

CURTISS-WRIGHT CAUGHT REDHANDED

CIO Board Tries To Stop Labor Party Movement

By John Adamson

The National Executive Board of the CIO held a special meeting in Washington July 7-10, shortly after the enactment by Congress of the Smith-Connally "slave labor" Act. Militants all over the country, who were anxiously awaiting the decisions of this important labor body, were sorely disappointed.

The CIO bureaucracy served notice in this board meeting that they are rejecting the demands of the rank and file members, that they are going to wage a head-on fight against the most militant and advanced sections of the CIO membership.

All progressive sections of the CIO unions were eagerly looking to the CIO Executive Board to speak out in favor of launching an independent party of labor. Their growing distrust of the Democratic and Republican parties has been raised to a new height by the passage of the infamous anti-strike law.

The Michigan CIO convention, held a week prior to the CIO Executive Board meeting, adequately and correctly expressed the aspirations of the ranks of the CIO. Despite the bitter opposition of the top CIO officials and the furious denunciations of the Stalinists, they called for the launching of an independent labor party.

This demand of the membership found little response in the CIO Board meeting. Samuel Wolchak, president of the United Retail and Wholesale Workers, was the only Board member to even suggest the idea. And his proposal for the building of a national labor party was swamped by the opposition of the rest of the Board members. Murray declared that "now was not the time" to build a labor party.

R. J. Thomas attacked the proposal at length, although a majority of his own union membership had voted for this measure at the Michigan CIO convention. Thomas brought out the fact that under Michigan law, unlike New York State, it is not possible for a labor party to run on its own ticket candidates of the Democratic Party. This appeared to Thomas a good argument against the proposal to launch an independent labor party in the state of Michigan.

The unionists of Michigan, however, when they launch their independent labor party, will want to break decisively and completely, not only with the Republican Party but with the Democratic Party as well. The workers of Michigan will want a labor party, not as a cheap bargaining device to horse-trade with the two capitalist parties, but as a fighting representative of the working class.

The action of the Board in setting up a political committee under the chairmanship of Sidney Hillman and the calling of labor conferences to discuss the CIO role in the coming election campaigns is not a step in the direc-

tion of labor's independent political action. Its purpose is to head it off and to deliver labor's vote to the Democratic Party machine.

WELSH ON PROMISE

The Board passed a resolution calling for a conference of the CIO, AFL and the Railroad Brotherhoods. This call is not for the purpose of using labor's independent strength, nor is it for the purpose of fighting the infamous "wage freeze." On the contrary, the resolution calls "for a complete mobilization of the people in support of the war program of our Commander-in-Chief, Franklin D. Roosevelt."

The Board reaffirmed the no-strike pledge in the face of the labor baiting in Congress and the passage of the anti-strike bill. Emil Rieve and George Baldanzi, president and vice-president respectively of the United Textile Workers Union, were denounced by the Board members when they objected to the resolution which condemned John L. Lewis and reaffirmed the no-strike pledge.

Murray launched an especially vicious attack on the Michigan CIO convention and mysteriously hinted at outside influences at work. The Board rounded out its record of capitulation and betrayal by winking on its previous promise to fight for wage increases and the scrapping of the "Little Steel formula."

When Roosevelt first announced his program to rollback prices, Murray fixed a deadline. If by July 15, prices were not rolled back to the level of September 15, 1942, he said that the CIO would then reject the "Little Steel formula" and begin the fight for wage increases.

July 15 has come and gone; prices, instead of having been rolled back, are rising daily. The very week in which the Board was meeting, the OPA announced price increases in several different items. Congress has rejected grade labeling. But the resolution passed by the Board still repeats the same mealy-mouthed phrases about the necessity of rolling back prices.

The CIO top bureaucrats have fully demonstrated by their actions that they are the agents of the war machine inside the labor movement. The militants will have to fight this bureaucracy in their efforts to win wage increases and to regain the independence of the labor movement.

Militants Must Continue Fight For Labor Party

An Editorial

Since the 1942 elections, the workers of New York, New Jersey and Michigan have demonstrated in the most unambiguous manner that they want to launch an independent party of labor. The most recent example was provided at the Michigan CIO convention. The convention supported the building of an independent labor party, despite the furious protests and attacks of the top CIO officials and the vitriolic hysteria of the Stalinists.

The national CIO Executive Board meeting last week in Washington ignored these demands of the rank and file and opposed the formation of an independent labor party.

The action of the Board in setting up a political committee under the chairmanship of Sidney Hillman is not a step in the direction of independent political action of labor. It is designed to head off the movement for independent political action.

The labor bureaucrats have revealed their true colors. They know that the launching of an independent labor party would signalize a break between labor and Roosevelt. They know that the launching of an independent labor party would speed the fight to regain the independence of the labor movement, on the economic as well as on the political field. These bureaucrats fear such a development like the plague itself. They are clinging to Roosevelt

for dear life, as an insurance for their safety, as protection against their own rank and file. James Lucas, president of the Pontiac UAW local, hit the nail on the head recently when he wrote that these labor bureaucrats "are just as much interested in crushing the legitimate aspirations of the workers as the corporations themselves."

The fight for an independent labor party is thus a fight against the whole policy of cowardice and surrender of the Murrys, Greens and the Stalinists.

The militant unionists of the Michigan CIO who spurned the worthless advice of the top CIO officials will undoubtedly spurn the pronouncement of the CIO Executive Board. They will proceed along the lines which they have charted at the Michigan CIO convention. They will launch an independent labor party if the Michigan locals approve it in the referendum vote.

