

PARDON DENIED TO THE IMPRISONED 18

George 'Starvation' Bill Is Signed By Roosevelt

By Art Preis

President Roosevelt last Tuesday signed the George Demobilization Bill, a measure designed by the agents of Wall Street to create an army of unemployed in the coming period and to deliver over to the capitalist monopolies approximately \$100,000,000,000 worth of government-owned plants, machines, tools, raw materials, 'surplus' goods and lands.

The George Bill was patterned according to the "master blueprint" of the big business Baruch-Hancock plan sponsored by Roosevelt. It was passed by an overwhelming majority of Democrats and Republicans in both legislatures who ganged up against and howled down the most modest proposals for more liberal measures. Roosevelt put his signature to the final version of this bill which had been stripped by the Democratic-Republican coalition of even several minor provisions of a more liberal character.

ROOSEVELT DECEIT

Roosevelt signed the George Bill, which has been denounced by the entire labor movement, with a typical hypocritical "this hurts me more than it does you" statement. He professed to act with "considerable reluctance" because it "does not deal adequately with the human side of reconversion." This tongue-in-cheek apology represents a new low in Rooseveltian deception. Not once during the months of debate on Wall Street's "reconversion" plan did Roosevelt utter a word against it. On the contrary, his right-hand lieutenants, "Assistant President" Byrnes and Democratic Majority floor leader Barkley, organized the strategy which knifed the more liberal Kilgore-Murray Senate bill and its Celler-Kilgore version in the House.

While handing billions to Wall Street and nothing but a dry bone to the workers, Roosevelt attempts by murmurs of "sympathy" to keep up the politically-expedient pose of "friend of la-

Fight Franco

Guerrilla fighting, directed against the hated dictatorship of General Franco, has broken out in northern Spain and the French-Spanish frontier at Andorra has been closed by Spanish authorities, an Associated Press dispatch revealed on Oct. 5. According to the same source, a Spanish partisan force of 40,000 men, "defiant of General de Gaulle's government," is in control of a corner of France adjoining the Spanish frontier. This was part of the army of partisans which drove the Nazis from southern France.

bor." These expression of "consolation" and "regret" are designed to aid the pro-Roosevelt liberals and labor bureaucrats in their unsavory pre-election chore of once more lining up the labor vote for Wall Street's demagogue in the White House.

The George Bill in no way answers the fundamental problem confronting labor—the problem of jobs at decent wages and security. Its principal provisions aim to facilitate the plans of Big Business to grab the enormous development of modern plants and equipment built by the government during the war and paid for out of the taxes and loans drained from the masses.

The bill therefore provides for "speedy disposal" of "surplus" property through an Office of War Mobilization and Reconversion, incorporating the previously separate agencies of the Office of Contract Settlement, Surplus War Property Administration, and Re-training and Re-employment Administration. Even this set-up, completely dominated and run by direct agents of the big banks

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WALL STREET PROMOTES DRIVE FOR OPEN SHOP

By R. Bell

Speaking before the American Management Association, William M. Leiserson, former chairman of the National Mediation Board, declared that "there was fear in organized labor of a concerted anti-union drive by the larger hiring concerns such as followed the previous war." Leiserson recalled that after the last war, "union membership was cut from about 5,000,000 members to 3,000,000 and unionism was relegated to the crafts where it traditionally existed." That the fear of a union-busting campaign was well founded was acknowledged by Leiserson who said that "talks with employers also revealed the possibility that these larger concerns may undertake the campaign and that the smaller units would follow suit."

ISSUE WARNINGS

The open plans of Big Business to smash the organized labor movement have become so flagrant that even the most case-hardened bureaucrats of the AFL have moved to issue warnings that labor must prepare for the impending showdown. In their Labor Day speeches both William Green, President of the AFL, and Matthew Woll, Vice-President, warned that the unions must make preparations now for protection against the "inevitable reactionary onslaught" which the labor movement will face "after the war."

But the employers are not waiting until "after the war" to begin their open shop drive against organized labor. They are more and more utilizing the "war emergency" as a cover to launch a full-fledged union-wrecking campaign.

The anti-union drive has taken

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Stalinist Leaders Curb Uprising Of Bulgarian Masses

By Ralph Graham

The burning movement of mass discontent and rebellion against the old and rotten capitalist order, leaping into flame in Italy, Greece, Yugoslavia, France and Spain, has spread to Bulgaria where the workers and peasants, held down for 21 years under the most brutal and savage dictatorships, are once more lifting their heads and showing a firm determination to strike out for a new socialist future.

News of the latest events in this Balkan country, where 78 percent of the population of some 6,500,000 are engaged in agriculture, has been suppressed by the American capitalist censorship. But *The Militant* is able to present some of the facts from a dispatch filed from Sofia, the Bulgarian capital, by John Chamley, special correspondent of the *London News-Chronicle*.

MASS RISE

The Soviet Government declared war on Bulgaria early in September and soon thereafter Red Army troops crossed the frontier. This was the signal for the masses — workers and peasants — to rise against their hated oppressors, the landlords and capitalists and their Nazi-dominated government.

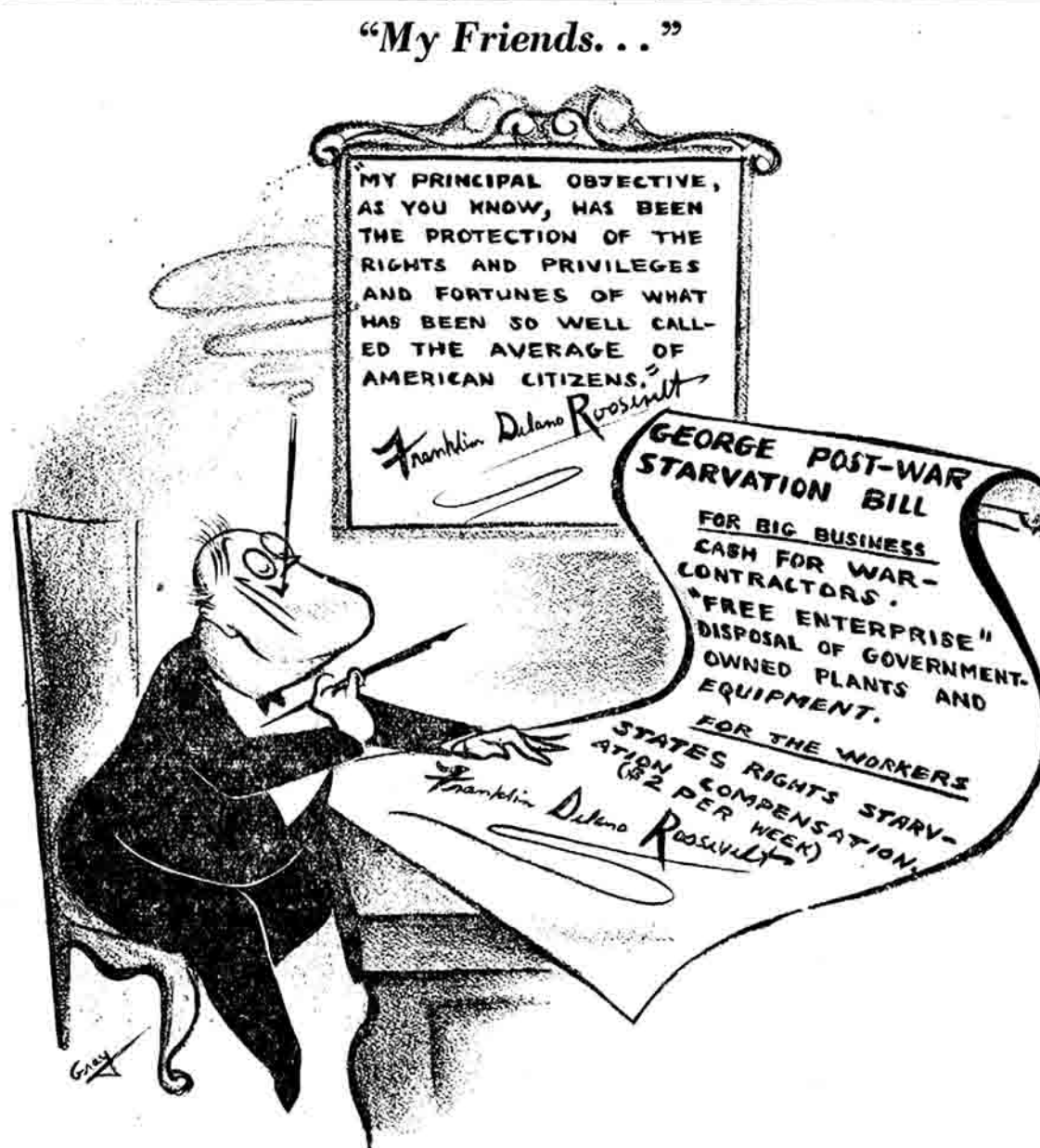
No sooner had the Soviet troops set foot on Bulgarian soil than the workers, always in the van of revolutionary movements even in backward agricultural countries, moved into action. A railway strike paralyzed communications between Sofia and Plovdiv, the British correspondent reported.

"It appeared," his dispatch continued, "as if the military authorities (of Bulgaria) had lost control. People flocked into the streets of the principal cities despite the curfew and martial law, and Sofia Central Station filled up with soldiers who did not quite know where they belonged." This was just the beginning.

Peasants flocked into the cities, the correspondent relates, and hundreds who came into Sofia "staged a sit-down strike in front of the station building... Next day the Red Flag was waving over the city's station."

Then follows a dramatic des-

(Continued on page 4)



British Imperialists Imprison Leading Trotskyists In India

By Li Fu-Jen

Brought to trial on charges arising from their escape from a British concentration camp where they had been interned from June, 1940 until April, 1942, two leaders of the Federation of Bolshevik-Leninist Parties of Burma, Ceylon and India, section of the Fourth International, were sentenced to prison on February 8 of this year in the magistrate's court at Kandy, Ceylon. There were betrayed to the British police in India by Stalinist agents.

The two Trotskyists, outstanding fighters in the liberation movement of the Indian masses, are N. M. Perera and Philip Gunawardene. News of their trial, suppressed by the imperialist censors, has just reached *The Militant* together with inspiring information concerning the activity of the Indian Trotskyist organization which continues to live and grow despite the fiercest persecution.

In the finest tradition of the revolutionary socialist movement, our Indian comrades unflinchingly faced their brutal accusers in court, defended their Bolshevik principles and views, and turned the trial into an indictment of British imperialism. We reprint their statement to the court on page 3 of this issue as testimony to the firmly-rooted character of the Trotskyist movement in India and a source of inspiration to their comrades in America and throughout the world.

In addition to numerous leaflets

in native languages dealing with the burning issues of India's struggle for freedom from imperialism, and from the oppression of the native princes, the landlords and the capitalists, the Indian Trotskyists publish an impressive illegal organ entitled "Permanent Revolution." The contents of this publication breathe the very spirit of revolutionary socialist internationalism and adhere firmly to the Trotsky-

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No-Strike Policy Fought by Militant Convention Group

A vigorous minority fight against the no-strike pledge, led by the delegation of the powerful Philadelphia Cramps Shipyard Local 42, climaxed the seven day convention of the CIO Industrial Union of Marine and Shipbuilding Workers which ended last Thursday in Atlantic City, N. J., after one

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WLB Provocation Results In Strike Of Detroit UAW-CIO Maintenance Workers

Special to *The Militant*

DETROIT, Oct. 7 — 1,000 delegates, representing 38,000 maintenance workers affiliated with the Maintenance, Construction and Powerhouse Workers Council, CIO United Automobile Workers, met here last Monday and voted overwhelmingly to strike unless the War Labor Board granted their demand for a fact-finding panel to investigate the wage-structure of maintenance workers in Detroit auto plants. In a stormy session, in which all attempts of Council officials to prevent strike action

dispatched another telegram to the international officers of the UAW meeting in Atlantic City, stating, "It is unnecessary, we are sure, to bring to your attention the fact that the board will take no action under the duress of a strike threat." The board was already backtracking, and only in the face of a strike!

The international executive board of the UAW-CIO, busily engaged at the moment in twisting and misinterpreting the mandates of the recent auto workers' convention, hastily ordered the strikers back to work. Walter Reuther, international Vice President who heads the skilled trades department of the union, is reported to have flown back to Detroit in an Army plane, to address the Council on Thursday.

Chairman Davis of the WLB sent a telegram to the Council in which he agreed to discuss procedure on handling wage rate disputes involving maintenance workers. At the same time he

The dispute goes back five years to a jurisdictional quarrel between AFL and CIO forces. The UAW-CIO won contracts with the companies for its members, while the AFL arranged to have its members work through private contractors. In the beginning, there was not only a differential between AFL and CIO workers, but a differential between skilled and unskilled workers within the CIO, to say nothing of the present differentials for different areas in the country. Today, the differential between skilled and unskilled workers within the CIO has been reduced somewhat. Wage scales of the maintenance workers have remained virtually unchanged, while other classifications were boosted. Area differentials remain, and AFL members doing the same type of maintenance work as members of the CIO receive as much as 50 cents per hour more.

Several weeks ago Reuther laid a demand before the WLB for a fact-finding panel to investigate the wage structure of the maintenance workers. The demand was refused, the AFL members voting with industry members

to deny the request. The CIO maintenance workers were naturally incensed, and the strike followed.

On Thursday, the delegates voted to return to work, pending action by the WLB. By this time 7,000 maintenance workers had struck in 33 plants. Reuther told the delegates, "You can't pressure the War Labor Board by calling unauthorized strikes," and denounced the walkout as a violation of the no-strike pledge. But pressure the WLB is precisely what the men had done. The board decided by a vote of six to three to combine all cases involving maintenance men's wage disputes, and will hold immediate hearings. That's what the men wanted, and they didn't get it until they struck!

One group, the Packard workers, was still skeptical about the promises of the WLB, and accused Reuther of having "sold them down the river." At this writing they are still on strike. There is to be a membership meeting tomorrow to decide what action the local will take.

