsky sold out in the first World War—except that Browder's betrayal is more brazen, more cynical and more unabashed, and that Browder's betrayal began a long time before the actual outbreak of the second World War.

The essence of the Marxist view on this war is that imperialism, regardless of its political coloring ("democratic" or fascist), and despite any declarations from its spokesmen to the contrary, fight for aims which, far from representing the interests of "all progressive mankind," represent only the class interests of the imperialists themselves.

Only the Trotskyists, the Marxists of today, propagate the Socialist program of opposition to the imperialist war. Only this program serves the interests of the working masses in this and every other country. The Stalinist leaders, in allying themselves with the imperialists, have ranged themselves openly as enemies of the working class and its interests.

All the wrigglings of a Browder or a Minor cannot conceal this fact. Militant workers still in the ranks of the Communist Party who wish to fight for their class, who wish to struggle for socialism as the only way out of the morass of war, terror and hunger which imperialism has created, must take their departure from the fold of this party, the Communist Party, avowed agency of imperialism.

Army Bars Anti-Race Prejudice Pamphlet

(Continued from page 1)

thought that a pamphlet exposing the unscientific basis of race prejudice "has no place" in an Army fighting a war for "democracy" and against "Hitlerism."

What particularly aroused the lily-white ire of Rep. May and the War Dept. brass hats was that section of the pamphlet which cites irrefutable scientific evidence proving that there are no "superior" races or nationalities, and particularly that the Negro people when given equal environmental advantages have just as much mental capacity and intelligence as whites. And the data on which this indisputable fact is based comes from the records of the War Department itself. Thus the most "objectionable" portion of *The Races of Mankind* declared:

CAREFUL INVESTIGATION

"The most careful investigations of intelligence have been made in America among Negroes and whites. The scientist realizes that every time he measures intelligence in any man, black or white, his results show the intelligence that man was born with plus what happened to him since he was born. The scientist has a lot of proof of this. For instance, in the First World War, intelligence tests were given to the American Expeditionary Forces; they showed that Negroes made a lower score on intelligence tests than whites.

"But the tests also showed that Northerners, black and white, had higher scores than Southerners, black and white. Everyone knows that Southerners are born equals of Northerners, but in 1917 many southern states' per capita expenditures for schools were only a fraction of those in northern states, and housing and diet and income were far below average too. Since the majority of Negroes lived in the South, their score on the intelligence test was a score they got not only as Negroes, but as Americans who had grown up under poor conditions in the South. Scientists therefore com-

pared the score of Southern whites and Northern Negroes.

AEF TESTS

A.E.F. Intelligence Tests

Southern Whites	
Mississippi	41.25
Kentucky	41.50
Arkansas	41.55
Northern Negroes	
New York	45.02
Illinois	47.35
Ohio	49.50

"Negroes with better luck after they were born got higher scores than whites with less luck. The white race did badly where economic conditions were bad and schooling was not provided, and Negroes living under better conditions surpassed them. The differences did not arise because people were from the North or the South, or because they were white or black, but because of differences in income, education, cultural advantages, and other opportunities."

Imagine the apoplectic rage of Rep. May when he discovered that Army intelligence tests proved that the white people in his very own state of Kentucky, not only were not "superior" to Negroes generally, but had "less" intelligence than Northern Negroes. Why, if this information got out, the whole theory on which the domination of the white ruling class in the South is based would be shattered.

SCIENTIFIC DATA

The pamphlet did not stop just there. It piled on the scientific data to prove that there are no innately superior classes, groups, races, or nationalities in society. All seeming differences in general intelligence, it shows, come largely from differences in environment. Imagine, undoubtedly

"Business Week" Recommends Stalinists As Reliable Finks

The high powered campaign of Browder and Co. to sell themselves as reliable tools of Wall Street is beginning to get results. The capitalists now understand and appreciate the true fink role of the Stalinists. The workers, however, are also growing wise to the Stalinist strike-breakers and are beginning to battle these proponents of a new company unionism. The March 18 issue of *Business Week*, authoritative organ of Big Business, carries the following analysis of the Stalinists and their role in the labor movement:

"Some employers who deal with certain CIO affiliates have recently reported a new amenability in union leadership. A more conciliatory attitude toward business is apparent in unions which once pursued intransigent policies. On the whole, the organizations involved are those which have been identified as Communist-dominated."