The unionists of Michigan built the largest, the most militant, the most democratic, the most powerful union in the world, without the help of the Murrys and Greens. They built their unions by aggressive class battles against the bosses and all their agents. They will have to build their independent party of labor in the same way.

Coal Miners Threatened With Anti-Strike Law

By E. R. Frank

The coal fields were gripped with tension this week as a federal grand jury was ordered to reconvene on July 14 to investigate the insurgent strikes now in progress in Western Pennsylvania. The government seems ready to invoke the Smith-Connally Act against the coal miners. The coal operators of Western Pennsylvania demanded governmental action last week against the insurgent strikers. After a hurried telephonic conference with Attorney General Biddle, Federal District Attorney Charles Uhl immediately asked for the calling together of the

overt acts." This statement must be coupled with the fact that under the Smith-Connally Act, it is a criminal offense to "coerce, instigate, induce, conspire with or encourage any person to interfere by lockout, strike, slowdown or other interruption with the operations of plants in possession of the government." Any

person found guilty may be imprisoned for one year and fined \$5,000. The Policy Committee of the United Mine Workers called off the third coal strike on June 22. But it was a week to ten days before the great majority of the

It was predicted that district and local officials of the United Mine Workers will be called before the grand jury for questioning in order to determine whether these officials are actually putting forth a sincere effort to get the insurgent miners back to work.

OPA officials, who have not made much progress in keeping down prices in the mine areas, are now busy checking up on the use of gasoline by coal strikers with a view to lifting their gas cards.

OMINOUS PROMISE

Federal authorities also promised that "law enforcement officials will be expected to make arrests of persons committing

threats against the insurgent strikers are increasing hourly. Federal agents are touring the mine fields, preparing reports to present to the grand jury. One federal official predicted that there will be "fireworks aplenty soon." Attorney General Biddle has demanded a complete report on the strike movement.

CRDC CALLS FOR ACTION IN KELLY POSTAL PARDON DRIVE

The Civil Rights Defense Committee this week gave the go-ahead signal to its local branches in the opening of the nationwide campaign to win an unconditional pardon for Kelly Postal, secretary-treasurer of Minneapolis Teamsters Local 544-CIO, who last month began serving a five-year sentence on a frameup charge arising out of his trade union activities.

The efforts of the CRDC branches will be directed along the following lines:

1. Appeals to trade union organizations to adopt resolutions protesting the Kelly Postal frameup and calling on Governor Ed Thye, St. Paul, Minn., to pardon him. Similar appeals will be directed to liberal, fraternal, Negro, religious and other groups. The national office of the CRDC requests that it be sent copies of the resolutions adopted.

2. Circulation of petitions for individual signatures in local unions, clubs, factories and wherever else workers and liberals gather. The filled-out petitions will be returned to the CRDC national office at regular intervals and presented by it to Governor Thye. In addition requests will be made for individual letters to be sent directly to the Governor.

OTHER PLANS

Besides coordinating these activities of the local branches, the national office of the CRDC will carry on special activities under its direct supervision. These will include appropriate publicity; the mobilization of support from defense, labor and liberal organ-

izations; the circulation of petitions among special groups such as writers, artists, intellectuals, labor leaders, clergymen, etc.

The CRDC will require a sizable sum of money to defray the expenses of this pardon campaign, and to provide relief for Postal and his sick wife while he is in prison. The local branches will therefore continue their money-raising activities along the same general lines as in the past.

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Endangered Soldiers' Lives By Selling Government Defective Plane Engines

Truman Report Charges That Army Officials Aided Corporation In Covering Up Crimes Committed to Sell Huge War Profits

By Anthony Massini

Curtiss-Wright Corporation, holder of the second largest war contracts in the country, is the latest in the growing list of powerful corporations and monopolies caught red-handed in a conspiracy to add to their already huge profits by endangering the lives and safety of the men in the armed forces.

Furthermore, the corporation's delivery to the government of sub-standard and defective engines and material for the planes of the Army Air Forces, was aided, abetted and

covered up by important Army officials, according to the Truman Senate Committee which revealed the details in a report on July 10.

The Truman report shows that profits and not the patriotic sentiments expressed in advertisements are the first concern of Curtiss-Wright. Its officials want to win the war; they don't seek to deliberately kill or maim the men who use their war products. But far more important to them is the coining of more and more profits at a faster and faster rate, regardless of the consequences to the welfare of the workers in the plants and of the servicemen in battle.

The speed with which government officials and powerful newspapers have rushed to the defense of Curtiss-Wright is an admission that its outlook is shared by Big Business as a whole. The Truman report therefore constitutes a damning indictment not only of Curtiss-Wright and the other companies engaging in similar

Crime and 'Punishment'

Two days after the publication of the Truman report on the Curtiss-Wright scandal, the Department of Justice announced the closing of its case against the Sandusky Foundry and Machinery Company of Sandusky, Ohio, on charges similar to those lodged against Curtiss-Wright.

The company and its officials had pleaded guilty to faking its tests and selling the government sub-standard propeller sleeves for use in Navy vessels.

Federal Judge Frank L. Kloeb let them off with a fine of \$80,000.

There's hardly a single sailor or in the U. S. Navy who will agree that the punishment fitted the crime.

criminal practices but of the entire capitalist class.

GREED FOR PROFITS

At the end of 1939 Curtiss-Wright had a net worth of 81 million dollars. Its war contracts up to March 1 of this year amounted to 4½ billion dollars, on which it will make a profit of hundreds of millions of dollars. The government has spent additional millions creating new facilities for the corporation; the government-subsidized Wright Aeronautical Corporation plant at Lockland, Ohio, was the scene of the criminal practices cited by the Truman committee.