The report of the Grand Jury confirms the analysis of the Philadelphia transit strike contained in *The Militant* of August 12 which stated: "In a desperate move to smash the CIO Transportation Workers Union, the Philadelphia Transportation Company, acting in collusion with leaders of the former company union, inspired a 6-day municipal transportation stoppage against the training of 8 Negro workers for operating jobs on street-cars and busses. Using the time-worn device of 'divide and rule,' the company and its agents provoked this anti-labor race-hate action with the aim of splitting the ranks of the CIO union, which a few months ago won a collective

Roosevelt Attempts To Evade Responsibility For Decision

Administration Offers Flimsy Pretexts For Its Refusal To Free Railroaded Trotskyists

By Joseph Keller

Continuing the Roosevelt administration's conspiracy in railroading 18 Socialist Workers Party and Minneapolis Truckdrivers Local 544-CIO leaders to prison under the infamous Smith 'Gag' Act, the President's Pardon Attorney, Daniel M. Lyons, on October 6 announced by letter to the Civil Rights Defense Committee that the appeals for a presidential pardon have been denied.

The applications, according to Lyons, were not even submitted for the personal consideration of

Roosevelt because 'the

conclusion has been reached that the Department (Office of the Pardon Attorney, Department of Justice) would not be warranted in presenting these petitions to the President.'

Invoking a technicality imposed by the White House itself, the Presidential Pardon Authority offers as the pretext for its refusal to present the appeals to Roosevelt personally that "the President's rule provides that in the absence of a favorable recommendation from the United States Attorney or the trial Judge, an application for executive clemency shall not ordinarily be presented to him. Our study of the application fails to disclose a justification for submitting these cases as an exception to the rule."

Thus, like the Supreme Court which three times refused to review the convictions, Roosevelt is hiding behind a technicality to avoid direct responsibility for a decision in the most important case involving violation of labor and civil rights during this war, a case growing out of a deliberate frame-up prosecution directly initiated by Roosevelt himself.

This latest link in the chain of a conspiracy stretching back to June 1941 was forged in the face of the lead story in the October 6 issue of the *Pilot* is headed: "Manpower P.O. 1 Immediate Need." The story quotes from a letter addressed to Land by Joseph Curran and Frederick N. Myers, Stalinist NMU officials, requesting that a conference be called immediately. This conference, they urged, should be attended by "the representatives of all the steamship companies, organized and unorganized, of the unions, of the Army Transport

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Jim Crow Strike Report Used To Smear The CIO

By C. Thomas

The Federal Grand Jury investigating the Philadelphia transit strike, which occurred last August over the upgrading of Negro workers employed by the Philadelphia Transportation Company, has indicted 30 employees of the company for violation of the Smith-Connally anti-strike law. The Grand Jury report whitewashed the company—which was primarily responsible for the instigation of the walkout. It praised the role of company unions—the lead-

ers of the Jim Crow action were former officials of the PTC company union.

It contained a vicious attack on the CIO — which had condemned the reactionary anti-Negro work stoppage. Charging that the Grand Jury had indicted several innocent workers "in their zeal to whitewash the real instigators of the strike," James J. Fitzsimon, international vice-president of the CIO Transport Workers Union, characterized the jury report as a "miscarriage of truth and justice."

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bargaining election against the company-sponsored PRT (Philadelphia Rapid Transit) Employees Union. This company outfit for years had upheld the PTC's flagrant Jim Crow policies and had campaigned against the TWU with the slogan: "A vote for the CIO is a vote for Niggers on the job."

SMEAR CIO

(Continued on page 4)

TRADE UNION NOTES

By Joseph Keller

Joseph Curran, Stalinist head of the CIO National Maritime Union, is at last able to boast of a "big victory" for his policies. With double-banner headlines, Curran's organ, *The Pilot*, proclaims the startling achievement to the world.

It seems that one of the testimonial speakers at a dinner for NMU Secretary Smith was none other than Basil Harris, president of the U. S. Lines, largest shipping company in the world. Harris took advantage of the occasion to hurl a "challenge" at Curran and his lieutenants. Curran boldly and militantly "accepted the challenge," in the proud words of *The Pilot*.

Harris said: "I offer a challenge. I would like to see whether we can't carry the no-strike pledge into peacetime." Curran, quick as a flash, caught him up on this before he could back down.

The *Pilot* brags about this great "victory" as "the first time that a top representative of big business has asked that the no-strike pledge be extended into peacetime."

We confess, we can't figure out how Curran won over this plutocrat to this position. Did he have to get Harris drunk, in order to force such a "concession" from this multi-millionaire labor-exploiter?

Now all Curran and his sell-out Stalinist cronies have to do is to swing 13,000,000 union workers behind the "permanent no-strike pledge" and his "victory" will be 100 per cent — for the bosses. That's not so easy.

To offset the sharp reductions in weekly pay checks that American workers will suffer with the elimination of the 48-hour week and overtime wages, the CIO Economic Outlook for September proposes that union representatives should declare to the employers: "You should sign an agreement with the union to pay as high for a 40 hour week as you are now paying for 48 hours a week."

Included in its program to fight unemployment and maintain the standard of living of the workers, *The Militant* has long since raised the slogan: "For the 30-hour week, with no reductions in weekly pay." This in principle is what the CIO spokesmen now advocate.

The only difference in what we propose and the CIO officialdom advocates, is that the CIO paper tells the workers to "ask" the bosses, while we tell the workers they will have to fight with all their tested methods of mass struggle to win this necessary protection against lay-offs and wage slashes.

A. Philip Randolph, President of the AFL Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, hurled some sharp shafts at both the Democratic and Republican Parties in his keynote address before the union's Fourth Biennial Convention.

"Both the Democratic and Republican parties are living in a fool's paradise if they believe they have the Negro vote in the bag. The way Negroes vote in the political contest this November will be determined largely by what is done, not what is promised, to make the Fair Employment Practices Commission permanent by federal law, and also what action is taken to abolish segregation and discrimination in the armed forces."

"The stinging insult of Army and Navy discrimination on the basis of race is brought home to voters by mail and by the Negro press, which is widely and carefully read. Negro boys who risk their lives daily for a democracy

they do not enjoy are American citizens, voting citizens. They will not forget on election day the fact which yet can be changed, that neither Democrats nor Republicans have campaigned for passage of the FEPC bill before election."

"Now Congress is adjourning without visible concern for thirteen million Negro Americans who face reconversion to peacetime employment as reconversion to prejudice."

Randolph might have made his indictment of the two capitalist parties and their Jim Crow policies much more effective, if he had made clear the real alternative which white and Negro workers jointly must grasp — the program of genuine independent working class political action through the building of an independent labor party.

As an example of the attempts of the CIO leadership to whitewash Roosevelt and pin the full responsibility for "political finagling" around the issue of the Little Steel Formula on the Republicans, the October 2 "Looking Ahead," column of Len De Caux, editor of the CIO News, wins the plumb bottom spittoon.

De Caux complains that the "Deweyites" alone are "playing politics" with the wage issue, because they are trying to compel the WLB to withhold its decision until after elections in the "hope the resulting indignation of the workers will lead to a loss of votes for Roosevelt."

"Unfortunately," states De Caux, "there is some evidence that the WLB is not entirely averse to further stalling, nor even to sidetracking altogether a decision of these long-pending union cases." "Alarmed by such indications," De Caux reports, the WLB labor members introduced a resolution for a decision by October 15, "which was voted down by a combination of the industry and public members of the board."

Where the actual "political finagling" has come in, is that Roosevelt, who has the power to modify the Little Steel Formula any time he likes and could have done so long ago, has permitted the pro-Roosevelt labor fakers to circulate the rumor just a few weeks before elections that Roosevelt is going to permit wage increases.

Roosevelt has been most careful not "to make any commitments" himself, but he has also scrupulously refrained from denying the rumors. What his labor flunkies are now complaining about is that Dewey, no friend of labor, is trying to make a little political capital out of this trickery for his own purposes. De Caux's chief concern is not over the fate of the workers if the WLB doesn't make a decision before November 7, but that this "will lead to a loss of votes for Roosevelt," and, incidentally, in a loss of prestige for the top union officialdom.

R. J. Thomas, UAW-CIO President, has announced that the union is demanding a Department of Justice investigation of the Thompson Products company officials for illegal interference in the recent NLRB election at the Cleveland plants in which the UAW local was badly defeated. Thompson Products is one of the last open shop citadels in the automotive industry. The charges against F. C. Crawford, company head, and other officials include "participation in the election by electioneering, intimidation and coercing the workers to vote against the UAW-CIO, furnishing faked and incomplete pay-rolls to the NLRB," etc.

Branches Report Gain In Pamphlet Sales

By Campaign Manager

Reports coming in on the Literature and Subscription Renewal Campaign show how deep an impression the ideas of *The Militant* have made on its new subscribers. Their enthusiasm for the principles and program of our press makes the sale of the four Minneapolis Trial Pamphlets an even easier task than expected.

As they gain experience in visiting and talking to the new readers of *The Militant*, the comrades are learning to use the pamphlets more effectively, and therefore the percentage of sales is rising steadily. One branch reports that they have been explaining to the readers they visit that the Trial pamphlets, giving an explanation of the basic ideas of Trotskyism, will increase the reader's interest and enjoyment of the paper, helping him to understand *The Militant's* workingclass analysis of events.

While most of the emphasis in discussions with readers has been on James P. Cannon's "Socialism On Trial," because its question-and-answer form is particularly popular, the other three pamphlets are by no means overlooked. Albert Goldman's "In Defense of Socialism," the CRDC pamphlet "Who Are the 18 Prisoners in the Minneapolis Labor Case," and "Why We Are in Prison" complete the exposition of our ideas, and acquaint the reader intimately with some of the leading figures of the Trotskyist movement. At the special price of 25 cents, the sets of pamphlets are selling readily to new readers—both those who are visited by the comrades and those who receive the paper at union distributions.

FROM OUR MAIL BAG:

Buffalo: We feel pretty encouraged about the way the campaign is going, and are eagerly waiting for a chance to compare our progress with that of the other branches. One subscriber remarked, "Oh, you're the lady who sold us the subscription to that fine paper that tells the truth. We were just going to send away for a renewal ourselves." Another subscriber, renewing his three-month subscription, asked us to bring someone to his home to talk to his two daughters, because they were so interested in the paper. We found that they were 14 and 15 years old, and want to come to our future meetings.

Minneapolis: We sold 120 pamphlets this week, twenty-four sets of them at union meetings alone!

New York: So far in the campaign, the New York Local has sold 156 *Militant* renewal subscriptions, including both 6-month and one-year subs. In addition, 56 premium subscriptions were obtained for friends of the readers who renewed their own subs. And 696 pamphlets have been sold to the new readers we have visited thus far!

The reports brought in by comrades say that *The Militant* is treasured by many of these new readers and circulated through the entire family. For instance, one comrade told us that a reader in renewing his sub commented: "When I get through reading my copy I send it to my father-in-law who is in the South." Another comrade reported that he visited a subscriber in Harlem who liked the paper very much, but could not find a dollar in the house to pay for a renewal. She made an appointment for the comrade to return for the sub and the dollar. While he was walking down the block, the subscriber's daughter ran up with a dollar in her hand, explaining that they had borrowed the money from a next-door neighbor to save our comrade's time.

Cleveland: We have barely started on our pamphlet campaign work, yet we have already sold 96 pamphlets. Please send us another hundred immediately.

San Diego: Last Sunday we started our Trial Pamphlet Campaign and were gratified by the results. They sell as easily as the trial subscriptions did; an average of six an hour. We had taken only six sets with us, so we returned to the headquarters sooner than we would have needed to. However next Sunday we intend to triple our efforts.

Detroit: Many more sets of pamphlets were sold over the weekend than are included in our report, but it has been impossible to get complete returns in time for this week's scoreboard. We'll send you another report later in the week.

SCOREBOARD

BRANCH	QUOTA	SOLD
Akron	70	0
Allentown	40	0
Bayonne	180	44
Boston	230	40
Buffalo	400	244
Chicago	700	176
Cleveland	200	96
Detroit	1000	48
Flint	10	0
Los Angeles	1500	144
Milwaukee	80	48
Minneapolis	330	180
Newark	700	52
New Haven	40	0
New York	2800	696
Philadelphia	80	16
Pittsburgh	10	0
Quakertown	10	0
Reading	90	0
Rochester	140	0
San Francisco	350	100
San Diego	80	24
Seattle	500	204
St. Louis	10	0
St. Paul	140	88
Texas	30	0
Toledo	160	48
Youngstown	120	20
Total	10,000	2268



Subscribers who became acquainted with *The Militant* through the 3-month introductory subscription are now introducing the paper to their friends. We quote a few instances:

San Francisco: "Two trial subscribers have already sold additional trial subs besides the four sent them by New York, and one has already promised some more for us in the near future. One of these subscribers has gone out with us on renewal work in the project where he lives."

Buffalo: "Enclosed please find \$1 for subscription renewal. I like *The Militant* as a whole and I am giving my fellow workmen the four cards that I may feel assured they will receive the paper."

New York: "This man renewed his own 3-month sub for 6 months and gave us six names. He's an excellent contact (longshoreman) and asked us to send him more cards, that he'd fill them out."

Akron: "Send four trial sub cards and letter to this subscriber now. He wishes to sell them to his friends."

Oakland: "Enclosed is \$1 to cover four trial subscriptions.... Let's have this much clearly understood. The workers and producers of this country are the American People. The rest of the population, consisting in parasites, loafers, gamblers, grafters, and miscellaneous vermin, have no more right to be included in *The American People* than the baboons of Gibraltar, and are entitled to no privileges that conflict with the interests of *The People*." (This subscriber has sold nine 3-month subs to his friends.)

San Diego: "A worker told us he took *The Militant* to the job for his fellow workers to read and he was sure he could get them to subscribe also. 'I like to help you people out because I feel that

British Trotskyist Leaders



HEATON LEE



ANN KEEN



JOCK HASTON



ROY TEARSE

3 British Trotskyists Win Prison Release

The three British Trotskyist leaders jailed by Churchill's Tory government under the Trade Disputes Act have been released from prison, following the action of the Court of Criminal Appeal in quashing the convictions against them.

"The organized working class has thus gained one of the most important legal victories in the struggle against anti-labor legislation," reports the *Socialist Appeal*, official organ of the Revolutionary Communist Party (Trotskyist) of Great Britain. "The ruling class has suffered a severe defeat in its first attempt to use the Tory Trade Disputes Act of 1927."

Referring to the militant struggle organized for the release of the imprisoned Trotskyists, the *Socialist Appeal* continues: "We are very proud of the fact that it was our party—the Revolutionary Communist Party—aided by the Anti-Labor Laws Victims Defense Committee together with its legal advisers, which has been responsible for this great labor victory...."