STALINIST-DOMINATED

"In this group, and representing together about 932,000 employees by best available estimates, are the Federation of Architects, Engineers, Chemists and Technicians; the United Cannery, Agricultural, Packing and Allied Workers; the American Communications Assn.; the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers; the Farm Equipment and Metal Workers; the International Longshoremen and Warehousemen (Bridges' union); the National Maritime Union; the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers; the United Office and Professional Workers; the Packinghouse Workers; and the Transport Workers Union."

"Workers in these unions have been systematically indoctrinated with anti-management propaganda, and there is no doubt that an appreciable amount of this propaganda has taken hold. Witness Bridges' strong rank-and-file support."

"But since Russia's involvement in the war, the leadership in these unions has moved from the extreme left-wing to the extreme right-wing position in the American Labor movement."

FINK RECORD

"Today they have perhaps the best no-strike record of any section of organized labor; they are the most vigorous proponents of labor-management cooperation; they are the only serious labor advocates of incentive wages; they were, as a group, the last unions to call for smashing the Little Steel formula (they went along with other unions on this issue only after their support of the status quo threatened to isolate them in the CIO); and they

are the only unions which support the President's call for a national service act. In general, employers with whom they deal now have the most peaceful labor relations in industry."

"The more sophisticated among these employers, however, are quick to point out one salient fact: There is no assurance that, by next week or next month, these unions will not again reverse their policies. And any labor relations program in which one of these unions figures is assured of their continued collaboration only as long as the interests of Russia and the interests of American industry continue in parallel."

HARD-BOILED TIP

"These same employers offer a further hard-boiled tip. In a far-flung organization like the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers, Communist-dom-

inated at the top, some local groups are not under Communist control. They may be proving fractious. Complaints to the union's national officers usually will bring all the organization's disciplinary apparatus to focus on the heads of the unruly local leaders."

"As the Thimmes victory in California suggests, (Thimmes, an anti-Stalinist labor official was recently elected as President of the California State CIO—Ed.) a rank and file which has been fed raw meat will get restive on a diet of corn flakes. A dent could not be made in Bridges' union standing as long as he was the militant leader his followers loved to call 'Elfire' Arry. But when he and his associates urge soft-pedaling of grievances, support for national service, and harder work, his position of leadership is threatened."

Members Of UAW Are Victimized By Ford Co.

(Continued from page 1)

live up to their contracts." The discharge and suspension of 70 members of the UAW by the Ford Motor Company since the adoption of the unconditional surrender resolution of the UAW executive board is confirmation of that warning. It was this resolution which was invoked by the UAW officials who stood by nodding their consent while Ford wielded the axe on the UAW militants.

The UAW executive board, hell bent on continuing its fatal course of kowtowing to Roosevelt, has degenerated to the point where it enters into open collaboration with the union-hating Ford Motor Company in stifling the militancy of the membership. In their fight to preserve the UAW as a progressive organization that represents the interests of the auto workers, the rank and file militants must reckon with the fact that their top leadership stands on the side of the corporations and their political agents in Washington. No longer able to gain voluntary support for a policy that is false and fatal for the union, the labor skates seek to force adherence to their policies by collaborating with the corporations in purging those militants who resist.

These circumstances must determine the tactics to be followed by the union militants who constitute the active, conscious core of the UAW. Sporadic outbursts of indignation induced by the insolence of the employers and the bureaucratic action of the top officials, while understandable, are largely ineffective. The danger in such outbursts is that they will

lead only to the victimization of the militants and their elimination from organized contact with the mass of union members. Instead of dissipating their strength and numbers in isolated forays, the militants must mobilize their forces for the impending showdown with the corporations and the labor bureaucrats.

U. S. Judge Orders Burning of Books

(Continued from page 1)

displayed on news stands from coast to coast.

The real "book burning," of course, was the Minneapolis trial and convictions themselves. The initiation of the trial, its prosecution, the subsequent refusal of the U. S. Supreme Court to consider an appeal, were all in the nature of an attempt to silence the voice of Trotskyism, to suppress its historic ideas and program by the time-worn methods known to all regimes of class rule.

The symbolic flame kindled by the Minneapolis jurist should be a beacon light of warning to the labor movement. It illuminates the real purposes behind the persecution of the Trotskyists. That purpose is to bind and gag the free expression of opinion, starting with the advance guard of anti-fascist fighters, the Trotskyists, and ending with the whole labor movement.