But what are a few hundred million dollars to a corporation? Like their brother-patriots of U. S. Steel, Anaconda Wire and

Cable, etc., the Wright officials decided to increase their profits by selling faulty products to the government. According to the Truman report, the corporation got the government to accept these products by:

Falsifying tests; destroying records; improperly recording results of tests; forging inspection reports; failing to segregate and destroy or mutilate defective material; changing tolerances allowed on parts; skipping inspection operations, etc. Inspectors who complained were intimidated or transferred.

EFFECT ON PLANES

The result, according to the report, was:

"Engines were built and sold to the government which were leaking gasoline. . . . Unsafe material has been discovered in completed engines ready for shipment."

"The company's own reports from its field representatives indicate that these parts had failed in a substantial number of cases. . . . A substantial number of airplanes using this engine have had crashes in which engine failures were involved. . . ."

"More than 25% of the engines built at the plant have consistently failed in one or more major parts during a 3-hour test run. . . . Spare parts were shipped without proper inspection. . . ."

WHITEWASH REPORTS

The Truman Committee got complaints about the Lockland plant last January. But first it gave the Army Air Forces and the corporation an opportunity to investigate the charges. Yet both the military authorities and corporation officials stated after these investigations that "nothing irregular existed."

In April the Truman Commit-

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C.P. Forces Push Fink Policy at NMU Convention

By ELOISE BLACK

The National Maritime Union, CIO, concluded its fourth national convention in New York City this week after having adopted a thorough-going Stalinist trade union line of collaboration with the bosses and unqualified support of the Roosevelt administration. An overwhelming majority of hand-picked delegates, and an entrenched Stalinist leadership, guaranteed in advance that the critical problems facing the labor movement today would not be taken up, and that the sentiments of the rank-and-file seamen would not find much expression on the floor of this convention.

President Joe Curran, Stalinist boss of the NMU, set the tone of the convention by his opening address in which he shoved into the background all consideration of wages and working conditions and declared the main work of the convention to be the furtherance of the war program.

THE GUEST SPEAKERS

An endless stream of guest speakers, many of whose previous acquaintance with the maritime workers has been entirely limited to their experience as agents of the shipowners, paraded across the platform, monopolizing a major part of the convention proceedings, limiting discussion by the delegates to a minimum.

One of the first acts of the convention was the reaffirmation of the no-strike pledge. In presenting the no-strike resolution, Frederick Meyers, NMU vice-president, absolved Roosevelt of any responsibility for the mass of union-busting legislation that has been passed by Congress. "Our Commander-in-Chief," he said, "repeatedly reaffirmed his confidence in the no-strike pledge, most recently in his veto statement on the Smith-Connally bill."

Referring vaguely to the pre-

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Stalinists Come Out In Support Of Boss Hague

The Capitalist and Liberal Newspapers Break Out in a Ruck of Moral Indignation

By George Breitman

Despite the hubbub it created in the capitalist and liberal press last week, the Communist Party's declaration of support for Boss Frank Hague in New Jersey represented nothing essentially new.

The fact is that the Stalinists have been supporting Hague for something like two years now — since Hitler's invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941 to be exact. They supported Hague's candidates in the November, 1942 elections.

What is "new" about the situation is that: 1. the Stalinists have now thrown all cautious formulations to the wind and make no bones about their support of the corrupt politician who said only a few years ago that all Reds should be deported to Alaska; and 2. the anti-Roosevelt capitalists and anti-Stalinist liberals have seized on the latest C.P. declaration for the purpose of advancing their own political ends.

HOW ISSUE WAS RAISED

The Stalinist statement was precipitated by the increased demands within labor's ranks for the creation of an independent labor party in a number of important industrial states. The Stalinists have exerted all their energies to discourage and sabotage all labor party movements, but they have suffered either

partial or complete defeats in the Michigan and New Jersey unions.

The chief Stalinist argument against launching a labor party is that it would weaken the Democratic Party and thus strengthen the Republicans. Unfortunately for the Stalinists, this false argument does not fool or frighten many union militants in New Jersey where Hague is "the law" in the Democratic Party and where the CIO has had many bitter fights with him and his anti-labor tools.

That is the reason why the Stalinists are driven to the explanation that "so-called Hagueism is not the issue." The new and crass expression of their pro-Hague orientation arises not so much from the Communist Party's love of a political boss who has persecuted it ever since it was

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New Book By James P. Cannon Is Ready For Distribution

Pioneer Publishers announced this week that James P. Cannon's book, "The Struggle For A Proletarian Party," is off the press and ready for distribution. This is a companion volume to Leon Trotsky's "In Defense of Marxism," published last year. Contained in these two volumes is the basic documentation of the struggle against the petty-bourgeois opposition led by Burnham-Shachtman-Abern which took place in the Socialist Workers Party three years ago.

Cannon's book runs to more

than 300 pages and is packed with the richest material. It contains in the first section a summary of the whole struggle. The second section provides in letter form almost a day-to-day chronology of the struggle. Then follows a section in which are included the official documents of the party relating to the struggle. The appendix contains "The War and Bureaucratic Conservatism," which gives the organizational principles of the revisionists in their own words. The volume is annotated throughout and has an excellent index.

Despite the considerable in-

crease in paper and printing cost, Pioneer Publishers have succeeded in making this book available at the same price as Trotsky's book: clothbound \$2.00; paper cover \$1.50.