"The prosecution of our comrades was the most important anti-labor criminal prosecution to be undertaken by the ruling class for many years. It was closely followed by workers — not only in all parts of Britain, but in other parts of the world. Preceded and accompanied as it was by a reactionary press campaign of unprecedented ferocity, the arrest and prosecution of our comrades was obviously carried out as the result of direct instructions from the Cabinet. It was not only a prosecution of the arrested comrades, it was in reality a prosecution of our party, the Revolutionary Communist Party."

"Apart from striking a blow at the Revolutionary Communist Party, which alone among the organized parties of the working class fights with and for the militant workers at every step, the purpose of the arrests was to intimidate organized labor. The Trotskyists were to be scapegoats for the introduction of the anti-labor Regulation 1A(a)."

Comrades Roy Tearse and Heaton Lee were serving one-year sentences and Jock Haston a six-month sentence at the time of their release. Comrade Ann Keen, convicted in the same case, had previously been released after completion of her 13-day sentence.

Before me, a Notary public in and for the State and County of New York, do hereby appear Reba Aubrey, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the Business Manager of *THE MILITANT*, and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management, and control of the said publication, as required by the Act of August 24, 1912, as amended by the Act of March 3, 1933, embodied in section 557, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

1. That the names and address of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are:
Publisher: *Militant Publishing Association*, 116 University Place, New York, N.Y.
Editor: Farrell Dobbs, 116 University Place, New York, N.Y.
Managing Editor: None.
Business Manager: Reba Aubrey.

2. That the owner is: (If owned by a corporation, its name and address must be stated and also immediately thereunder the names and addresses of stockholders owning or holding 1 percent or more of total amount of stock. If not owned by a corporation, the names and addresses of the individual owners must be given. If owned by a firm, company or other unincorporated concern, its name and address, as well as those of each individual member, must be given.)
Militant Publishing Association, 116 University Place, New York, N.Y.
Farrell Dobbs, 116 University Place, New York, N.Y.
Reba Aubrey, 116 University Place, New York, N.Y.

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

4. That the two paragraphs next above, giving the names of the owners, stockholders and security holders, if any, contain the full and complete list of all persons owning or holding 1 percent or more of total amount of stock, bonds, mortgages, or other securities, as the case may be, and that the names and addresses of the owners, stockholders and security holders are given in full and complete list in the accompanying schedule of names and addresses, which is a true and correct copy of the same, as the same appears upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner; and this affiant has no reason to believe that any other person, association, or corporation has any interest direct or indirect in the said stock, bonds, or other securities than as so stated by him.

REBA AUBREY, business manager
Sworn to and subscribed before me this 1st Day of October, 1944.
(Signed) CARNIG AJAMIAN
(My Commission expires March 30, 1946).

18 TROTSKYISTS DENIED PRESIDENTIAL PARDONS

(Continued from page 1)

of appeals to free the 18 sent to the White House by over 300 labor and progressive organizations. Roosevelt has contemptuously brushed aside these demands of over 3,000,000 organized workers; he did not even accord them consideration.

ROOSEVELT'S ROLE

Roosevelt who now avails himself of "the President's rule" in the face of nationwide protest against his frame-up, was not bothered by any such self-imposed rules three years ago when, upon the single telegraphed request of AFL Teamsters Czar Daniel J. Tobin, he immediately instructed the Department of Justice to initiate the Minneapolis Labor Case prosecutions. The N. Y. Times, June 14, 1941, quoted Stephen Early, Roosevelt's secretary, as confirming the fact that the prosecutions were initiated and carried out upon direct orders from Roosevelt.

When a single one of his own corrupt labor lieutenants supplied him with the occasion, Roosevelt acted with ruthless dispatch. But when some 3,000,000 trade unionists and defenders of civil liberties demand that he rectify a patent frame-up and assault on labor's rights, Roosevelt and his agents cynically and calculatingly connive to brush aside their appeals.

In applying for pardon, the 18 imprisoned Trotskyists directly challenged the validity of the Smith "Gag" Act, declaring that they have been illegally deprived of their democratic and constitutional rights of free speech and free press. The Smith "Gag" Act of 1940 was the first federal law since the notorious Alien and Sedition Acts of 1798, to make mere expression of opinion a "felony." Roosevelt signed this Act against the vehement protest of the entire labor movement.

Ignoring completely this basis of the appeal, the U.S. Pardon Attorney gives such flimsy reasons for refusing to recommend a pardon that it requires no lawyer to see through them. Although able to get a conviction on one charge, Roosevelt's prosecutors failed in their attempt to extort from a middle-class jury in a wartime atmosphere, a conviction on a more serious count, which provided prison sentences up to 16 years. Now his agent, Lyons, offers as a fantastic excuse for refusing to recommend pardon of these unjustly convicted labor prisoners the fact of a "lenient" sentence. "It does not appear," he asserts smugly, "that the sentences imposed are unduly severe."

SEVERE PUNISHMENT

Although the injustice of a frame-up conviction is not measured solely by the length of the sentence imposed, this cynical legal flunkey has the gall to argue that when 17 men and one woman, who have devoted their lives to the cause of labor, are unjustly thrown into prison confinement for sentences of from a year to 16 months, deprived of all freedom, separated from their families and loved ones, — that this is not "unduly severe" upon them and their dependents and does not "warrant" Roosevelt's attention.

At the same time, the 18 prisoners themselves, as well as the millions who have come to their defense, realize that far more is involved in this case than the victimization of these 18 working class leaders, cruel and unjust as that is. The conviction in itself, so long as it is permitted to stand, establishes a precedent under the Smith "Gag" Act which may be used against all militant labor.

As further "justification," Lyons claims that the prisoners "do not appear to have availed themselves of the right to apply" for paroles. In demanding an unconditional pardon, the 18 demonstrated that, regardless of personal suffering and sacrifice, they were determined, as they have been from the very first, to defend the fundamental principles involved in this case. They utilized this last available legal means to compel Roosevelt to face squarely the question of deprivation of their civil rights, which the Supreme Court evaded, and to protest against the application of the Smith Act in their case. They thereby subordinated their personal welfare to the struggle in defense of the rights of the working-class.

Attempting to answer questions of legal precedent raised by the American Civil Liberties Union, Lyons reveals the capitalist class content and nature of the frame-up. He claims that "we are unable to agree that the Hartzel

Call Protest Meeting

The Civil Rights Defense Committee in New York City is sponsoring a mass meeting to protest the denial of a presidential pardon to the 18 Minneapolis Labor Case prisoners convicted under the anti-labor Smith "Gag" Act. The meeting will be held Friday, Oct. 27, 8:15 P. M., at the Manhattan Center, 34th Street between 8th and 9th Avenues.

Among prominent labor and liberal spokesmen who will address the mass meeting will be Thomas DeLorenzo, President of Brewster Aeronautical Local 365, CIO United Automobile Workers Union; Roger Baldwin, Director of the American Civil Liberties Union and Henry Fruchter, National Educational Director, CIO United Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Employees.

case or any other of the cited decisions of the Supreme Court controls the situation here presented."

After the U. S. Supreme Court had three times refused even to consider the case of the 18, it did not hesitate to reverse the conviction of Hartzel and Baumgartner, avowed Hitlerites and anti-Semites charged with disseminating Nazi propaganda, on the grounds that their constitutional rights of free speech had been violated. Thus, while Roosevelt's Supreme Court sets free fascists, Trotskyist working class leaders, the most uncompromising anti-fascist fighters, are kept behind prison bars and are denied even a hearing on their appeals by the capitalist co-conspirators who pose as "defenders of democracy" and "friends of labor."

MORE PRETEXTS

As a still further pretext for the administration's pardon decision, Lyons writes that "the Attorney General feels... he could not properly present this case to the President with a recommendation favorable to the exercise of clemency." Thus, Attorney General Biddle, the man who operated the legal machinery of the Minneapolis labor frame-up at his master's orders (and at the same master's orders whitewashes real criminals like corrupt Boss Hague and suspends the prosecution of criminal monopolies) continues to give the necessary "legal" cover for this conspiracy against the rights of the American people and the labor movement.

All these legal subterfuges and technical pretexts are intended to conceal the real purposes and character of the prosecution. From the very beginning, this prosecution was consciously designed as part of the preparations of the administration and Wall Street for plunging the nation into the imperialist war. Roosevelt aimed to behold the most militant and conscious vanguard of the labor movement and to gag the Trotskyist voice of revolutionary socialism, which has spoken out most consistently and irreconcilably against Wall Street's war.

In striking its frame-up blow at the Trotskyists and the leadership of the progressive teamsters movement in the North-west, the Roosevelt administration, as the agent of Big Business, sought to intimidate all militant labor and establish one of the main legal devices for silencing the workers, suppressing the labor movement and shackling it to the war machine.

Although Roosevelt succeeded in railroadng the 18 Trotskyists to prison, he failed utterly in his aim to crush the Trotskyist movement. Instead, he evoked the greatest protest movement around a labor case that has been seen in the past decade.

FREE THE 18!

This nation-wide movement to free the 18 and repeal the Smith "Gag" Act is an integral part of labor's present struggle to defend its very existence against the rising assault of Big Business and its government agencies. Roosevelt's latest action in denying even consideration to labor's demand for presidential pardon of the 18 further demonstrates the reactionary, anti-labor character of his program.

It becomes the duty of organized labor to multiply its protests and intensify its campaign against this infamous frame-up and to expose its authors and perpetrators. As part of the defense of labor's fundamental democratic rights, the trade unions and all other champions of civil liberties must now redouble their protest against this conspiracy of the Roosevelt administration to prop up the Smith "Gag" Act and demand that its first 18 labor victims be set free.

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Trotskyists In India Turn Accusers At Trial

Below is the full text of a statement made in the magistrate's court at Kandy, Ceylon on Feb. 8 of this year by Comrades N. M. Perera and Philip Gunawardene, leading members of the Lanka Sama Samaja (Trotskyist) Party, who were tried and sentenced to prison on charges arising from their escape in 1942 from a British concentration camp.

I was arrested on the 8th of June, 1940. I was kept in detention till the 7th of April, 1942. No specific or precise charges were ever made against me. I was not tried before a court of law. My colleagues and I refused to appear before the Advisory Committee—that mockery of judicial tribunals.

Why were we kept in detention? I challenge the right of Sir Andrew Caldecott, agent of the Bank of England and tool of the capitalist class of Britain, to issue a warrant for my arrest and detention. What right has the ruling class of Britain to rule over this island except superior force? Britain has as much right to rule over the people as the Nazis to rule over the people of Denmark and Norway, or the Japanese imperialists to rule over Formosa and Java. NO MORE. The British ruling class came to this island as pirates and have remained here as plunderers. The British Empire was built up by perjury by day and forgery by night.

Ever since my return to this island in 1932, my colleagues worked with ceaseless endeavor to disseminate the idea of scientific socialism among the petty bourgeois intelligentsia and the advanced sections of the working class. The spontaneous labor movement which displayed tremendous vigor and militancy in the twenties had spent its force in the stagnant waters of trade union politics by the early thirties. After three years of work in the propagation of Marxism, we had developed a sufficiently large nucleus, imbued with the ideas of scientific socialism, that we were in a position to launch the Lanka Sama Samaja Party, in December 1935. The history of the party is known to the people of this country. Suffice it to say that it put itself at the forefront of every struggle against imperialism and the capitalist class in this country ever since the party was founded.

The leadership of the LSSP from its very inception refused to come under the leadership of the Stalinist Communist International and remained ever loyal to the principles Lenin and Trotsky stood for in their day. In March 1940 the party, under the influence of the teachings of Trotsky, expelled the Stalinists who were trying to smuggle into the party Stalinist contraband. In 1942 the LSSP became a section of the Fourth International, founded by Trotsky and the comrades of the International Left Opposition.

When the Second Imperialist World War broke out in September, 1939, the party characterized the war as an imperialist war and took a revolutionary defeatist line. My colleagues and I continued to intensify the class struggle and the fight against British imperialism. War is the continuation of politics by other means, i.e. by more forcible means. The character of the war is determined by the class that conducts the war. The war was and remains an imperialist war for markets, for sources of raw materials, for colonies. The "democratic" powers and the Axis powers are fighting to determine which group shall dominate the world. Democracy and Fascism are but two sides of the same coin. Over-ripe and decadent capitalism develops into Fascism when the working class fails to overthrow capitalism

and set up its own form of government—the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The Party refused to change its characterization of the war on the entry of the Soviet Union into the war. It was quick however, in defining the war as an imperialist war on the part of every country involved in it except the Soviet Union and China. The Soviet Union is a workers' state, though deformed. Thus the Soviet Union is fighting a progressive war in defense of the gains of the October Revolution. The Party supports the Soviet Union in this war and is doing everything in its power to enable the working class to render every independent assistance to the Soviet Union in this war. It stands for military victory against the counter-revolutionary forces of Hitler's Europe.

We support the war of the Chinese workers and peasants for national liberation from the yoke of Japanese Imperialism. But the party works for the defeat of British imperialism in this war by the forces of the colonial masses and the working class of Britain.

The war has set in motion social and political forces that the ruling classes of the warring imperialist powers never bargained for. Fascism is already tottering in Europe thanks to the hammer blows of the Red Army. But Fascism is taking shape in Great Britain and America.

The fate of the Empire of the Mikado is sealed. The paper houses of the Mikado will go up in flames. But the working class in Japan is likely to settle accounts with the landlords and the capitalists of the Rising Sun—not the armed forces of America and the British Empire. Before this war is over civil war will spread over Europe and Asia. The Soviet Union will play a dominant part in the shaping of the world in the coming years.

Revolutions are on the order of the day. There is no room to believe that the European working class has not benefited from its experiences since the October Revolution in 1917. In the wake of the fall of Fascism working class revolutions will break out in Europe. The fall of Japanese imperialism will give rise to colonial revolution. Lenin characterized this epoch as the epoch of wars and revolutions.

I escaped from prison in April, 1942, for the purpose of helping the tiny group of Fourth Internationalists in India to build a party of the working class that can take advantage of the crises in Indian society that are breaking out in rapid succession. My colleagues and I timed our escape to be in India at one of the most important crises in her history. We are glad that we were able to play an infinitesimally small part, no doubt, in the movement that took place in India from August, 1942.