Notice To Subscribers

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

Send the zone number to:

Business Manager
116 UNIVERSITY PLACE
NEW YORK 3, N. Y.



licts within the working class on racial and national lines, and by a policy of "divide and rule" to continue to batten on the wealth produced by the labor of the masses at home and abroad.

JUST OFF THE PRESS!

The Illustrated 32-Page Pamphlet

"WHO ARE THE PRISONERS IN THE MINNEAPOLIS CASE?"

Describing—

The Background of the Prosecution
The Smith 'Gag' Act
The Danger to Workers' Rights
The Threat to Free Speech
Biographies of the 18 Prisoners

Foreword by James T. Farrell

Single Copies 10c

Write for Prices on Bundle Orders

CIVIL RIGHTS DEFENSE COMMITTEE
Publishers
160 Fifth Avenue, New York 10, N. Y.

LEARN

THE TRUTH ABOUT THE MOSCOW TRIALS

Read These Two Books:

"THE CASE OF LEON TROTSKY"

636 Pages. Cloth \$3.00, paper \$1.00

"NOT GUILTY"

437 Pages. Clothbound \$2.75

Pioneer Publishers :: 116 University Place, New York

THE MILITANT

Published in the interests of the
Working People

VOL. VIII—No. 13 Saturday, March 25, 1944

Published Weekly by

THE MILITANT PUBLISHING ASS'N
at 116 University Place, New York 8, N. Y.
Telephone: ALgonquin 4-8547
FARRELL DOBBS, Editor

THE MILITANT follows the policy of permitting its contributors to present their own views in signed articles. These views therefore do not necessarily represent the policies of THE MILITANT which are expressed in its editorials.

Subscriptions: \$2.00 per year; \$1.00 for 6 months. Foreign: \$3.00 per year, \$1.50 for 6 months. Bundle orders: 3 cents per copy in the United States; 4 cents per copy in all foreign countries. Single copies: 6 cents.

"Entered as second class matter March 7, 1944 at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879."



To defend the USSR as the main fortress of the world proletariat, against all assaults of world imperialism and of internal counter-revolution, is the most important duty of every class-conscious worker.

— LEON TROTSKY

JOIN US IN FIGHTING FOR:

1. Military training of workers, financed by the government, but under control of the trade unions. Special officers' training camps, financed by the government but controlled by the trade unions, to train workers to become officers.
2. Trade union wages for all workers drafted into the army.
3. Full equality for Negroes in the armed forces and the war industries—Down with Jim Crowism everywhere.
4. Confiscation of all war profits. Expropriation of all war industries and their operation under workers' control.
5. A rising scale of wages to meet the rising cost of living.
6. Workers Defense Guards against vigilante and fascist attacks.
7. An Independent Labor Party based on the Trade Unions.
8. A Workers' and Farmers' Government.
9. The defense of the Soviet Union against imperialist attack.

Michigan Party

The decision by Michigan unionists to launch a new farmer-labor party is a step of first rate importance. It is positive proof of the growing political development of America's mass production workers. The experience of life itself is compelling the workers to recognize the class character of government. They see that Big Business, having gained a monopoly of the political power through their domination of the Democratic and Republican parties, are using this power to enrich themselves at the expense of the American people. The Michigan Commonwealth Federation is the first significant step toward freeing labor from political and economic bondage to the Wall Street money-bags.

As was to be expected, Roosevelt's labor lackeys in control of the CIO "Political Action Committee" greeted the new movement with undisguised hostility from its very inception. That is no surprise. The CIO Political Action Committee was established for the express purpose of heading off the movement for an independent labor party. Sidney Hillman, chairman of the CIO committee, has stumped the country as a glorified ward-heeler for Roosevelt, attempting to crush every manifestation of independent political action. The CIO top bureaucrats fear independent labor action just as much as do Roosevelt and the capitalists. The labor party movement can expect at this stage only hostility from this crew.