Many inquiries and advance orders have been received not only from all parts of the country but from abroad. The publishers predict a brisk sale of this volume, which together with Trotsky's book, comprises the most important recent contribution to the theory and practice of Marxism. Place your order with Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.

TRADE UNION NOTES

By E. R. Frank

AFL and CIO unions, representing approximately 1,100,000 shipyard workers in 188 yards, are demanding wage increases of the War Labor Board.

John Green, President of the Marine and Shipbuilding Workers, CIO, reported that his union is demanding a 9% basic wage increase and a postwar payment of 5% which the workers were entitled to but did not receive in the 1942 agreement.

The shipyard workers have been badly rooted in the last two years. They are getting fed up.

In the 1941, the ship stabilization program, drafted under the direction of Sidney Hillman, then co-director of the OPM, was accepted by the shipyard unions. This program tied wages to living costs and guaranteed the shipyard workers wage increases to compensate for any rise in prices.

The unions were thus legally entitled to a 15% wage increase in 1942. The top bureaucrats surrendered this legal right in compliance with a telegraphic request from President Roosevelt. They accepted Roosevelt's proposal of a flat eight cent increase along with the promise that he would stabilize prices.

Now the shipyard workers are convinced that they have been tricked two years running. Feeling is running pretty high. That is why the top union officials are demanding wage increases beyond the "Little Steel formula."

The Dubinsky-Hillman and the Stalinist groups of New York's American Labor Party are engaged in a bitter factional fight. Each side is running a full slate of candidates in the coming primary elections in New York city scheduled for August 10.

The average rank and file ALP member must have a hard time trying to choose between the two factions. Both are lined up behind a "pro-Roosevelt, no-strike pledge, support of the WLB" program.

The St. Louis joint council of the United Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Employees, CIO, adopted a resolution at its last meeting which declared that "labor is sick and tired of depending upon so-called friends in public office who are, in fact, only tools of the reactionary forces." The council went on record "as favoring the immediate formation of an independent party of labor and working farmers."

William Latal, chairman of the council, proposed the calling of a conference of CIO, AFL and Railroad Brotherhood delegates to launch such a party to participate in the 1944 elections. Latal stated that working farmers as opposed to big landlords would be invited to join.

It begins to look like the AFL big shots are lining up to accept the United Mine Workers back into the Federation. Daniel Tobin, chairman of the committee of three appointed to confer with the miners' representatives, writes in the July issue of the *International Teamster*: "As one member of the committee having to do with the bringing back of the Mine Workers, I shall do my best to bring back the Mine Workers or the CIO. Unfortunately, there isn't much encouragement towards a coming back to the American Federation of Labor of the CIO organization."

Matthew Woll, the second member of this three-man committee, issued a statement: "I favor strongly speedy and favorable action on the miners' application."

The July 1 issue of the *United Mine Workers Journal* tells about "propaganda being generated to the effect that if Lewis had refrained from labeling the War Labor Board a 'stacked deck' and had gone along and pleaded the miners case before the Board, that maybe the Mine Workers might have secured greater consideration and additional increases."

"Such reasoning," the *Journal* states, "is pure propaganda bunk. The case of the Mine Workers was predetermined and prejudged."

"The record of the press conference held following the handing down of the directive on June 18 substantiates this conclusion."

"Question: 'Mr. Davis, could you tell us if there would have been any different procedure followed if the Mine Workers had been represented in this case?'

"Mr. Davis: 'There would have been no different procedure followed. No.'"

Discussing the case of the railroad workers, the *United Mine Workers Journal* states: "The only difference between the case of the rail workers and that of the coal miners was that the railway unions did attempt to conform to WLB procedure and policy, while the miners correctly judged that no justice could be obtained from that prejudiced body. Now railway labor knows what the miners knew all along."

The *104 Reporter*, official paper of Boilermakers Union Local 104, Seattle, Washington, states: "Seething with dissatisfaction with the passage of the infamous Smith-Connally Bill over the President's veto, officers and members alike in Boilermakers Local 104 were preparing for a long hard fight to remove the law from statute books of the U. S."

"Some leaders declared that they would head to the line set out in the Master Agreement and when these lines crossed the new anti-strike law, then they would go to jail rather than bend to that law."

The CIO, AFL Railroad Brotherhoods have joined forces in Kansas to fight the new anti-labor law. Attorneys for the three organizations asked for an injunction from the Federal Court in Kansas City against the recently passed Kansas act which restricts activities of labor unions.

Similar suits are being initiated in Colorado and Texas.

Congressman Engel has been sounding off recently about war workers earning outrageously high wages. Some are earning more money than generals in the U. S. Army, he said.

Robert F. Mintz, Connecticut CIO representative, replied: "Salaries of men in the armed forces are too low, and organized labor, which has its own sons and brothers in the armed forces, is in favor of their getting more money. But when Congressman Engel begins to compare the salaries of war workers with those of generals, it seems only fair to compare the salaries of Congressmen with generals. Representative Engel makes \$10,000 a year, compared with General Somervell's \$8,500."

Dobbs Talks To Aircraft, Steel, Rubber Workers

Youngstown

YOUNGSTOWN, Ohio, July 8—At a meeting of members and friends of the Socialist Workers Party, many of whom were steel workers, Farrell Dobbs last night analyzed the stirring events in the American labor movement in the last few months and called for the building of a labor party to meet the offensive of the native fascists and all other enemies of the working class.

"All problems of the Workers today lead to Washington and it is time for the workers to organize themselves on the political field to defend themselves with THEIR OWN organizations and not to rely on the old capitalist parties," said Dobbs. "The anti-labor Smith-Connally bill was supported nearly equally by the Democratic and Republican parties. Both parties showed their true colors and voted against the workers."