We were arrested on the 15th of July, 1943. After spending five long months in the jails of British Imperialism in India, we are back in the dungeons of British Imperialism in Ceylon. Time is with us. IMPERIALISM IS DOOMED, THE FUTURE IS WITH THE WORKING CLASS. The working class of Ceylon under the leadership of the Sama Samaja Party will play its part in the coming years.



An Indian mother sits by the road, begging for food, while her starving baby wails in agony.

Famine In India



A common street scene in India during the still existing famine. Endless rows of gaunt women and children line the curb, waiting for the scant morsels of food doled out from a pile. Even this inadequate and unsanitary "relief" was denied to the vast majority of India's millions in the provinces; conservative estimates place the death toll at more than a million.

Bolshevik-Leninists In India Fight Imperialism

(Continued from page 1)

ist program of the Fourth International. Several of its leading articles on this situation in India will be published in the October issue of "Fourth International."

The Indian Trotskyist movement had its origin in the British island colony of Ceylon, at the southern tip of India, in the year 1935, when the Lanka Sama Samaja Party (Ceylon Socialist Party) was formed. The new party, basing itself on the Trotskyist program, made rapid headway among the six million Ceylonese slaves of British imperialism. It took part in the struggle of railway workers, plantation laborers and peasants. Its revolutionary literature appeared in Sinhalese (the native language), in Tamil (the language of Indian workers imported into the colony) and in English.

Rapidly the masses came to recognize the Lanka Sama Samaja Party as their true spokesman, the only real fighter for their interests. In 1938, they expressed their confidence in the Trotskyist party and its program by electing N. M. Perera and Philip Gunawardene to the Ceylon State Council. These are the two Trotskyist leaders who now, for the second time, have fallen into the clutches of the imperialist overlords.

The British plantation owners and their government were greatly alarmed by the growth of Trotskyist influence among the workers and peasants of Ceylon, but they hesitated to suppress the movement precisely because of the enthusiastic support it received from the masses and for fear of provoking an upheaval.

With the outbreak of the war in Europe, however, and the resurgence of the national liberation movement in India (which they knew would sweep into Ceylon), they could hesitate no longer. In September, 1939 they arrested Perera and Gunawardene in violation of their parliamentary immunity and seized other members of the Lanka Sama Samaja, herding them into a concentration camp without trial or hearing of any kind. They confiscated the party's printing plants. Accompanying the official repression, there commenced a campaign of "unofficial" terrorism against the rank-and-file of the party and local party leaders by the plantation owners.

More than two years later, on March 13, 1942, having long since driven the party into the underground, the British governor of Ceylon, Sir Andrew Caldecott, officially proclaimed the outlawry of the Trotskyist movement. It was no accident that this crowning act of repression occurred at the time of the fresh and mighty upsurge of the struggle of the great masses of India for freedom from British rule.

Inspired by this grandiose struggle and realizing the urgent need to establish a Trotskyist party on the mainland of India, Perera, Gunawardene and their comrades resolved to escape from the concentration camp and proceed to India to help in this work.

As Perera said in his statement to the court in Kandy last February: "My colleagues and I timed our escape to be in India at one of the most important crises in her history."

While in the Ceylon camp, they succeeded in converting their jailer to the Trotskyist program. He assisted them in their escape. Together they made their way to India. In that vast sink of colonial despotism they found the nucleus of a Trotskyist movement, born on the rising wave of the struggle of the Indian masses. Throwing themselves into the work of welding together a firm Trotskyist organization, they assisted vastly in this labor.

The Bolshevik-Leninist Party of India, based on the tested program of the Fourth International, was founded. It combined with a Trotskyist group in Burma and with the Lanka Sama Samaja in Ceylon, to form the Federation of Bolshevik-Leninist Parties of Burma, Ceylon and India.

The original nucleus of the Bolshevik-Leninist Party of India consisted of seasoned revolutionary fighters who came over to Trotskyism from the treacherous Stalinist party and the middle-of-the-road Congress Socialist Party. The activity and growth of the new party, evidenced in its diverse and energetic activity and, especially, its excellent press, testify to the political maturity of the Indian Trotskyist movement.

Comrades Perera and Gunawardene continued their work in India as underground revolutionaries while the British imperialists, having placed a huge price on their heads, scoured the country in efforts to capture them.

Finally, on July 15, 1943, together with a third comrade named Kusuma, they were arrested in Bombay in a series of police raids. Two other Ceylon comrades, R. S. V. Senanayake and L. Cooray, were arrested in police raids in Madras. After spending five months in the prisons of India, the Ceylon comrades were transported back to Ceylon for trial.

The raids and arrests were not the result of any lack of caution by the Indian comrades. They were betrayed by the Stalinists who directed the police to their homes and hiding places. A paid Stalinist functionary named Kulkarni had wormed himself into the party in Bombay by simulating devotion to the cause of Trotskyism and the Indian Revolution. By his subsequent conduct he aroused suspicion, but before the alarm could be raised he had already executed his perfidious assignment and the raids took place.

The "Permanent Revolution" in its Jan.-March, 1944 issue states: "We are now in a position, on the basis of police interrogations of the arrested comrades and the activities of the Stalinist hiring Kulkarni, to state that the Bombay police acted on information supplied them by the CPI (Communist Party of India)." Commenting on this black treachery, the paper writes:

"The 'Communists' have crowned their popular front policy in a fitting manner by allying themselves with the Raj police. In doing so they are only living up to the notoriety of their confederates abroad. Under the benign wing of the imperialist government, the Indian Stalinists shall continue their nefarious work, but the revolution, in its turn, will extract its price of blood for these counter-revolutionary acts."

While the Trotskyists are mercilessly persecuted by the British Raj, the Stalinist party has been legalized and is allowed to work in the open, because it has be-

The Problem Of Employment And The Election Campaign

By R. Bell

The campaign speeches of Roosevelt and Dewey have simply served to confirm the fact that on all important issues the Democratic and Republican candidates stand united on the program of Big Business. Their essential agreement is clearly disclosed in the positions put forward by both presidential candidates on the problem of employment, despite their mutual accusations against each other.

Remembering the economic crisis which ravaged the country after 1929, the workers are extremely concerned about their future economic security. How have Roosevelt and Dewey attempted to allay their justified fears of large-scale unemployment in the

period ahead and to meet their demands for jobs? Both candidates have labored mightily to shift the responsibility for the economic crisis onto the opposing party. Dewey points out that by 1940, after the Roosevelt administration had been in office for 7 years, there were still 10,000,000 unemployed. "Under the New Deal," says Dewey, "we had to have a war to get jobs." All of which is true, very true.

The "New Deal" was based on the planned sabotage of production in which cotton, corn, livestock, etc., were "plowed under" while one-third of the nation was "ill-fed, ill-clothed, and ill-housed." The function of the so-called New Deal was to create an economy of artificial scarcity in order to preserve the "private enterprise" system. Dewey's criticism of the "New Deal" is laughed off by Roosevelt, who points to the fact that it was the Republican party that was in office from 1929 to 1933 during the peak of the crisis. The method employed by Herbert Hoover to solve the crisis by prayers and incantations—"prosperity is just around the corner"—was comparable to that of a medicine-man frantically beating a tom-tom to ward off an impending catastrophe. In their criticism of each other's methods both candidates say things which are essentially true.

WALL STREET'S PLAN

After acknowledging the truth of the accusations leveled against both capitalist parties, the question still remains: What solution do Roosevelt and Dewey offer to this pressing problem of economic security? All that is necessary, says Dewey, is to give American business and American industry "the green light for peacetime production," and "then we shall see peacetime miracles." Like his colleague Hoover, Dewey still believes in "miracles." The Republican administration gave Big Business the "green light" from 1929 to 1933 and the only "miracle" it produced was the most catastrophic crisis in history. Dewey now proposes to repeat the experiment on a grand scale.

But has Roosevelt any different solution? In dealing with the question of "jobs" in his first campaign speech Roosevelt said: "We shall lease or dispose of our Government-owned plants and facilities and our surplus war property and land on the basis of how they can be best operated by private enterprise to give jobs to the greatest number." In addition to giving Big Business "the green light," Roosevelt signed the George Bill to give Wall Street monopolists the 100 billion dollar industrial empire built up during the war by the government out of public funds provided by the taxpayers. The planned sabotage of production inaugurated under the "New Deal" is to be repeated on a gigantic scale with the plowing under of plants and productive facilities in order to maintain monopoly prices and profits. In its present stage of decay the "private enterprise" system of capitalist production can only be preserved by the artificial creation of an economy of scarcity.

This is the "solution" offered by capitalism—and by both political representatives of the capitalist class—the Democrat Roosevelt and the Republican Dewey.

Against this Wall Street program of privilege and wealth for the few at the expense of insecurity and want for the many, promoted by Roosevelt and Dewey, the workers must advance their own program. Such a program should include the following planks for full employment:

The full utilization of all productive capacity by operation of the government-owned plant and equipment under the control of the workers as the first step toward the expropriation of all industry and its operation under workers' control.

The sliding scale of wages and hours. For every increase in the cost of living a corresponding increase in wages. For every rise in the productivity of labor a lowering of the hours of work with no reduction in pay. The escalator clause in all union contracts. The 30-hour week at no reduction in wages.

This program can be advanced only by breaking decisively with the political candidates and parties supporting the program of Big Business and the organization of labor's own political party.

Open Shop Drive Is Pushed In Attempt To Destroy Unions

(Continued from page 1)

pairment or abridgement of said right because he does or does not belong to or pay money to a labor organization." Compare the language of "Proposition 12" with that of the head of U. S. Steel and it becomes apparent that the open-shop drive originates in the upper circles of the Wall Street fraternity who have strengthened their strangle hold on the economic life of the country during the war.

More recently, a spokesman for the Jones and Laughlin Steel Company demanded that the WLB revoke the "maintenance-of-membership" provision contained in the contract with the United Steel Workers Union. The same demand had previously been raised by Howard W. Smith, co-author of the vicious Smith-Connally anti-strike bill, who called upon Congress to deprive the WLB of the right to impose maintenance-of-membership clauses in union agreements. The so-called maintenance-of-membership clause was granted originally in exchange for labor's surrender of the right to strike. Now that the unions have been deprived of their most effective weapon of defense against the employers, the agents of Big Business have launched a widespread campaign to eliminate the union shop.

In his speech to the American Management Association, Leiserson, warned the corporation executives of the danger that their drive to smash the union shop would force the unions into "the political arena." The warning of this "danger" confirms our contention that the political monopoly of Wall Street, exercised through their control over both the Republican and Democratic parties, facilitates the union-smashing campaign of Big Business. The lesson to be drawn from these events is that the preservation of the unions demands that they regain their independence of action on the economic field by rescinding the no-strike pledge. That they proceed to establish their independence on the political field by breaking decisively with the candidates and parties of the capitalist class and launching their own independent labor party based on the trade unions.

come an agency for keeping the Indian masses in servitude to the British colonial despots.

In the coming period, the masses of India will rally in ever greater numbers to the clean revolutionary banner of Trotskyism. They will turn their backs on the deceivers in Gandhi's Congress Party, the fainthearts in the Congress Socialist Party, and the Stalinist betrayers. The Bolshevik-Leninist Party of India will grow into a mighty party of the Indian masses and will lead them to victory in their struggle for liberation.

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Refreshments

What Workers Should Know About Politics In Order To Defend Their Class Interests

(The following article is the first section of a new pamphlet by J. Hansen on the need for a Labor Party which will shortly be issued by Pioneer Publishers. The Militant plans to publish other parts of this timely pamphlet in subsequent issues.)

By Joseph Hansen

No one can escape taking part in politics. The worker who rejects political action because "politicians are crooks" is fooling himself. He has not avoided politics. He has simply given up his rights to the enemies of labor without putting up a fight. A significant political act!

If he acted the same way in a strike, rejecting picket duty, his shopmates would condemn him. Every militant knows that anyone refusing picket duty opens the way for scabs brought in by the boss.

Far-sighted militants see that the unions today are blocked on every side by politicians in the service of the bosses. They are beginning to understand that labor must participate in politics actively and positively. A great revival of interest in political action is sweeping through the trade union movement.

But an intelligent guide and a realizable goal are necessary. Misdirected activity too can harm labor. In political action as in strike action it is important how we organize and what we demand.

The political enemies of labor are hard-boiled ruthless professionals. Their first rule is deceive labor; their second rule, no holds barred. Unless we understand what politics is about, labor can be crippled and even destroyed by the experts in political jiu jitsu.

Any intelligent person can master the principles of politics with a little study. The trouble is most people don't want to be bothered. Especially if they don't know that politics can get the unions out of the blind alley where they are stalled today.

What Politics Is About

Politics is far more than a mere struggle over "spoils of office." The truth is, that basically considered, politics is the struggle to control the destiny of the nation.

Today it is even correct to say that it is the struggle to control the destiny of the world.

A political party fights for office in order to make the final decision on such national problems as:

- Shall the unemployed be given jobs at trade union wages?
- Shall trade union activity be permitted?
- Shall troops be used to break strikes?
- Shall the rich be allowed to escape taxation?
- Shall a sales tax be levied?
- Shall racial and religious discrimination be stamped out?
- Shall a federal anti-lynch law be passed?
- Shall poor people be prevented from voting through imposition of poll taxes?

- Shall a rise in wages be permitted under-paid workers?
- Shall a ceiling of say \$25,000 be placed on high incomes?
- Shall the nation's crops be harvested or plowed under?
- Shall the country be plunged into war?
- Shall the armed forces be denied the vote and their right to take part in political activities?

- Shall wages be frozen and labor red-taped to the job?
- Shall the profits be taken out of war or permitted to produce a new crop of millionaires?

— Shall the armed forces abroad be used to put down strikes and revolutions and keep fascists in office?

Once it wins, the political party has power to enact what laws it wants. It can enforce or fail to enforce the laws on the statute books. It can pack courts with friendly judges.

If a great new issue arises, the political party may compel a reluctant nation to carry out its will. The present administration did not hold a referendum to determine the wishes of the people before it plunged the United States into the Second World War. Yet it took office on a promise to keep out of the war. We are not interested for the moment in the rightness or wrongness of this decision but use it simply to illustrate the power a political party has once it gains office.

The political party in power governs the fate of the nation. That is the big stake in politics.

To defend and advance common economic interests a group organizes its own political party to take up the fight in the political arena. Even before gaining office, the political party tries to advance the economic interests of its backers. It advocates certain types of legislation. It opposes other types. It exerts constant pressure as an organized political force. In office it enacts laws favorable to its sponsors no matter if these laws conflict with the interests of the majority of the people.