Any new movement organized to break the political monopoly of the American capitalist class, must be prepared to cope with the furious onslaught that will be launched against it from all sides. More dangerous even than its avowed opponents are those timid souls inside the labor party movement who will counsel warding off the blows by watering down the program. These Pollyannas will try to persuade the young movement to take refuge behind the "respectability" of middle class liberals, lawyers, and others of such ilk. They will caution the workers against making "unreasonable" demands which will frighten away some vegetarian allies. The new political movement can only grow, however, and come to fruition, it can achieve its high promise, only if it sets forth an unambiguous fighting program that answers the needs of the workers and poor farmers and then steadfastly adheres to this program regardless of the opposition. The Michigan Commonwealth Federation is still a fluid movement. What it becomes will de-

pend in large measure on the militants in the Michigan labor movement. It is the duty of these militants, these veterans of dozens of strike struggles to get into the labor party movement and influence its development in the right direction. The contribution of their militancy, experience and knowledge will be the best guarantee against the degeneration of the new party by political quacks and messiahs who, always on the lookout for a "career", flock to a new promising movement.

As far as the militants are concerned: the job now is to join the new movement, get your locals to affiliate to it, build the new party, and help hammer out a bold program that will meet the needs of workers, farmers and their allies.

Irish Neutrality

American state department demands on Eire to expel Axis diplomatic agents is tantamount to an ultimatum that the Irish state abandon its neutrality and enter the war as an ally of the Anglo-American combination. Why are Roosevelt and Churchill so determined that little Eire shall enter the war? The official explanation that Axis embassies in Dublin can become a source of leakage of Allied military information is obviously an invention.

War has become totalitarian and global. Nobody can escape any longer, nobody can withdraw into his own little shell, nobody can for long remain neutral. Argentina, as all South America, writhes under the heel of Yankee imperialism, but cannot escape its deadly grip. Even the most primitive peoples in the densest jungles of the South Pacific cannot escape the long hand of the Second World War. And now the imperial squeeze play is beginning to be applied on little Eire.

Eire's valuable ports, her proximity to Britain, her strategically important position have long ago pre-determined the fact that the Anglo-American combination would use all of its power, all of its vast economic and financial resources to force Ireland into the war, and to open its ports and airfields to Allied use.

De Valera, head of the government of Eire, has of course indignantly rejected the Allied demand. In truth, he could do nothing else. The Irish people, with a tradition of 700-year long struggle for freedom, are no more willing to fight for British imperialism in the present war than they were in the last.

Rejection on the part of Dublin for expulsion of the Axis diplomats has already brought swift retaliation: The Churchill government severed all normal travel and communications between Britain and Eire, and between Eire and North Ireland. If this does not suffice, further pressure will probably follow.

The imperialists in their mad drive are dragging into the bloody maelstrom every individual, young and old, male and female, every country, every colony, every island—nothing and nobody is safe. Now they are out to drag Ireland into the slaughter.

Secret Diplomacy

The Teheran conference, hailed by the Stalinist scoundrels as the threshold to a new era of peace and progress, fully exemplifies the secret diplomacy of the administration. When Roosevelt returned from Teheran, he kept mum about the decisions made there. To this day the people whose lives and futures were placed upon the block have not been informed about the transactions which took place among the heads of the powers. Roosevelt even had the nerve to declare that no secret agreements whatsoever were concluded at Teheran.

Revelations made since the conference by the highest authorities, including the prime participants themselves, demonstrate that the President is a deliberate deceiver of the American people.

In his latest speech to the House of Commons Prime Minister Churchill stated that he had discussed with Stalin the question of Poland's territory and they had agreed to hand over to the Polish government slices of German territory in compensation for eastern territories to be taken by Stalin. Territorial partitioning by means of private barter between the powers without consultation with or regard for the populations involved, is typical of the old wicked diplomacy and power politics which have already inflicted two world wars upon humanity.

Shortly before, the semi-official "Army and Navy Journal" disclosed that at Cairo Churchill and Chiang Kai-shek had consented to the United States taking possession of the Japanese mandated islands in the Pacific, the very islands which the Japanese imperialists had taken and held as a result of a similar dirty deal among the Allies after the first world war.

"Open covenants openly arrived at" Wilson sanctimoniously proclaimed 25 years ago, as the first goal of the war to "make the world safe for democracy." How hollow, how false these words sound today. The "big three," Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin, practice secret diplomacy like oriental potentates and with such unheeded-of brazenness, such arrogance, such contempt for the people!

How can it be otherwise? Their reactionary schemes, their counter-revolutionary designs, their plans for a world of slavery and dictatorship cannot stand the light of day. They can only be hatched conspiratorial fashion, behind the backs of the people.