Comrade Dobbs' analysis of the miners' struggle and the lessons learned from that fight was enthusiastically received in this steel city when the rank and file steel workers were wholeheartedly for the miners.

The audience demonstrated that

St. Paul Demonstration



The above scene from a demonstration in St. Paul against the whitewash motion picture, "Mission To Moscow," shows two women carrying signs calling attention to the Dewey Commission's findings that the Moscow trials were frameups. (Reprinted with the courtesy of the St. Paul Pioneer Press.)

TROTSKYISTS PROTEST DAVIES' FRAMEUP FILM

Minneapolis

MINNEAPOLIS, Minn., July 9.—When the "Mission To Moscow" film opened here at the Century Theatre last Friday, a contingent from the Socialist Workers Party plus some friends were on hand to give the Hollywood frameup an appropriate reception.

For over two hours a most successful demonstration was held in front of the theatre. Two beautifully painted picket signs bore the legends: "Mission To Moscow" tries to whitewash Stalin's crimes against labor, and "after you've seen 'Mission To Moscow' read the truth about the Moscow trials in the report of the John Dewey Commission."

Over sixteen hundred pieces of literature were passed out. Despite the fact it was a Friday night opening at one of the first-run theatres in the heart of the loop, not more than 200 persons saw the picture. Other shows had queues half a block long. Stalinists made up a good half of the small audience.

Since the demonstration, the film has continued to flop. News of the film's true character is widespread. The SWP mailed out hundreds of leaflets exposing "Mission To Moscow" before the film opened here.

The Minneapolis daily papers, all owned by the Cowles dynasty, supporters of Willkie and Stassen,

refused to give the demonstration any publicity. But news of the action spread quickly, thousands of people witnessed the picketing, and the SWP made the record against this vicious picture in unmistakable fashion.

St. Paul

ST. PAUL, July 10.—Last night a score of members and friends of the St. Paul branch of the Socialist Workers Party demonstrated before the Paramount Theatre at the opening night of "Mission To Moscow."

A large number of copies of the tabloid, "The Truth About Mission To Moscow" and of the SWP's leaflet on the Dewey Commission's report were distributed by the demonstrators.

More attention was attracted by the demonstrators than by the film itself, which drew a very small audience.

The local paper, the *St. Paul Pioneer Press*, sent a photographer and carried a picture of demonstrators carrying signs and a description the following day.

Detroit

DETROIT, Mich., July 12.—A very effective demonstration and distribution of literature against the frameup film, "Mission To Moscow," took place last Wednesday evening in front of the Palms Theatre.

The management of the theatre was alarmed when several patrons refused to attend the movie until it was explained to both management and movie-goers that the intention of the demonstrators was not to boycott but rather to expose the lies of the film.

Hundreds of copies of "The Truth" and the report of the John Dewey Commission were distributed to Detroit theater-goers who received them in a spirit of lively interest.

the program presented by Comrade Dobbs was one with which they agreed, when they contributed \$93 to aid in the fight for its realization.

Akron

AKRON, Ohio, July 10.—Farrell Dobbs spoke to an audience of rubber and aircraft workers in this city last Sunday on the need for launching an independent labor party. The preconditions for independent political action by labor are here, he pointed out. The rumblings among the workers indicate the coming of political awakening.

There was great interest aroused in Comrade Dobbs' analysis and presentation of the views of the Socialist Workers Party on this burning issue. Many questions were asked and the discussion continued for several hours. Several Negro workers present were particularly interested in Comrade Dobbs' account of the anti-Negro terror in Detroit. The audience contributed \$58 in the collection.

Read the
Fourth International

C. P. Support Of Hague Evokes Moral Furore

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formed as from its efforts to head off the creation of a labor party.

THE C.P. THESIS

The following is the main thesis of the Stalinists, as set forth by C.P. State Secretary William Norman in the July 6 *Daily Worker*:

"... outworn conceptions, if carried over to other historical periods, can prove of incalculable harm to the cause of progress and the chief issue today, the nation's war. Such a misconception continues to exist with regard to Frank Hague and so-called Hagueism."

"The fact is that Frank Hague supports the President and the government's win-the-war policies. This is indisputable and is a major test for today."

The next day Norman explained that the Democratic Party is "split into two factions, one led by Frank Hague and the other by Governor Edison," and added: "Contrary to general belief, it is not true that Governor Edison represents the liberal wing of the Democratic Party in New Jersey." If Edison doesn't represent the liberal wing, then apparently Hague must, even though Norman won't say so in so many words.

STALINIST LOGIC

Therefore? Therefore, say the Stalinists, the "Lewistite-Trotskyite-fifth column" conspiracy to create a labor party to combat both the Republican and Democratic reactionaries must be halted and all true, honest, sincere, progressive "win-the-war" forces must lay aside their differences on secondary questions and rally behind the Democratic Party and the Hague-selected candidate for Governor in the 1943 elections.

Now you can denounce the Stalinist argument for its crudity and brazenness, but if you accept their main premise—that everything, including labor's rights and interests, must be sacrificed on behalf of the war—then you cannot argue very well against their logic.

That is why one must characterize as equally brazen the moralistic indignation that filled the editorials of the pro-war anti-Stalinists of all types.

TIMES WAXES INDIGNANT

The very principal editors of the *N. Y. Times* found it a good occasion to declare that the C.P. "has no principles of any sort, and never did have any." (July 8.)