For instance, the political party of factory owners during depression safeguards the owners' profits by permitting them to close down factories. Ten or twenty million people, thrown out of work, are reduced to charity. Despite their huge ranks they are helpless in the face of a politically organized minority.

Time To Clean House



Ferdinand Lundberg reports in his book, America's 60 Families: "Instead of decreasing in wealth and power during the crisis of 1929-1933, America's 60 richest families were actually strengthened in relation to the hordes of citizens reduced to beggary."

Only if they organized a political party of their own could these unemployed workers safeguard their economic interests. Such a political party in power would open the factories and produce goods for use instead of for profit.

Naturally, factory owners who have put in power their political party will never admit that it represents only their economic interests. They always claim that closing down factories or plowing under crops is done for the good of the nation.

In the language of scientific politics, they identify their own special economic interests with the interests of the nation as a whole.

Obviously the economic interests of 20 million unemployed are much closer to the interests of the whole nation than those of a handful of factory owners. The workers represent a larger section of the population, not to mention that their labor built the factories in the first place.

In modern society only two fundamental economic groups exist, the capitalist class and the working class.

Dirt farmers and small business men generally do not act independently in politics even though they do have special economic interests. They are too scattered and broken up to organize easily. They tend to follow either the capitalist class or the working class.

That only two fundamental economic groups exist in modern society greatly simplifies the understanding of politics. All political acts and all political parties can be separated as serving either the capitalist class or the working class. Once the economic interests at stake are known, it is easy to take a stand on a political issue.

To those who understand the power of a political party and who understand that a political party fights for the economic class which puts it in the arena, certain facts lose their mystery.

It is no mystery, for instance, why great countries sometimes plunge into disastrous and catastrophic wars which deplete the national resources and decimate the population while enriching a small minority; that a small selfish minority through its political party has governed the nation in such a way as to advance the economic interests of the tiny group at the expense of the great majority.

The First World War, for instance, cost the United States \$33 billion. However, net corporation profits, according to Ferdinand Lundberg, skyrocketed to \$38 billion before wartime industrial activity was finally liquidated. Lundberg observed: "From the personal standpoint of America's richest families, the World War was the single most constructive event since the Civil War."

Stalinist Leaders Curb Uprising Of Bulgarian Masses

(Continued from page 1)

cription of the spread of the revolutionary mood throughout the country. "From the surrounding mountains the peasants came down into Plovdiv, and a long procession, consisting of men and women, young and old, as well as children went through the entire city center carrying a Red Flag more than ten feet long and three feet wide.

CLENCHED FISTS

"All Plovdiv seemed out on the balconies round the post office square, cheering, waving and giving the clenched-fist greeting. I went to Sofia in a train with red flags flying from its windows, and which was controlled by liberated prisoners. At almost every station people accused of being Fascist agents were being arrested. Every train we met on our way seemed to carry red flags, every soldier and railwayman in every town appeared to be saluting with clenched fist."

The sweeping revolutionary mood — and here is a fact of the highest political significance — caught up German soldiers who were being evacuated hastily from the country. "On one of the trains," the correspondent reported, "were German soldiers. They, too, waved back with the clenched fist."

Sofia patterned the rest of the country, but in more concentrated form. "Men and women partisans were keeping guard on the ruined boulevards (destroyed by "democratic" imperialist bombs). Lorry loads of soldiers, wearing red carnations, drove about the capital. There was shooting in the streets. Petrol for the lorries appeared to have been put at the disposal of the red-flagged masses and the partisans."

Testimony to the depth of the revolutionary fervor and the tremendous force of the insurrectionary wave was the fear it inspired in the hearts of the Bulgarian ruling class, who, as the correspondent observed, "were alarmed at the prospect of Communism. At one time it looked as if it were only a question of a few hours before the Communists took over."

But, the eye-witness continues — "This has not happened. With things as they are for the moment it will not happen at all." The insurrection was halted in its stride by the new hastily formed puppet government which, with the backing of the Stalin clique in Moscow and aided by the top Bulgarian Stalinist leaders, proceeded to disarm the masses and order them about as its reactionary predecessors had done.

A N. Y. Times correspondent in Sofia reported on Sept. 21 that "Communist leaders are doing everything they can to prevent extremists in the party from agitating for sovietization of the country." In this they are supported by the Red Army to which Stalin has assigned the hangman's job of strangling the Socialist revolution in Bulgaria and every other country where a popular revolution would endanger his alliance with the Allied imperialists and his own counter-revolutionary regime in the Soviet Union.

"On several occasions," the correspondent stated, "when local Communists in the provinces tried to displace city officials and take matters into their own hands, they were ordered by the Russian military authorities to return the jobs to the old officials until orders were received from the Fatherland Front Government in Sofia. The 'Fatherland Front' government is simply a dressed-up monarchial regime, hand-picked by the old capitalist-landlord gang.

Strike Report Of Philadelphia Jury Smears CIO Union

(Continued from page 1)

been made by a high official of the company during the walkout who urged "settlement" of the "strike" by rescinding the FEPC order. Any real investigation would have disclosed the fact that the company had permitted the leaders of the company union to hold strike meetings on company property; had permitted anti-Negro placards to be posted on company walls; had encouraged the open agitation against Negro hiring and upgrading carried on by officials of the PRT Employees Union, etc. But the hand-picked jury was not at all concerned with an investigation of the facts. Their function was to whitewash the employers and their company union agents and attack organized labor.

For example, in referring to the Jim Crow PRT Employees Union which had lost the election to the CIO, the Grand Jury deplored the fact that, "we have made a long step away from the company union which might, with the right motivation on both sides, have seemed the ideal method of relations in our industrial life." An editorial in The Militant of August 19 summed up as follows the lessons of the Philadelphia transit strike, lessons which have been driven home by the revolting hypocrisy of the Grand Jury "investigation."

"For labor, the Philadelphia incident contains an important lesson. Race prejudice is a weapon of reaction. A strike which serves reactionary purposes is a blow against the entire labor movement. Labor condemns such actions, and rightly so. But we treat with the utmost contempt the nauseating hypocrisy of an exploiting class — which uses racial discrimination as a pious to prop up its rule — and which now attempts to use the Philadelphia 'precedent' as a strike-breaking pretext to smash the unions."

"The strike is labor's most effective weapon for defending its existence against the predatory money-bags who rule the roost in Wall Street and Washington. A strike which pursues a progressive aim commands the sympathy and support of all class-conscious workers and serves to advance the interests of the working class. A strike which unites the workers against their exploiters is progressive. A strike which divides the workers and serves the interests of the exploiters is reactionary."

"This is a vital distinction. It is only by welding the solidarity of all workers, regardless of race, color or creed, into a united front against the common enemy that the labor movement will survive, flourish and grow stronger. That is the lesson of Philadelphia for the labor movement."

correspondent stated, "when local Communists in the provinces tried to displace city officials and take matters into their own hands, they were ordered by the Russian military authorities to return the jobs to the old officials until orders were received from the Fatherland Front Government in Sofia. The 'Fatherland Front' government is simply a dressed-up monarchial regime, hand-picked by the old capitalist-landlord gang.

The workers and peasants who rose in insurrection in Bulgaria identified the advancing Red Army with the great Bolshevik Revolution in Russia which destroyed Czarism, capitalism, and landlordism. They did not know that the Kremlin is now occupied by a counter-revolutionary gang which is intent, not on spreading, but on preventing revolution elsewhere. They did not know — but they must now be learning very rapidly! — that the Stalinist leaders in Bulgaria have no intention of leading them in revolution to destroy capitalism, but aim to preserve it.

They did not know that Stalin's Red Army entered Bulgaria not only to fulfill the progressive task of defending the USSR against the Nazi military machine, but also as an instrument of the vile counter-revolutionary gang in Moscow. The Stalinists aim not to aid the Bulgarian masses to achieve their liberation but to aid the capitalist rulers in their continued oppression of the people.

These facts will sink in rapidly as a result of the masses' own experiences. They will learn to break with the Stalinist betrayal.



By V. Grey

"The trouble with Socialism is that they want a dictatorship. If you ask me, I think we have too much of that right now." That's what one of the boys said today. And a lot of honest working people say the same thing. That's mainly because all they know about Socialism is what they read in the capitalist newspapers. So you can't blame them for thinking Socialism would be even worse than Capitalism.

"They're certainly right to figure we have a dictatorship right now, though. When Johnny Dylek wanted to move his family back to Pennsylvania, he couldn't get a release from the office, or from the U. S. government employment office either. Not unless he took sixty days off. Things are pretty bad when you can't change your job."

But wait a minute. When could you ever change your job before? Whenever you felt like it? What would you and your family live on during the weeks or months you were looking around for another? The bosses had you where they wanted you, without any fuss or feathers. Now that jobs are more plentiful, they just pass a law to make you keep your nose to the same grindstone for the same hourly wages you got before.

We have a dictatorship of Capital over Labor all right. It's a dictatorship of the few over the many. Whether they get tough about it, or whether they speak softly, the capitalists do the dictating. And as long as they control the industries and the government, we do the obeying.

TWO KINDS OF GENERAL FOREMEN

Look how it is in the shop. Remember that general foreman, Stebb's? We had him long before we got the union in. We called him "the little dictator," "the louse," and lots of worse names, too. He ran everything with an iron hand, and you didn't dare turn around. If you were in the washroom long enough to finish smoking half a cigarette, he'd be in there after you. Well, one day he was found pretty badly beaten up near a saloon in town. After that they transferred Stebb's to another shop, and put in Hallory in his place.

Well, Hallory was a swell guy, everybody said. He always asked you in a nice way. Never told you to do anything. The fellows would smoke a whole cigarette at a time in the washroom, and sometimes twice a day at that. And still they worked harder and got more done for Hallory than Stebb's ever got out of them. We all got along fine with Hallory. Until one day Tony Jorek refused to do the job that Hallory asked him "please" to do.

Tony was a shear-man with twelve years' rights (seniority was observed "on paper" at least quite a while before the union came in). Hallory wanted Tony to go outside and load up a scrap car—at laborers' pay—while a younger man took over the shear for a day or two. (They always say it's just for a day or two). Of course the younger man happened to be a very good friend of Hallory's, too. Sort of a stooge, in other words.

So Tony, who wasn't so dumb, said he'd be glad to go outside the first chance he got when the shear was down, but not now, thank you. He was polite too, at first. But before you know it they were both getting hot. Then Hallory pushed Tony away from him. So Tony took a swing at him. It was a pretty healthy swing, too. At first a lot of fellows were sorry for Hallory because Tony hurt him pretty bad. But not for long. Because what do you think happened? Why, Tony got a month off without pay. And when he came back to work they put him on the band saw with a dollar a day cut in his wages.

Of course you'll say we should have struck the minute Tony went out the door. But we were too dumb at the time. We didn't have the understanding we have now. We were confused. We thought Hallory had something on his side, too. It was only after we got to thinking it over, and only after Tony came back at lower pay that we realized that what Hallory had on his side was the power of this whole damned corporation. And what did Tony have? Tony's family had a rotten time of it. Tony was watched and ridden, from then on. But Hallory—all he got was a sock in the jaw, and later on, we found out, a raise in pay.

The point to this story is that whether it was Stebb's with a swear word or Hallory with a "please" you had to do what they told you, or else.

Well, Capitalistic governments work the same way. They are all dictatorships of Capital. Sometimes they put a tough little feller like Stebb's up for the front, and sometimes a gas factory like Congress with a thousand and one Hallorys. But the whole thing is rigged so the workman gets the business.

Socialism has the aim of doing away with all kinds of dictatorship or compulsion of any kind. But before we can accomplish that, our workers' government will have to be like the capitalist, in one way. It will have to be a dictatorship, too. But instead of being a dictatorship of Capital over Labor, it will be a dictatorship of Labor and poor farmers over, and against, the ex-capitalists. That will be the power of the many over the few.

Underneath the smooth front of the company are the layoffs, the guns and tear-gas. Underneath the little democracy in the present capitalist government is the power of all the big companies ready to crack down on the workers, like Hallory did. That's the dictatorship of Capital. Underneath the real and honest democracy that we workers are going to have, will lie the power, the organized might, of the whole workingclass. That's the dictatorship of the proletariat. That's the Workers and Farmers government.

In our workers' government we may have to be tough at times with some of the ex-capitalist fakers. If they stick to their jobs and don't go in for any swindling or the fancy stealing they call profit taking, why it will be very pleasant for all. But human nature, especially capitalist human nature, doesn't change in a day. They may need some persuasion. But as our new age develops, and as we begin to give unheard of benefits to all, as Socialist production far outstrips Capitalist production, when Hallory and Stebb's and even Louie the stump jumper, are gone and their ways forgotten, then we'll have real Socialism and all relics of Capitalism. Like dictatorship, will disappear.

ers, organize separately from them, and depend only on their own independent revolutionary action. They will organize a new revolutionary party which will lead them forward to socialist victory in firm alliance with the insurgent European masses, with the awakened Soviet workers and rank and file fighters of the Red Army. By continuing their own independent struggle for power, the Bulgarian workers and peasants will be providing the most effective defense for the Soviet Union, which can be safeguarded only through the triumph of the European revolution.

Bulgaria is now in a state of calm which may well prove to be the prelude to a fresh and more violent outburst of the revolutionary storm.

Despite Stalinist treachery and

Stalinist NMU Officials Initiate Drive To Destroy Seaman's Union Hiring Hall

(Continued from page 1)

Service, of the War Manpower Commission and of the Recruitment and Manning Organization." The Curran-Myers proposals were made public without ever having been previously reported to the membership of the union.

Union control of hiring is a crucial issue in the maritime industry. Without this the union loses all semblance of independent existence and is powerless to protect the job conditions won through strike action. The union hiring hall was established only after long struggle by seamen against the old practice of hiring hall discrimination whereby militants were fired at the end of every voyage and replaced aboard ship by company stooges. The character of the industry has made control of hiring the central issue in all disputes between the maritime unions and ship-operators.

The Stalinists, striving to become accredited government agents in the maritime industry, have adopted the U. S. Maritime Commission's plan of government control of hiring and now campaign for it as their own.