The awakening labor movement in its fight to thwart the counter-revolutionary aims of American Big Business, will adopt as one of its important planks the old socialist cry: Down with secret diplomacy!

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.

SWP Protest

(We print below a copy of the protest wire sent by the Socialist Workers Party to the Editors of Life Magazine on January 17, and the letter of retraction sent to the SWP by the Editors of Life Magazine on March 3.—Ed.)

Editor
Life Magazine:

We emphatically protest as utterly misleading and slanderous your report of imprisonment of 18 members of the Socialist Workers Party (Trotskyists) and Teamsters in Minneapolis under story heading quote U. S. INDICTS TWO TOPMOST FASCISTS end quote. In 1939 the American Trotskyists called and led an anti-Fascist demonstration of 50,000 New York workers against the Nazis and Fascists meeting in Madison Square Garden. Hitler Mussolini and Franco jail and shoot Trotskyists who are fighting the Fascist regimes and struggling to establish a Socialist Germany, Italy and Spain. The 18 were imprisoned according to the U. S. Government indictment because they propagated the ideas of the Communist Manifesto and were working against Capitalism for the establishment of a Workers and Farmers Government in the

United States with the same program and methods that the Bolsheviks under Lenin and Trotsky established the Soviet Union. In the interest of truth please publish this correction.

Socialist Workers Party

"Life" Retracts
Socialist Workers Party
New York, N. Y.

Gentlemen:

We are extremely sorry that you felt our recent article called "U. S. Indicts Its Two Top Fascists" was unfair in any way to the Socialist Workers Party and the Minnesota Teamsters Union. Such was, of course, not our intent, and we hope that you saw the letter from the Civil Rights Defense Committee which we published in the Letters Column of our February 7 issue to correct any possible misapprehension.

Thank you for letting us hear from you in this regard.

Sincerely yours,

Beverly Cram, for the Editors
Life Magazine

Educate the Seamen

Editor:
Many malcontents are to be found among seamen today. We

who observe at first hand the applications of the Four Freedoms abroad cannot be otherwise. Unfortunately, mankind's progress suffers because man is fundamentally a conservative. He would rather struggle along with the little he has than institute a change, and though he may not actively oppose a radical, seldom is the occasion when he does not passively oppose him. Social outcasts and revolutionaries of varying hues are quite prevalent among merchant seamen, but even coupled with a life so stimulating to political activity and efforts at social rejuvenation, this is not enough to make most seamen appreciative of the tremendous and overwhelmingly important changes soon to be made in the world's political and economic structure.

It is necessary, therefore, that they take the right road and not be led blindly to the slaughterhouse by their union heads. Seamen want to know what is right. The Socialist Workers Party can show them what is right. My suggestion is that no stone should be left unturned in an attempt to educate the men of this powerful and indispensable maritime industry.

G. H.
Seattle

Workers' BOOKSHELF

SOCIALISM ON TRIAL by James P. Cannon. Pioneer Publishers, New York. Second Ed. 1941. 104 pp. 10c.

"Socialism on Trial" was first published two years ago. Today it is already a primer of the revolutionary socialist movement. Sold in thousands of copies all over the United States it has acquainted new sections of the American working class with the program of socialism and the Trotskyist party. Two editions of the book have been published in England under the title "ABC of Trotskyism." It has also been circulated in many other countries.

"Socialism on Trial" is the official court record of James P. Cannon's testimony in the Minneapolis Trial. Indicted by the government, along with seventeen others, for revolutionary socialist views and trade union activity, Cannon covered the whole range of Marxist theory in his court testimony. Never before had the ideas and program of socialism been so systematically presented in a capitalist court as they were in the course of the Minneapolis trial.

Replying to the prosecution's charge that the Trotskyists "advocated force and violence," Cannon pointed out that revolutionists prefer a peaceful transition to socialism. "The position of the Marxists is that the most economic and preferable, the most desirable method of social trans-

formation, by all means, is to have it done peacefully."

But all history shows that the outlived ruling minority will try to maintain its power and privileges by using violence against the revolutionary majority. Cannon points this out; "The outlived class, which is put in a minority by the revolutionary growth in the country, will try by violent means to hold on to its privileges against the will of the majority. That is what we predict."

"Of course, we don't limit ourselves to that prediction. We go further, and ask the workers to bear this in mind and prepare themselves not to permit the reactionary outlived minority to frustrate the will of the majority."