These highly moral gentlemen—who like the Stalinists believe that labor should do all the sacrificing for the war and who are just as much opposed to the creation of a labor party as Norman is—have conveniently "forgotten" that they themselves were once bedfellows with Hague. That was in 1932 when they joined the Hudson County Hitler in plumping for Roosevelt.

Nor was that the last time the *Times* was associated with a political machine boss; they have also collaborated in recent years with Farley, whose politics are just as reactionary if not as sensationally corrupt as Hague's. The editors of the *Times* are hardly in a good position to be raising the question of principles.

The aim of the *Times* is obvious. It is today an anti-New Deal paper, and it makes a big issue of the Stalinist support of Hague because it knows that this

will help to weaken the Roosevelt machine. But what about the pro-Roosevelt liberals?

WHAT LIBERALS AVOID

There is a none-too-happy position. They can sneer at the Stalinists all they want, but the fact remains not only that Hague supports Roosevelt but that ROOSEVELT SUPPORTS HAGUE. It is no exaggeration to say that without Roosevelt's patronage Hague's machine might have been destroyed on more than one occasion in the last ten years.

The liberals pretend to be shocked by the Communist Party's latest sellout act, but what can they say about the White House which has been much more useful to Hague than the Stalinists ever can be?

The New Leader carefully avoids this question in its editorial on July 10, just as it forgets that its supporters in New Jersey campaigned—along with the Stalinists—for Hague's puppet, Senator Smathers, in the 1942 elections. The editorial is entitled "The Hague-Browder Pact"—a much easier subject for editorials than "The Eleven Year Alliance of Hague and Roosevelt."

"It is naive and foolishness," says the editorial, "to throw up one's hands in nice liberal horror everytime the Stalinists are found walking arm and arm with the Nazis or America Firsters, or are implicated in the murder of some independent left-winger, or are found making advances to corruption-ridden political bosses. The Communist movement is neither 'idealist' nor 'pro-labor.' It represents a fanatical and twisted religious sect, unprincipled, single-minded and shameless."

Apparently it is also "naive and foolishness" to expect the New Leader to denounce Roosevelt for doing the same thing that the Stalinists do.

PM'S DISTORTIONS

PM recognized the existence of the Roosevelt-Hague question, but only to skirt around it. Its editorial on July 9 reiterated the need for continuing to fight Hagueism and then concluded as follows:

"... the U. S. Justice Department is already years late in stepping into the corruption it knows to exist there [in New Jersey]. Unless something is done, it is an unfortunate fact that when the final score of the Roosevelt Administration is added up, a large black blot will have to go in for the failure to clean up the corruption of Hagueism. The President moved in the right direction when he backed and helped to put Governor Edison into office to fight Hague—but that isn't enough."

Almost everything in these three sentences by the ultra-liberal editor of PM is false; and what isn't false is distorted. They make it seem that all Roosevelt is guilty of is "failure to clean up the corruption of Hagueism." Actually, Roosevelt has actively helped to strengthen Hagueism and to protect it against its enemies. The Department of Justice sent investigators into New Jersey in 1938, and it is well known that they found plenty of the corruption which so revolts PM. But after they had spent many months collecting evidence, they were suddenly called off the job. Who was responsible for this if not Roosevelt?

REPERCUSSION IN ALP

The C.P. statement on Hague has had repercussions in New

York politics, too. Alex Rose, of the Hillman-Dubinsky wing in the American Labor Party, also issued a long statement of pious indignation.

For him and his colleagues the incident was a godsend. At present they are engaged in another of their primary squabbles with the Stalinists in the ALP, and as usual both sides find it hard to discover "issues" on the basis of which they can appeal for support. Both factions are devoted followers of Hague's pal in the White House; both have and still are engaged in alliances with Tammany Hall Democrats who can teach Hague some tricks. Most important of all, both have the same basic position on the war. The Stalinists have invented "the real issue of Dubinskyism and its support of Lewis," and Rose is glad to seize upon the issue of Hagueism.

Workers before whom the Stalinists pose as the continuators of Leninism have a right to get indignant and angry about the Stalinist endorsement of Hague, but not the cynical people whose practices are every bit as contemptible as those of the Stalinists.

Those who have correctly an-

alyzed the motive forces and social roots of Stalinism have no reason to be surprised by new stages in its degeneration. Indeed, once the Stalinists are recognized as the corrupt tools of the reactionary Stalin bureaucracy in the Soviet Union which is prepared to sacrifice the interests of workers of all countries, it is easy to predict what those next stages will be.

Trying to defend themselves against the many-sided attacks resulting from the Norman articles, the editors of the *Daily Worker* declared on July 9:

"The attitude we take toward any political force and group in the nation is not determined by what they did five or ten years ago, but by what they do today. Nor is it determined by secondary issues, but solely by the one central issue—speedy and decisive victory over the Axis."

The poll tax is by this line of reasoning relegated to the status of a secondary issue.

That is why we can predict with confidence that if the war lasts long enough, the Stalinists will openly express support for the poll taxers for the same reasons and in the same way that they are today supporting Hagueism.

Capitalism-Economy Of Planlessness And Chaos

By A. Roland

The necessities of modern war force the capitalist countries to adopt measures of planning in the spheres of production and distribution.

This kind of war-planning is even used by the reformist leaders of labor to gain the wholehearted support of the workers for the war. Every hypocritical speech of Herbert Morrison, every gilded bit of writing of Harold Laski in England, plays up and down the scale on this theme. In this country the Social Democrats have similarly imitated their English brethren in trying to assure the working class that the war is visibly bringing on socialism.