This attempt of the Stalinists to impose government regimentation upon merchant seamen in



CURRAN

exchange for official recognition on the government control Boards is not a new development. They made this proposal to the Maritime Commission in the form of a memorandum which dates back to December 1941, only a few days after Pearl Harbor. At that time they proposed a tri-partite board consisting of labor, management and government repres-

entatives to control the industry "with the appropriate government agency casting the deciding vote." During the course of the war their actions have all been consistent with this avowed policy. Until now they have attempted behind-the-scenes maneuvers with high-ranking government officials, avoiding as much as possible the attendant publicity. What they have angled for is government recognition of the check-off which would give them a grip on seamen and thus enable them to advocate more openly the government's anti-union program.

In their latest letter to Land, Curran and Myers take occasion to remind the Admiral of their loyal cooperation in enforcing government regimentation of merchant seamen. Their letter claims: "With the exception of the manpower directly under the control of the NMU and the RMO, there is no strict enforcement of the war-time rules on a national scale." These war-time shipping rules imposed by the government on merchant seamen are equivalent to the War Manpower's job-freezing edicts in other industries. They restrict a seaman's time on the beach, allowing him only one week ashore for every month at sea, in no case more than thirty days. The RMO Rec-

ruitment and Manning Office of the War Shipping Administration strictly enforces these rules. This agency has been established for the expressed purpose of regimenting seamen and aims to establish the government flunk halls of the future if union control of hiring can be eliminated.

The extent to which NMU officials have complied with RMO rulings against seamen is reflected in the war-time shipping rules of the union. They have replaced the system of rotary shipping upon which the union hiring hall is based with rules established by edict of a government agency. To enforce these rules they rely upon the repressive powers of the federal government. Under the "shipping rules" established by the Stalinist leadership any seaman who overstays their shore leave "will have their names turned over to the Draft Board by the Agent and the Dispatcher as not being bona fide seamen." Seamen over 38 "will have their names turned over to the War Manpower Commission."

The Stalinist's reminder to Admiral Land of services rendered is a blow directed at other unions in the maritime industry who have fought to retain union control of the hiring hall and union shipping rules.

The Negro Struggle

By Charles Jackson

Time To Move, But Where?

Reflecting the feelings of the Negro masses, there has recently been a noticeable trend of the Negro press and among Negro leaders away from the Roosevelt administration and toward the Republican party.

Characteristic was an editorial in the influential *Pittsburgh Courier* which stated that Negroes "want integration, not separation. They want recognition, not benevolence. They want first-class citizenship with right to speak and be heard." No hope for obtaining these advances from Roosevelt's Democratic Party is held out by this sheet, in whose opinion "the last vestige of good in the New Deal departed on that Friday afternoon in Chicago last July when Vice-President Henry Wallace was sacrificed on the altar of greed, power and prejudice. Mr. Roosevelt gave Mr. Wallace the 'Kiss of Death' in an effort to placate the lily-white South."

All three Negro weeklies that hit the stands in Washington, D. C. are anti-Roosevelt as well as many others across the country. Without a doubt, the Democrats will lose a sizeable chunk of the Negro support which they have enjoyed for the last decade. Although this tendency will fatten the chances of the Republican Party, to the Negro voter it is intended as an "agony" for Roosevelt rather than a "fur" for Dewey. This is especially so in the case of those who have been or have had relatives in the Jim-Crow Army which is supposed to help the white army rid the world of those who preach racial difference. To protest the hated army policy of color-quarantine by a "protest vote"—that's the general idea.

Grant Reynolds, who had enough guts to voice heated objection to the Army policy even though it got him a discharge, recently stated that point of view in explaining his resignation from an NAACP post to campaign "against Roosevelt." Speaking of the mistreatment to colored service men which he had seen in the army he said: "Franklin D. Roosevelt, Commander-in-Chief of our military forces, must shoulder responsibility for this evil." He felt that he had to fulfill his "obligation to Negroes in uniform by contributing to the repudiation of their unworthy Commander-in-Chief."

This is a perfectly understandable trend in view of the tremendous amount of capitalist miseducation and propaganda which extolls the "democratic" American "two-party" system. The pressure of our surroundings, molded by big business interests, forces our thoughts into this channel.

By "automatically" putting an X over the party that is "out of power" we thereby feel that we have registered an effective protest against the oppressive conditions we have to face.

It is up to a few more of our spokesmen, however, to realize and explain that, in the end, we can only expect the same treatment from one capitalist party as we received from the other. When the American working people wake up to the truth about the "two-party" system it will seem unbelievable to them that they could have been taken for a ride for so long.

From our point of view as a racial minority it is an unequivocal fact that we would

have essentially the same enforced segregation and discrimination under the Republican as under the Democratic Party. Since these two parties are supported by an controlled by Big Business, they will not and they can not grant us full equality. Big Business needs the race issue to keep the productive workers divided and thereby retard the growth of their class-consciousness.

Both candidates have openly avowed their loyalty to what they call "free enterprise." Both parties are representatives of capitalism although they may differ as to the best tactics to use in preserving this exploitive system. As Negroes who want the full equality to which we are entitled we must realize that we cannot gain it under this type of economic system. Sure, you may think the profit incentive is all right. You still believe that only under this system will you have the chance to some day better your condition. But you as a worker must realize that the ruling class which is in control of the means of production, the means of communication, the means of education and all the government agencies is going to do everything they can to hold you down and thereby continue to make profit on your labor.

In this country the Negro is here to be used profitably by this "free enterprise" system. They "sic" the white worker on the black in an indirect manner. By controlling all the means of propaganda and utilizing them in a subtle way—such as "angled" news accounts, etc.—they can build up a prejudice of white against black or black against white (which is just as profitable to them) in such a way that one would think it is natural or inherent or spontaneous within one's self. Dewey or Roosevelt; Roosevelt or Dewey; it makes no difference. As long as capitalism remains here just that long will racial prejudice be retained here.

FOR A LABOR PARTY

As Wendell Wilkie recently pointed out in *Colliers* magazine, neither party has even promised in their vote-catching platforms to execute such measures as will bring the Negro equal citizenship status. George Schuyler puts it this way: "Roosevelt and Dewey, the titular heads of the rival (?) political gangs, have not done and do not intend to do anything fundamental about our national Jim-Crow system."

It is not the individual candidate that should be of importance to us. It is the economic base of the party he represents. There is nothing to gain in being "anti" the party in power and "pro" another party which represents the same economic class and commits itself to the same economic system. There is likewise nothing to gain by being "anti" the party in power and offering no constructive counter proposal.

The only class that can and must grant the Negro full equality is if it would gain and retain power is the working class. We must learn to support only genuine working class parties. Where none exist our only effort which will bear fruit is to expose both capitalist parties and press through our unions for the early formation of an independent labor party.

Roosevelt Signs Measure Providing Starvation For Unemployed And Billions For Wall Street

(Continued from page 1)

and corporations and with an absolutely free hand to "dispose" of government property, didn't satisfy Roosevelt.

He had originally established a one-man agency for government property "disposal," under his own appointee, Will Clayton, world's largest cotton merchant and notorious toof of the big business interests. Because the greedy and conflicting monopoly interests wanted a more "impartial" agency for dividing up the loot, Congress turned down the Administration-sponsored bill for a one-man agency and passed its own measure, which still guarantees that the monopolies will get control of all the government "surplus" property.

Roosevelt's chief complaint when signing the bill was that "there is danger that the confused methods of disposition and the elaborate restrictions imposed by the bill in many instances delay rather than expedite reconversion and re-employment." That is to say, Roosevelt wants an even freer hand in giving away the government plants and property in order to direct them into the possession of those sectors of Big Business he favors and represents most directly.

Nevertheless, Roosevelt sought to gain his purpose by appointing Byrnes, his closest administrative henchman, as the head of the new Office of War Mobilization and Reconversion. Byrnes, a thoroughgoing reactionary Southern Democratic politician and a key agent of the capitalist interests, can be counted upon to give the monopolies everything they demand. His appointment will most likely gain the approval of the Southern Democratic Bourbon bloc in the Senate, whose support Roosevelt is anxious to maintain.

The bill signed by Roosevelt absolutely ensures mass unemployment. The big monopolies are anxious to get hold of the government plants, which represent about one-fourth of the productive capacity of American industry, primarily for the purpose of eliminating them from competitive production. Their concern is to prevent competition, limit production, and reap profits on the basis of a scarcity economy of high prices.

At the same time the George Bill is designed to keep the resultant mass of unemployed in a state of chronic hunger and misery, as a "reserve army" which might be used to drive down wage standards and weaken the unions. With the pressure of millions of suffering and desperate jobless, the corporations calculate that the employed workers will be less inclined to resist wage slashes, a major objective of the capitalist program for the period ahead.

MEAGRE "RELIEF"

The George Bill eliminates any form of direct federal aid to the unemployed. It merely provides for the use of federal funds to bolster the state treasuries. It adds not a single provision for the jobless beyond the inadequate existing state unemployment compensation measures. These give "relief" ranging as low as \$2 a week for from 2 to 16 weeks, provided the unemployed worker can fulfill all the elaborate requirements contained in most state measures to exclude the "unworthy."

Roosevelt voiced no objection to the major "relief" provisions of the bill, nor its general administration under the state governments. He raised — for the first time, while signing the bill — an objection to the elimination of a couple of minor provisions covering compensation to federal workers and transportation expenses of discharged war workers back to their home towns. He likewise expressed "regret" that the bill did not provide minimum standards "to govern the amount and duration of unemployment benefits which should be paid by the states." His own agents, however, had helped to scuttle every proposal in Congress for such minimum standards. Meanwhile Roosevelt himself stayed on the side-lines and refused to respond to appeal after appeal from a handful of Congressional "liberals" to speak out for these proposed measures.

Roosevelt merely expressed the "hope" that these "deficiencies" might be "rectified" by a Congress,

IWW and left it far behind in the space of a few years. The great lesson of this experience is the folly of taking lightly the power of ideas or imagining that some substitute can be found for correct ideas in the building of a revolutionary movement. (From "The History of American Trotskyism" by James P. Cannon, pp. 21-22. Pioneer Publishers, 1944, 268 pp.; cloth \$2.75, paper \$2. Order from Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Place, N. Y. 3, N. Y.)

Everything In Order



Reprinted by courtesy of N. Y. Post
The German village of Roetgen, occupied by American troops and ruled by an American military governor, is the first example of the real American attitude toward fascism. The new mayor of Roetgen and the new chief of police, appointed by the military governor, are both known Nazis. In Germany, as in Italy, the Anglo-American imperialists plan to protect and use former fascist officials to oppress the people.

which has already demonstrated conclusively that the only "improvements" it will place in any "reconversion" bill are measures to appease the insatiable greed of the profit-hungry capitalists. Roosevelt can afford to express such empty "hope," since it is a foregone conclusion that Congress will ignore it.

LABOR FAKERS

Roosevelt's connivance with the Democratic and Republican Congressional agents of Wall Street in shoving through the George "Starvation" Bill has further illuminated the treachery of the labor leaders who continue to paint up Roosevelt as a "friend of labor." During the entire discussion over the George Bill these bootlickers of Roosevelt have maintained absolute silence about his anti-labor role. They have gone so far as to represent the Congressional forces which, jammed through the George Bill, and which included the overwhelming majority of Democrats as well as Republicans, as exclusively composed of the "Poll Tax bloc" and Republicans.

Even now, as Roosevelt puts into motion Wall Street's "master plan" for filching the nation's industrial resources, robbing the public treasury and instituting measures for the pauperization of the masses, the labor fakers continue to run up and down the country throwing dust in the eyes of the workers. While they puff up the limited reform measures instituted in the early years

of the "New Deal" under pressure of the workers, they cover up the record of the last four years of Roosevelt's rule when he has buried even the slogan of the "New Deal," moved further and further to the right, withdrawn one concession after another that the workers had previously wrested from capitalism, cracked down with the wage and job freeze, compulsory arbitration, forced labor decrees.

But the labor bureaucrats themselves have let slip their real estimate of what labor can expect from Roosevelt in the future. Thus the *CIO News*, Sept. 25, in the column "Keep Your Eyes On Congress," denounces the "dirty work" of the entire Congress in pushing over the George Bill, which does "nothing; no planning, no aid to war workers, veterans," and advises the workers to "Make this a No. 1 election test."

By this "No. 1 election test," neither Roosevelt nor Dewey, neither the Democrats nor the Republicans, are anything but brazen agents of Big Business determined to wipe out labor's gains, impose mass poverty, undermine the organized labor movement. The working class will be driven to intolerable coolie levels if it does not mobilize its ranks into fighting formation now and initiate an all-out offensive against Wall Street and its political representatives for a real program of jobs, decent wages and security.

No-Strike Policy Fought by Militant Convention Group

(Continued from page 1)

of the stormiest national gatherings of the union's history.

As in one CIO union convention after another in the past month, this convention was marked by the emergence of an opposition grouping to the established conservative and Stalinist leadership. Breaking with the traditional virtually unanimous support of the old leadership, headed by President John Green, the opposition ran candidates for the offices of president and secretary-treasurer who secured almost 20 percent of the total votes.

Although the opposition candidates conducted no serious campaign based on a principled program, the vote for them was considered as an expression of opposition to the no-strike pledge and of the desire of the most militant sections of the ranks for a new fighting leadership.

The fight against the no-strike pledge, which broke out in the early sessions of the convention, gained its principal support from the two largest delegations. Local 42, with the second largest bloc of votes, went solidly down the line for scrapping the no-strike pledge. A sizeable section of the largest delegation, Local 1, also supported the minority.

After a three-hour battle, in which the Stalinists took the lead in rabid denunciation and flag-waving against the militants, the leadership's resolution was finally adopted, with over a hundred of the approximately 700 delegates defying intimidation and slander to vote for scrapping the pledge.

Another bitter battle over policy developed when the resolutions committee placed before the convention a resolution citing the grievances of the union against the War Labor Board and sharply criticizing its anti-labor actions, but lamely winding up in support of the WLB as an institution capable of "defending" the interests of the workers in the absence of the strike weapon.

Green lined up with the Stalinists against the militants on every important issue. Hanging on to Green's coat-tails, the Stalinists succeeded in pushing through enough of their own candidates for the General Executive Board to secure a majority control. The building of a firm militant grouping within the IUMSWA, around a clear-cut progressive program, is the prerequisite for re-establishing the CIO shipyard workers union as an effective instrument for defending the rights and interests of the workers. The opposition at this convention made significant beginnings.

A genuine fighting program, in the IUMSWA as in all the unions, must have as its major planks: 1. Scrap the no-strike pledge; 2. Smash the Little Steel Formula; 3. Withdraw all labor support from the WLB; 4. Build an independent labor party.