The justification for Cannon's position that "Our Party is unalterably opposed to all imperialist wars," is now far clearer than when the statement was made in the Autumn of 1941. At that time the pattern of Anglo-American imperialist plans had not yet become completely apparent, but now these reactionary schemes stand fully revealed for all to see. The support of the Badoglio dictatorship in Italy, the Darlan deal, and the brutal British policy in India have torn away all the camouflage of the "war for democracy" and have revealed the counter-revolutionary and imperialist character of the Anglo-American coalition.

Cannon's words sound like a

prophecy. Answering a question as to what was the Socialist Workers Party's position on the claim that this was a war of democracy against fascism, he said; "We say that is a subterfuge, that the conflict between American imperialism and German imperialism is for the domination of the world. It is absolutely true that Hitler wants to dominate the world, but we think that it is equally true that the ruling group of American capitalists has the same idea, and we are not in favor of either of them."

"We do not think that the Sixty Families who own America want to wage this war for some sacred principle of democracy. We think they are the greatest enemies of democracy here at home. We think they would only use the opportunity of a war to eliminate all civil liberties at home, to get the best imitation of Fascism they can possibly get."

The second edition of "Socialism on Trial" has a new introduction by Joseph Hansen, bringing the story of the Minneapolis case up to date. The 18 defendants are now serving sentences in Roosevelt's prisons for their adherence to socialist principles. But their fight against government persecution, crystallized in this publication of Cannon's testimony, has served to spread the ideas of socialism to ever-wider sections of the American workers.

Reviewed by Dave Jeffries

International Notes

FRANCE

Every capitalist press report about conditions in Nazi-occupied Europe tells what has now become a rather stereotyped story of human distress, of a wastage of life so great that even the imperialist warmakers are disturbed by it.

France presents a picture of a nation slowly dying of starvation, malnutrition and disease. The New York Times last week editorialized on an address by Prof. Balthazard, president of the French Academy of Medicine, in which it was disclosed, among other things, that the average French adult receives in food value only 1,100 calories a day instead of the 3,000 calories which the Nazis regard as adequate nutrition. The Times adds further facts taken from a French medical journal: Low blood pressure and anemia are now common. In Bordeaux 46 percent of would-be blood donors had to be rejected. Rickets is prevalent and nearly all boys and girls are underweight. Tuberculosis has risen between 20 and 30 percent. The proportion of still-births is higher than ever. Resistance to infection has broken down, with the result that France could easily fall prey to an epidemic. "Worst off of

all," states the Times, "are the inmates of concentration camps. They pass first to the hospital and then to the grave. Unable to obtain drugs or vitamins, surgical dressings or even disinfectants, French doctors are helpless."

The Times, with that hypocrisy which expresses itself in half-truths, charges all this up against the Nazis. But while the Nazi occupation is the immediate cause of French distress, the imperialist system as a whole, which makes war inevitable, bears the ultimate responsibility.

CHINA

Chiang Kai-shek, China's bloody dictator, in a speech at Chungking on March 12, anniversary of Sun Yat-sen's death, "upbraided the people of China" for the country's failure to drive out the Japanese invaders. "It is a great disgrace to the entire nation," AP reported him as saying, "that not all the people are living a war-time life. While our comrades-in-arms have come from afar to the Far East war theatre to assist in the counter-offensive, we ourselves have not been able to drive the enemy from our soil or recover an inch of our territory."

The masses of China, as a matter of fact, have borne and are bearing the entire burden of the struggle against imperialist Japan. An untold number of soldiers and civilians have lost their lives. Millions have had their homes destroyed and become hopeless paupers wandering over the face of a devastated land. Epidemics and other disasters have taken a fearful toll of life. And today runaway inflation is bringing further ruin. Through all this the Chinese capitalists, including the rotten political coterie which Chiang symbolizes and represents, have lived their accustomed lives of comfort and luxury and piled up fortunes from the miseries of the common people.

Early in the war Chiang's regime discouraged or suppressed organizations formed by the masses for resistance to the Japanese invasion. Chiang feared any independent action by the people. This is the secret of Japan's military successes in China. Today Chiang blames the masses for the war stalemate. Not content with having expended their flesh and blood, he now seems to demand their bones and marrow as well.