This decidedly false propaganda is being silenced completely by the obvious signs of chaos in the capitalist "planning." The market has gone badly awry. So badly that there are indignant outcries from all sides against this and that individual entrusted with the duty of keeping the price ceilings below the clouds in the sky. The head of the OPA is accused of being too weak-willed; or he is castigated for desiring to see higher prices and more profits rather than a real rollback in the cost of living. Now it is perfectly true that many of those whose duty it is to keep prices down sabotage any real effort in this direction. But to lay the blame for the chaotic state of affairs on these individuals serves rather to mask the true cause of the planlessness of the New Deal war economy.

NO PLANNING

The present economy has nothing to do with planning production of commodities. That is left to the individual or corporate owner of the means of production. Nor is there any planning of distribution. The government merely steps in after the goods reach the market, to try to set "reasonable" prices. Obviously the present war market is an inflationary one. The government buys up almost half of all the foodstuffs, and very large shares of all other commodities. The purchasing power left for the other half of produced commodities is much greater than it ever was, if we consider the amounts of money in circulation and in savings banks. Under such circumstances the government's ukases concerning prices are nothing but humble requests for co-operation from the capitalists.

The sort of cooperation the government gets is well illustrated by the meat situation. The packers know that under present conditions they can, left alone to do so, raise the prices of meats to give them even greater profits than they now gouge out of the public. They propose to take full advantage of this fact, come what may. Hence, the moment the OPA threatened to start a rollback, the packers went on strike. They refused to buy from the farmers the animals ready for slaughter. The farmers in turn prefer not to sell when they feel that prices will soon go higher. The result is an enormous surplus of cattle on the farms and ranges, an enormous deficit of meat in the city markets.

This state of affairs at once affects other sectors of farm economy. The demand for feed increases far beyond normal, etc., etc. The same kind of "sit-down" strike occurs when the attempt is

made to roll back milk and cheese prices.

When miners strike, the government uses every club to drive them back into the pits. But the same government seems perfectly helpless to deal with a capitalist sit-down. It cannot step in, apparently, to force sales at the set price. The system based on the making of private profits will not permit the government to interfere drastically with the profit motive. If the capitalist producer feels that the open, legitimate market does not offer sufficient "reward" for his "efforts," then he resorts to the black market and thereby nullifies even the small efforts of his own government to regulate the war economy.

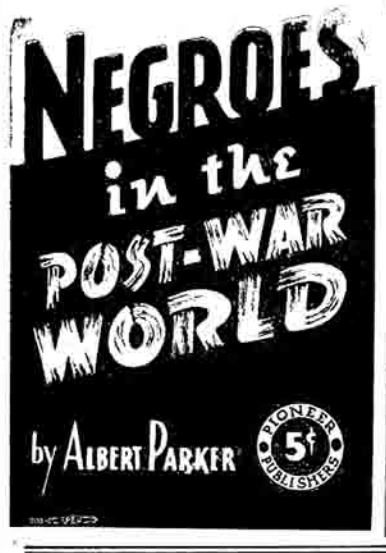
ROOSEVELT'S "SOLUTION"

Sooner than interfere with the "individual initiative" of selling goods for the highest possible profit, the government of Roosevelt and the New Deal sees a better solution to the problem of inflation. Deprive the masses of a big slice of their purchasing power. That can be done in two ways: keep wages fixed while prices continue to rise; take away as much as possible from wage-earners and salaried workers in taxes. The contrast of treatment of the capitalist ruling class on the one hand, and the workers on the other, has become so glaring as to anger all who work to earn a living.

It is this glaring contradiction in treatment, and the utter inability of the capitalist government to prevent chaos in the economy, that is rapidly bringing new demands to the front. More and more the idea that the government should nationalize certain industries comes to the fore. Why not nationalize the packing monopolies? And why not the coal mines of the country? The government could then run the industry for use instead of for profit, for the benefit of the workers in the industry rather than for the few individual owners.

It is naive to think for one moment that a capitalist government like that of Roosevelt would take over industries for this purpose. But a movement in the trade unions and among the masses to demand nationalization of several key industries, would quickly educate the toilers politically. They would learn that real planning is impossible so long as private profits determine the productive process. They would learn that a capitalist government, which is one that recognizes the right to profits, could not nationalize any industry for the sake of planning it from the point of view of production and consumption. The workers would learn in this school that only a political party of the workers relying to their cause the small farmers, could, if given the power, take over industry and run it in a planned fashion for the benefit of the toilers.

The alternative, if the workers do not build their own labor party, is to see the continuation of the present chaos and the placing of the heaviest burdens of the war on the shoulders of the masses of poor people. It is the workers who will suffer the most of all from the continuation of the chaotic, planless economy of the New Deal.



The Negro Struggle

By David Ransom

March-On-Washington Movement Convention

Out of the reports on the Constitutional Convention of the March-On-Washington Movement held in Chicago last week, Negro militants can piece together a picture which is far from flattering to the present leadership of the organization and not at all encouraging for the future of the MOWM.

There is a growing recognition of the fact that a major portion of the responsibility for the whole rotten system of Jim Crow and its most vile expression, the recent wave of anti-Negro lynch assaults, lies with the government, itself. The convention showed it understood this when it declared: "The cause of these riots is not Hitler but the policy of Jim Crow, segregation, discrimination, in and by the government and in education, housing, recreation, amusement, before the courts, in the armed forces, and defense industry."