Diary Of A Steel Worker

By Theodore Kovalsky

It seems like ages ago that I was working five days a week. I remember having two days off every week and getting enough pay for forty hours to live half-way decently; or at least, it would have been half-way decently if it hadn't been for all the depression debts that I had to pay off, and the worn-out furniture and clothing that I had to replace.

Now now they're talking about going on five days again . . . but what a difference!

For a while, there was a lot of talk about how the workers should be patriotic and give up all their time-and-a-half. Roosevelt came out with an order cutting out double time for Sunday and time-and-a-half for other days unless they were the sixth consecutive days in the week, but we did retain time and one half pay for the sixth day. Then the matter was dropped. A lot of fellows thought that we had scored a victory on that point, but we didn't win a thing; instead, we lost some of our hard-won gains.

Here's the way I see it. A workingman goes out to work in the factory, where he produces profits for his boss. The boss pays him not his fair share of what he has produced but just enough to keep him and his family alive and kicking and perhaps producing little workers to make future profits. Now, that's what we had before we went on six days. We worked five days for a "living wage." Then we went on six days, forty-eight hours. For a little while, it seemed pretty swell. Of course, it was hard to get used to the extra labor. We had been used to working five days or nights in that hellish heat and getting two days off to rest up a little, and now we found ourselves getting only one day. But we got used to that, and, as I say, it did seem pretty swell to be getting that extra cash . . . so long as you put in all of your six days.

But before long that extra money began to be a necessity; it wasn't extra any more. It wasn't that we got used to a higher standard of living. It was just that the wage freeze and the rising prices put us financially back where we were when we worked forty hours a week.

Just as before, we worked a week for our boss and got a "living wage." But now we worked twenty per cent more time for him for the same amount of purchasing power. Of course, made more money—but it didn't buy any more than before.

Well, it didn't stop there. Prices kept going up and up until even the pay that we got for six days, after all the deductions were taken out, left us with less purchasing power than we had previously had when we worked only five days.

We're All Worried About The Future

And now they are talking about putting us back on five days! All over the department the fellows are talking about it, and you can see that they are pretty worried. I am, myself. I know that even with six days I can't get along without working a sixteen hour shift every now and then. These double shifts will be cut out, too, along with going back on five days a week, and then, well, you know what that will mean.

Once again that old feeling will be coming back to the steelworkers, that old feeling of desperation, that feeling which shouts in the middle of your brain, "What are you going to do? You've GOT to have more money, and you CAN'T get it. You can't get an outside job. You work on different shifts, so you can't hold another job with this one . . . and besides, there aren't any other jobs to get. What happened to last week's check? It's gone already. How can you wait until payday for the next one? How about the dentist? Your teeth are rotting in your mouth. So they ache, so what? Dentists cost money. How about the doctor? How about insurance? What about that threadbare coat that your wife has been wearing too long already? You've GOT to get some more money, but how can you POSSIBLY get it?"

Yes, I feel pretty pessimistic about going back on five days, down to five days's pay with prices the way they are now. But my gloom isn't as deep as that of some of the fellows, because I realize that the future of the workers is not as black as some of them think. You see, they haven't anything to hang on to, not just yet.

As for me, I know, really KNOW, that day by day the workers as a whole are coming to realize more and more that they as a class must rely on themselves alone. At every union convention that comes up, there is a fight about the no-strike pledge. It wasn't this way even one year ago. These boys are beginning to learn.

10 Years Ago In The Militant

OCTOBER 13, 1934

SPAIN — Miners in Asturias still battled from their mountain barricades, as the semi-fascist regime of Lerroux and Gil Robles used land and air forces to crush the incipient revolt. "The very fact that the workers have fought so valiantly in spite of the confusion caused by the lack of a truly united leadership, undoubtedly indicates that Gil Robles will still have much to contend with before he can consolidate a dictatorship," said *The Militant*.

The Militant continued: "The revolutionary party capable of giving Leninist leadership was conspicuous by its absence. The Socialist Party . . . has demonstrated its incapacity to fulfill this necessary role . . . (it) called for the transformation of the general strike into a general assault for power at precisely the time when the enemy, flushed by a series of partial victories over the workers, would be best able to defeat the as yet imperfectly united working class. The inability to win over any appreciable section of the armed forces is another indication of the lack of serious preparation." The analysis concluded with an explanation of the greatest task for the future, the consolidation of an organized, functioning united front to prepare for the battles still impending.

SAN FRANCISCO—Under pressure of the demand of the workers for industrial unionism, the leadership of the American Federation of Labor at its convention was compelled to make a significant concession. After long discussions in the resolutions committee, it accepted the Lewis plan of so-called vertical unions—industrial unions—for the automobile, aluminum and cement industries, with the proviso that in no other industries would craft union prerogatives be interfered with.

Pioneer Paragraphs

NO SUBSTITUTE EXISTS FOR POWER OF CORRECT IDEAS

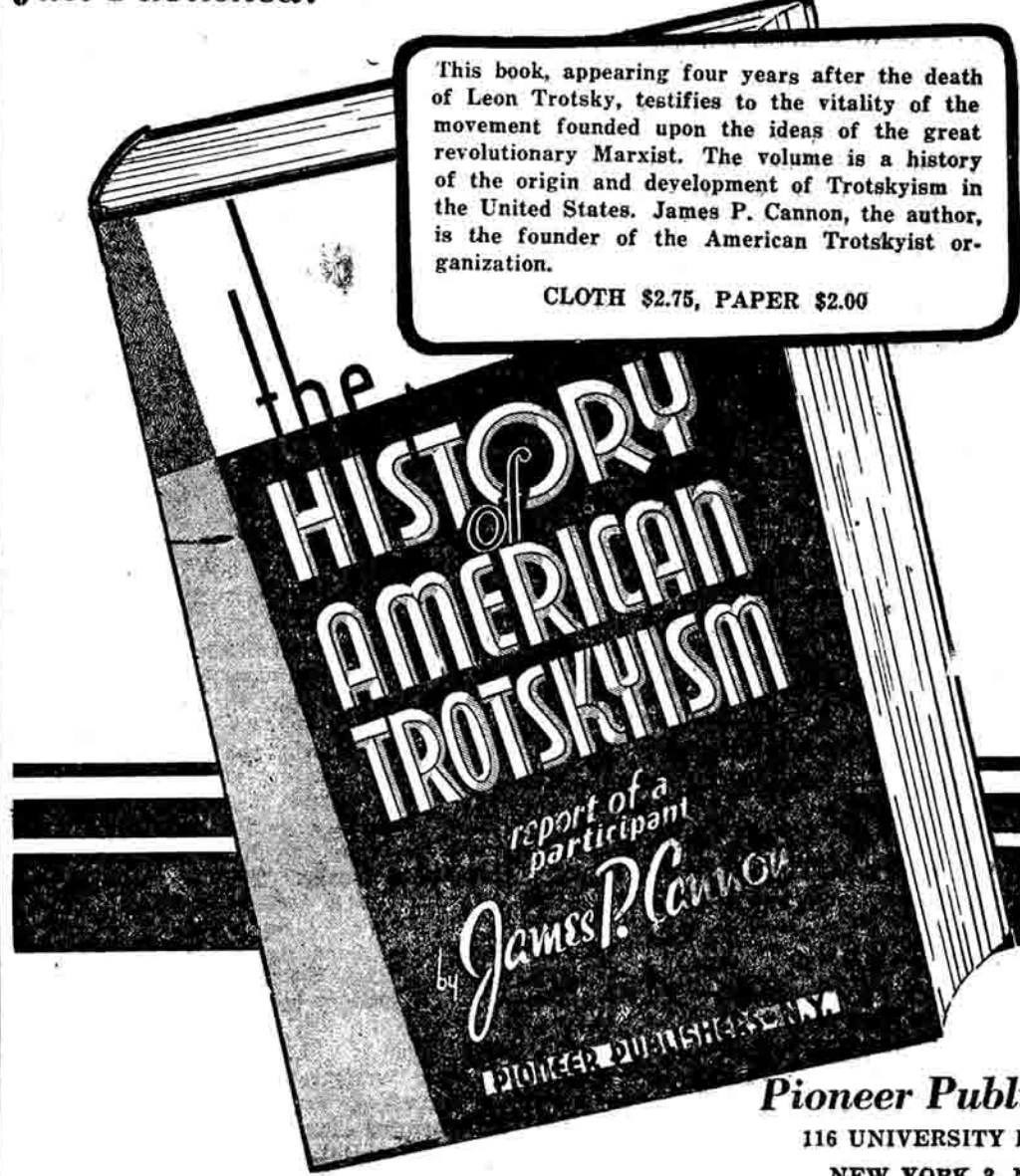
The early movement of Communism demonstrated very powerfully the predominant influence of ideas over everything else. This was strikingly shown in the struggle for supremacy between the IWW (Industrial Workers of the World) and the young Communist Party. In the pre-war days the IWW was a rather large militant labor movement. It entered the war as unquestionably the organization embracing within its ranks the largest group of proletarian militants. Yet the nucleus of the Communist Party came out of the Socialist Party. A considerable number of them were petty-bourgeois in origin, a large percentage young people without any experience in the class struggle. Thousands of them were foreign-born workers who had never been really assimilated in the class struggle in America.

Insofar as the human material was concerned, the advantages were all on the side of the IWW. Their militants had been in many fights. They had hundreds and hundreds of members in jail, and they used to look with something

like contempt on this upstart movement talking so confidently in revolutionary terms. The IWW's imagined that their actions and their sacrifices so far outweighed the mere doctrinal pretensions of this new revolutionary movement that they had nothing to fear from it in the way of rivalry. They were badly mistaken.

Within a few years — by 1922 — it became pretty clear that the Communist Party had displaced the IWW as the leading organization of the vanguard. The IWW, with its wonderful composition of proletarian militants, with all their heroic struggles behind them, could not keep pace. They had not adjusted their ideology to the lessons of the war and the Russian revolution. They had not acquired a sufficient respect for doctrine, for theory. That is why their organization degenerated, while this new organization with its poorer material, its inexperienced youth who had seized hold of the living ideas of Bolshevism, completely surpassed the

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

— LEON TROTSKY

JOIN US IN FIGHTING FOR:

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

Trotskyism Advances

Evidence of the vitality and continued growth of the Trotskyist movement, on an international scale, may be seen in this issue of *The Militant*. Two weeks ago we reported the planting of the Trotskyist banner in Italy. This week we are able to furnish information testifying to the growing influence of Trotskyism in India and in Great Britain.

It is highly significant that this information, in the case of both countries, centers on the persecution of the Trotskyists by the ruling class. The vicious hounding of the Indian Trotskyists reflects the fear which animates the British usurpers in India as they observe the rising tide of the great liberation movement of the Indian workers and peasants. In Great Britain, the courts of the capitalist ruling class, acting under pressure of the labor movement, have been compelled to quash the sentences imposed on four Trotskyist leaders.

Great Britain is the classic home of capitalism. India is the classic imperialist colony. That Trotskyism, with its program of socialist revolution, has taken firm root in these two countries and makes its way among ever broader masses of the toilers, is testimony to its historic rightness. It expresses accurately the interests and aspirations of all toiling humanity which is searching for a way out of the morass of war and hunger.

In the first years of the present imperialist conflict, the Trotskyist movement in most countries consisted of comparatively small cadres of devoted revolutionary Marxists. Though armed with a tried and tested program, the hypnosis and repression of war, marked by the virtual suspension of the class struggle of the workers, prevented its rapid growth.

Today, in Europe and Asia, the masses are moving once more to the battle-lines of the class struggle and the socialist revolution. Inseparably connected with the masses, the Trotskyist movement is growing and moving forward. Its rise is a reflection of the rising tide of revolution.

In the period ahead the revolutionary movement of the masses in all leading countries will develop

in a wide and stormy sweep. Trotskyism will become a mighty force. Under the banner of the Fourth International the toilers of all lands will battle their way to the Socialist future.

George Bill

With ruthless contempt for the needs of the American masses and utter subservience to the interests of the big business plutocracy, Wall Street's Democratic-Republican coalition in Congress has shoved through and Roosevelt has signed the George "Demobilization" Bill.

The specific measures of this law make it clear that the capitalist ruling class is determined in the coming period to raise up a "reserve" army of desperate, hungry unemployed; to launch a major offensive against union standards and the labor movement; to preserve its profits by looting the public treasury and stealing the vast industrial plant now owned by the government and paid for by the people.

Above all, the adoption of this "master plan" of Wall Street by the united pack of capitalist politicians, from Roosevelt on down, once more sharply demonstrates that the security of labor, the working farmers and the impoverished lower middle class is dependent upon the achievement of labor's own program, designed to serve the interests of the working masses and uncompromisingly opposed to the predatory schemes of the parasitical bankers and bosses.

The keystone of that program must be JOBS FOR ALL. Against the "Share-the-Starvation" plan of Wall Street and its government, organized labor must fight for:

1. The 30-hour week with no reduction in weekly pay;
 2. A broad program of government public works, slum elimination, low-cost housing, schools, hospitals, etc., to provide work for all unemployed at trade union wage standards;
 3. The immediate nationalization and operation under workers control of all government plants, for the production of goods necessary for the people.
- These demands—among the minimum which labor must realize to ensure even a measure of decent living standards and security—can be achieved, however, only if labor has its own political instrument with which to fight uncompromisingly against all the political agents and parties of capitalism. The indispensable political weapon for the well-being of the working class is the independent labor party, based upon the trade unions and free of all capitalist taint or influence.

Red-Baiting

Red-baiting is a type of provocation and incitement which the boss class and their political agents have used against the militant labor movement ever since its inception. This reactionary weapon is used to whip up hysteria against the working class.

It is in periods when the workers rise in militant struggle against their exploiters that the red-baiters are most active. By dragging the "red herring" across the trail, they attempt to obscure the real issues over which the workers are struggling, namely, wages, hours, and working conditions.

Thus it is today. The American workers are up in arms against the no-strike pledge. They are in open rebellion against the wage-freeze and the run-arounds of the War Labor Board. Increasing numbers are turning their backs on the capitalist political parties and moving toward the formation of a real party of labor, an independent Labor Party.