What Veterans Can Expect From New 'Work Director'

The only provision the Roosevelt administration has thus far made for the re-employment of ex-service-men is to appoint Brig. General Hines, head of the Veterans' Administration, as a Work Director. What the millions of World War II veterans can expect from this wealthy corporation director and New York Stock Exchange big shot is already indicated by the treatment he is according hundreds of thousands of newly discharged and disabled veterans. In an article, "Labor Fights for the Servicemen," published in the March American Federationist, AFL official organ, Harry Malisoff writes:

"Recently the country was stunned by disclosures made in a survey of claims for disability pensions pending before the Veterans Administration. It was revealed that 1,500 cases of battle casualties were without adequate provision as to compensation, medical care, training and other needs. Though without income and unable to work, veterans have had to wait six months or more before their pension claims were acted upon. The excuses advanced were that the Army was slow in sending over the soldiers' service papers and that the Veterans Administration was unprepared to handle the unexpected 'avalanche' of 250,000 claims."

If these disabled veterans are to get any aid at all, they must stay in a service hospital while their claims are adjudicated. "This is a makeshift solution," writes Malisoff, because "the disabled soldier does not want to lie around in a hospital far from home while office functionaries tangle themselves up in red tape."

But even this may shortly be denied the disabled veterans. "At present the Veterans Administration has some 67,000 hospital beds," Malisoff reports. "These facilities were designed for the use of veterans of former wars and our peacetime forces of less than 300,000. Today there are already well over 100,000 in our armed forces. And the impending invasion of Europe will undoubtedly bring large scale casualties. Yet the Veterans Administration now plans to expand the number of hospital beds to only 100,000."

Recent newsreels showed how the government is mass-producing thousands of medals for the soldiers. But Roosevelt's regime does not seem equally interested in setting up adequate machinery to provide a decent living and proper care for the discharged or disabled recipients of these medals.

Army Officers Promoted After Shady Tool Deals

When the Truman Senate Investigating Committee two weeks ago exposed the sale of \$1,721,000 worth of unused government-purchased machine tools for \$36,924 by high officers of the Army Air Corps, Senators Truman and Ferguson demanded the dismissal of the officers responsible.

At the time Truman made this demand, he stated however: "It has been our experience that when we have discovered things of this sort either the officer has received an honorable discharge or he has been promoted for doing just what we have talked about here."

Sure enough, two days later one of the officers named by the Truman Committee, Lt. Col. Paul M. Bonner, former vice-president and manager of Stehle & Co., Inc., silk and rayon weavers, was promoted to full colonel. That was his reward for what Senator Ferguson called "bungling and incompetency and gross negligence."

Last week, Congressman Cochran disclosed that the War Department had sold to private dealers \$161,164 worth of government-owned dry cell batteries for \$130. Look for some more Army promotions shortly.

WPB Steel Priority Given For Police Tear Gas Guns

Among vital requirements of the "war for democracy," according to recent WPB steel allocations, are tear gas guns and shells for police departments in American industrial centers and for export to India. Also, the government's Rubber Development Corporation, according to the WPB, urgently needs leg-irons and hand-cuffs to spread the "good neighbor" policy in South America and Africa.

The WPB Government Division, which handles "war" needs of state and local governments, issued the steel allocations order for tear gas guns and shells, stating as its purpose: "The domestic requirements have been set up in anticipation of possible labor trouble and race riots. There is every indication that this requirement will increase rather than decrease during the next few months."

One of the largest orders came for the police department of Detroit, where there are several hundred thousand militant and dissatisfied auto workers. The Detroit police exhausted their previous supply against the Negro workers they were "defending" during the anti-Negro riots.

This same allocations order gives a tip-off on how British imperialism intends to bring the "four freedoms" to India. "Among foreign demands for the material, India is becoming an important purchaser. The amounts required by that nation also are likely to increase."

The allocations order for leg-irons and hand-cuffs explains: "A new requirement has developed from the Office of Economic Warfare in which it requested \$4,000 worth of this equipment each quarter for use by the Rubber Development Corporation in foreign countries."

The RDC contracts for crude rubber from private plantation operators like Ford Motor Company in Brazil and Firestone Rubber in Liberia. Will Allen, who reports these facts in the March 15 Justice, organ of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, asked Douglas H. Allen, head of the RDC, what the leg-irons were for. The RDC director explained that these "probably mean climbing irons, you know, the kind telephone linemen use..." And the hand-cuffs are intended, presumably, as gifts for the rubber plantation slaves. They love trinkets, you know, like — bracelets!