In this situation the red-baiters, serving the dirty purposes of the capitalist bosses, are busily at work. In the labor movement some years ago the Communist Party was the principal target of the red-baiters, for its members were the most militant and advanced section of the labor movement. Today by their own admission the Stalinists are the enemies of Communism. Their leaders are venal agents of the reactionary Stalinist bureaucracy which rules in the Soviet Union.

The fire of the red-baiters is now first of all directed against the Trotskyists, inheritors and continuators of the revolutionary traditions of Communism. The Trotskyists stand in the van of the workers' movement. Single mindedly they defend the interests of the workers against the bosses and strive to lead the working class in struggle against capitalism—for socialism.

The Stalinists, on the other hand, have today become the spearhead of boss-class reaction in the ranks of labor, open defenders of Wall Street, traitors to the working class. In consistency with this role they stand in the front ranks of the red-baiters and spit their venom at the Trotskyist champions of labor.

Wherever the workers engage in militant struggle against the bosses to maintain or better their conditions, the Stalinists and their yellow press howl that the strike has been "engineered" by the Trotskyists. Playing all the variations of the red-baiters' theme, they vilify, slander and defame their revolutionary opponents, incite to lynch action against all militant workers, and call upon the authorities to clap them in jail.

In the mouths of the lying Stalinists every labor militant is *ipso facto* a "Trotskyist," just as in the mouths of the old-time red-baiters he was a "Communist." This is the essence of the method of the red-baiters, the method by which he attempts to confuse the workers, prejudice them against union militants, and hound them from the ranks.

Red-baiting is a weapon of reaction. By means of it the Stalinists serve the aim of the exploiters in dividing and weakening the working class. These scoundrelly tools of the bosses must be exposed for what they are: red-baiters—1944 model.

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.

Steel Wage Delay

Editor:

After nine months of delay, the steel workers case is still being kicked around by the government agencies in Washington. This delay is being supported by the refusal of the labor lieutenants to take a militant stand and rescind the no-strike pledge.

After the WLB panel heard volumes of words, it hatched a few findings. The main one was that the cost of living has gone up between 25 and 43 percent—A FACT EVERY WORKER KNEW. This panel made no recommendations to the WLB to whom it gave the facts.

The OPA, another one of the government agencies, which has been controlling prices for the benefit of the big boys, injected itself into the debate by showing that the hourly wage rates could be raised without an increase in steel prices. This would be under the condition that the raise would take effect when the workers would go on the 40 hour week. This proposal would mean that the workers would take a 10 to 20 percent weekly wage cut. It would also mean that the workers would get no back pay as they have been working the 48 hour week and would not be entitled to any retroactive pay.

To add to this barrage of anti-union pressure, James Byrnes, the economic stabilizer, reiterates that we must "hold the line" as in the past.

This game of stalling until the European war ceases or eases—when cut-backs will be over 40 percent and several million workers will be unemployed—is causing great disillusionment among the workers in their leadership. This delay is supported

and made possible only because of the actions of the collaborationist leadership of the unions headed by Murray.

When Murray says that the workers "could not and will not be asked to tolerate" any delay in the settlement of their demands, he but strives to fool the workers further. His record of flying from one convention to the other to suppress the demands of the militant workers against the no-strike policy stands to prove that he is not willing to fight it out with the steel barons. The militant workers in steel, as well as the workers in general, are losing their confidence in their leadership. They will forge a new leadership in the coming period that will adopt a militant and independent class policy instead of the policy of class collaboration. This new leadership will have to break with the two old boss parties and launch a campaign for an independent labor party based on the unions. By this means the workers will be able to pose directly what shall be done in the period when mass unemployment sets in.

Armed with a program that will meet the needs of the workers to find security and happiness, and backing up this program with a militant independent policy on the economic and political fronts, the steel workers will be able to settle accounts with the steel barons.

A. N.
Youngstown, Ohio

Correction

Editor:

The article in last week's issue on "Background of the Revolutionary Situation in France" con-

tains a factual error. The government of Pierre Laval did not capitulate before the show of Fascist force on February 6, 1934, as the article states. M. Edouard Daladier was Premier at the time. His government gave way to the Fascist attack and was replaced by the semi-bonapartist regime of Gaston Doumergue.

Frank Lawrence

Praises Article

Editor:

I read and reread with delight the article written by a Negro worker who recently joined the Trotskyist party that appeared in *The Militant* of Oct. 7 in the column on "The Negro Struggle."

It was beautifully written and portrayed very vividly, the heightened, exalted feeling a worker (colored or white) experiences when after a hard and prolonged inner struggle, he finally succeeds in breaking through the mountains of lies and hypocrisy and age-old prejudices which confuse and weigh so heavily on the minds of present-day suffering humanity. What vast freedom gained! Yes, in our epoch, the highest peak of human culture can be reached only by class conscious revolutionists.

I am only afraid that many readers (especially the new ones) might have missed this fine article either because they didn't acquire the habit of reading "The Negro Struggle" column or for some other reasons. May I therefore suggest that the editors reprint this article at some appropriate occasion and call the attention of its readers to it.

H. G.
New York

INTERNATIONAL NOTES

CUBA

Testifying to the growing influence of Trotskyism, two candidates of the Workers' Revolutionary Party, Trotskyist organization in Cuba, received 1,560 votes in a write-in campaign for mayor and councilman at Guanatanamo last June.

According to the party organ, *Revolucion Proletaria*, the campaign was conducted in an impoverished working-class section where a large percentage of the workers cannot read or write. They can vote only when it is possible for them to mark a prepared ballot paper with a cross. It is believed that the Trotskyist vote would have been much larger if the party had been able to secure a regular place on the ballot.

CHILE

Here, too, Trotskyism is a growing movement. A new branch of the Workers' Leninist League was formed recently in the city of Chillan, according to the August 15 issue of *Lucha Obrera*, Chilean Trotskyist paper. The new branch consists of experienced revolutionists, former members of the Communist and Socialist parties, all active in the trade union movement. The WLL also reports significant membership gains in Santiago, the capital, and at Nunoa.

PERU

A general strike broke out in Peru the last week in September, according to a dispatch to the *N. Y. Times* from Panama. While the number of participants was not stated, the brief report said that the strike was in protest against the high cost of living resulting from inflation and was accompanied by demonstrations of workers demanding relief.

BELGIUM

While the American censorship maintains a blackout of news from "liberated" Belgium and all but military correspondents are still barred from Brussels, the British press gives an inkling of what has been happening in that country the past month, since the return to the capital of the Belgian government-in-exile. The still hazy pattern is a familiar one.

The Manchester Guardian of Sept. 15 reveals that the first problem given attention by the government was the disarming of the partisan bands which resisted the Nazis during the German occupation of the country.

"In all liberated countries," wrote the paper's military correspondent in London, "there is an

obvious danger that arms which have ceased to be necessary against the Germans may in some hands menace the security of the civilian community and add to the difficulties of maintaining order."

The "security of the civilian community" means, just as in the case of Italy and France, the security of capitalist rule which is menaced by the armed masses who are determined that they will not permit the outlived and reactionary capitalist order to survive. The Belgian partisans have fought and sacrificed themselves to the old system of capitalist slavery with its unemployment and hunger.

But the masses are not prepared to submit. The Stalinist paper in Brussels, reports the London Observer, proclaims that the Belgian people "do not want to go back to the old order, as if nothing had changed." They are opposed to the return of the monarchy and do not intend to disarm as long as the old reactionary royalist-capitalist clique remains in power.

PORTUGAL

In Portugal, as in so many other European countries, the masses are stirring restlessly. Although formally a neutral as between the Axis and the Anglo-American war camps, Portugal's economy has been profoundly affected by the war. The masses have been plunged into conditions of appalling misery.

The reactionary dictatorial government of Salazar, close ally of British imperialism, is wobbling unsteadily like the bloody Franco regime in neighboring Spain.

"Trouble is brewing in Portugal," the London Tribune reported Sept. 10. "A rigid censorship—more rigid almost than that of any other nation—prevents the leakage of news unfavorable to Dictator Salazar. Yet the recent reshuffle of his government and the speeches made by the newly-appointed ministers clearly indicate that something is afoot of which we are not allowed to learn the details."

The paper states that most of the New Cabinet members are comparatively young men, and include a number of officers who won Salazar's favor "through the ruthlessness" with which they suppressed strikes and other manifestations of popular unrest last year.

The new War Minister, Col. Ferdinando Santos da Costa, in an address to his ministerial staff, said: "I can promise the country that the Army is firmly deter-

Class Solidarity

Wall Street and London bankers have just intervened with pleas for clemency for Vincenzo Azzolini, former governor of the Bank of Italy, who is going on trial this week charged with collaborating with the Nazis and turning over 117 tons of his bank's gold to them. Resentment of the Italian masses is running so high against Azzolini and the other capitalist collaborators that even elements like Count Carlo Sforza have been compelled to speak out against these "efforts from abroad to interfere with Italian justice."

The American and British workers can learn from this example of the international class solidarity of the capitalists how workers everywhere must also join hands in defense of their class interests against world capitalism.

ined to do its duty in fighting wherever it may be necessary to defend our national honor and, within the country, in smashing any attempt that may threaten the nation's revival, upset public order, or attack the principles and achievements of the national revolution."

These words of warning and threat are clearly directed against the popular masses who are getting ready to overthrow the Salazar dictatorship. As the *Trifun* reports: "One of the things amiss in Portugal is the people's desire for freedom and the ruthless suppression of this desire by the dictatorship. Another thing amiss is the people's hunger and misery."

AUSTRIA

Swiss reports picked up last week by the London radio declared that uprisings against the Nazis had broken out in Vienna and other parts of Austria. In the industrial district of Steyr, workers were on strike and carrying out considerable sabotage. The Nazis, it was stated, are using stern repressive measures and there have been "casualties and arrests."

In fighting now against the Nazis the Austrian masses disprove the lying innuendo of Eisenhower and the Moscow gang that they ever supported the Nazi tyranny of which they were the victims. They fought to prevent the Nazis from coming to power and they have waited long years for an opportunity to free themselves from its brutal yoke.

Admiral Claims Profiteer Shipowners Are 'Abused'

Vice Admiral Emory S. Land, War Shipping Administrator, who once declared that "all union organizers should be shot at sunrise," has a bleeding heart for the down-trodden steamship plutocrats who have "kept 'em moving" with the "blood, sweat and tears" of the merchant seamen.

Speaking before a noon-day crowd from the steps of the Customs House in New York recently, Admiral Land called the steamship operators "the most abused of all industries." The worthy Admiral, who divides his energies between lording over lush contracts to the shipping companies and attempting to put the knife into the union rights of the seamen, did not elaborate on the nature of the "abuse" to which the steamship moguls have been subjected.

The ship operators, with the direct connivance of Admiral Land and the Maritime Commission, have been "abused" to the extent of running up war profits in some instances to several thousand per cent of pre-war "earnings." Last March, Senator Aiken placed in the *Congressional Record* a startling exposure of the profits of the steamship lines (See *The Militant*, April 15, 1944). He charged:

"An investigation would reveal that unconscionable profits have been made through the payment by the Commission for almost worthless vessels at 13 to 16 times their legal valuation. Investigations would further reveal that ships have been sunk at sea which were insured as high as 64 times their legal valuation as determined by the Maritime Commission itself."

A typical case recited by Aiken was the "81 vessels chartered to carry lend-lease to the Red Sea." They made a total of 90 voyages "and the profit on these voyages amounted to \$26,874,186.70, or about three times the value of the vessels themselves." Pity the "most abused" ship owners!

Corporation Black Market Revealed By Legislators

We read a lot about the black market and occasional arrests of two-bit racketeers selling illegal gas coupons or engaging in similar small-fry operations. But the real black market, involving illicit profits on a giant scale, is being engaged in by the "legitimate businessmen," that is, the big corporations.

No less a giant industrial enterprise than the Firestone Tire and Rubber Company has been cited by the Office of Price Administration for a large-scale black market venture in tires. The facts were brought to light recently in the Senate by Senator Wagner of New York.

It seems that the Firestone interests, not satisfied with the monumental profits they have been extracting through war orders, have been supplying their dealers with big quantities of "hot" tires through the use of illegal certificates.

Another example of criminal practices was cited by Congressman Cochran of Missouri, who reported the disclosure of a dairy specialist of the Missouri Department of Agriculture that some of the big dairy interests were providing watered milk to the army. "The government pays subsidies on a pound rather than a butter fat basis. Thus, the more water in the milk, the bigger the check."

There was scarcely a word in the big business press about the criminal activities of such a rich corporation as Firestone. But when army supply officials claimed a shortage of tires for military purposes a couple of months ago—shortages due in part to the siphoning off of rubber supplies in the form of "hot" tires—a slanderous howl was raised about the Akron rubber workers "slowing up production."

Ford Aide Helped Finance Fascist Gerald L. K. Smith

What class does fascism serve? Who provides the resources for the fascist movements? From what group does the real threat of fascism in America come?

A partial answer to these burning questions was revealed last week by Gerald L. K. Smith, funder of the fascist America First Party, in his testimony before the White House Campaign Expenditures Committee.

Labor-baiting, red-baiting anti-Semite Smith disclosed that one of his financial sponsors was Harry Bennett, Henry Ford's right-hand man.

In 1939, Bennett slipped this would-be American Hitler \$2,000 to finance his anti-union propaganda over the radio as part of the Ford campaign to prevent unionization of the huge River Rouge plants. Bennett also provided Smith with introductions to other automotive industry big shots.

At that time Smith had recently arrived in Detroit following his \$650 per week career as a chief lieutenant of Louisiana dictator Huey Long. Bennett, of course, tries to explain now that "I do not support Smith's political beliefs." His money was provided Smith for the purposes "only" of fighting "communism and labor racketeering."

By "communism and labor racketeering" Bennett means and meant the legitimate organization of the Ford workers into a union of their own choosing. Ford fought unionism for years with his storm troops, called the "Service Department," the largest private armed force in the world.

It is interesting to note that Hitler and Mussolini also got their start on funds provided by the big capitalists, not for "political purposes," mind you, but to fight "communism and labor racketeering." That is, for strikebreaking and smashing labor unions and parties.

The truth is, that the bireling demagogues, like Smith, are financed precisely to carry out the main political purpose of the bosses themselves: the crushing of the organized labor movement, the destruction of all democratic rights of the working class, the establishment of naked capitalist dictatorship. That is why the Bennetts today finance the fascists—and why tomorrow, when the capitalist class of America finds it necessary, many more big capitalists will be pouring funds into the native fascist movement.