From the support which the government gives to the Jim Crow system in war as well as peace flow such reactionary consequences as the recent anti-Negro terror. The leadership of the MOWM understood also that the reactionary consequences of the war being waged by Roosevelt reach beyond the domestic scene. As A. Philip Randolph, leader of the MOWM, stated at the mass meeting which concluded the convention: "But be not deceived. This is not a war for freedom. It is not a war for democracy. It is not a war to usher in the century of the common man. It is not a people's revolution. It is a war to maintain the old imperialism. It is a war to continue white supremacy and the subjugation, domination, and exploitation of the people of color. It is a war between the imperialism of fascism and the imperialism of monopoly capitalistic democracy. Under neither are the colored natives free."

But when it comes to drawing conclusions from such statements as these, Randolph begins to blow hot and cold. With one breath he informs the world that the Roosevelt regime is responsible for the plight of the Negro people at home; that it intends to continue the enslavement of colonial peoples abroad. In the next breath, without batting an eyelash, he tells the Negro people that precisely because of the war they must embrace and support the government which keeps them in the prison of Jim Crow!

The Stalinists also support the Roosevelt war program 100%; their support of it compels them to sell out the Negro people and the labor movement every minute of the day. Does Randolph really think he can run both ways at the same time? That he can lead the Negro people in a struggle against the government at the very moment when he is telling them to support the government because it is conducting a war which incidentally is "not a war for freedom"?

While Randolph's position does not appear to make sense, it does explain why his militancy is limited to talk and not to action, and why he is unable to provide a program of action which can guide the Negro people in a life-and-death struggle against the Jim Crow system and the government which upholds it.

The convention went on record in favor of the method of direct mass action, such as local marches, picket lines, demonstration and other means of effectively mobilizing the Negro masses to struggle. Delegates from St. Louis told how effective the mass picket line demonstrations were in forcing war industries to let down the bars to Negro workers. Yet the great emphasis at the convention was put by the leaders on the so-called "technique of non-violent, good-will direct action."

This philosophy of passive resistance and good will, while Detroit still echoed with the sound of mass murder, met with objection from rank and file worker delegates.

One of them wisely pointed out: "We didn't build our unions that way. When the strikebreakers and cops attacked our picket lines, then we had to fight to defend ourselves and prevent them from smashing our lines. If we didn't do that there wouldn't be any unions today."

Coupled with the official glorification of passive resistance went a tendency to divert the eyes of the Negro masses from the main struggle, the fight against the government, to secondary and isolated actions to be carried on by a few individuals, such as

entering and protesting in a restaurant that discriminated against Negroes. Linked with an attitude of passive resistance, the meaning of such protest action is clear. It gives the appearance of a struggle without mobilizing the masses of Negroes for an all-out struggle against the main pillars of Jim Crow—the ruling class and the government.

Indeed, such a program would needlessly squander the energies of the Negro people and lead to disillusionment. Last year Randolph did that with his petition campaign and his appeals to Roosevelt for a conference. This year he substitutes the "technique of non-violent direct action."

But all these measures have one aim in common—to keep the militancy of the Negro masses under lock and key while Randolph bargains with Roosevelt for another conference, another committee and other forms of "recognition."

While such methods, which contrast the "respectability" of good-will protests with the "violence" of mass action, may appeal to pacifists and members of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, no militant Negro worker is going to waste his time or breath on such ineffective and scattered actions.

As one delegate said, "The seat of Jim Crow is the seat of government at Washington. It is there we must go." At least the rank and file of the MOWM understand that only militant mass action can wring concessions from the government.

With the MOWM leadership holding back the militancy of the rank and file instead of offering a clear-sighted program and method of struggle, it is not surprising to find that on the question of political action the same old line of goods was peddled to the membership. As usual Randolph began with a radical speech: "There is no fundamental difference between Democrats and Republicans with respect to Negroes or labor; that they are like two peas in a pod, two souls with a single thought, twined together and twined together."

It would seem logical to conclude from this that the Negro people cannot support either the Republican or Democratic Parties.

But Randolph is apparently beyond logic. Instead of proposing that labor and the Negro people unite to create an independent labor party through which to launch a struggle for a government representing the oppressed and not the oppressors, Randolph proposes the tried and proven failure—the non-partisan political bloc. "It will express their united political strength, regardless of party politics," he said. "When this is done, it will strengthen the position of the Negro leaders in the Republican and Democratic Parties." It never enters Randolph's head that a new party is needed. He wants the Negro people to maneuver inside the framework of the capitalist parties where they will be betrayed on year by "twinededum," the next year by "twinededec."

What would be more logical than for a minority like the Negro people to seek aid from the organized labor movement in a struggle against the common enemy?

It has been said a thousand times but we shall say it again: The way out for all oppressed people is through their unity and not through their separation. Yet Randolph failed to propose a single concrete step toward achieving such unity, thus leaving the impression that the Negro people can depend only on themselves in the fight for equality.

Although our judgments on the MOWM may seem pessimistic, the MOWM is not yet a lost cause. The militancy of the rank and file and a section of the leadership accurately reflects the sentiments of the vast majority of the Negro people. The steel worker delegate from Buffalo who denounced the idea of passive resistance, the delegate from St. Louis who declared Negroes should march, war or no war, the delegate from New York who challenged Randolph on the war resolution—these delegates show that there is still life in the MOWM.

It is their duty to revive the original promise of the MOWM: to make it an instrument of mass struggle against Jim Crow and the system of capitalism which breeds it. Our best wishes are with them in their fight to give the right kind of program to the MOWM and the Negro people.

Kelly Postal -- A Militant Fighter For Labor's Rights

By V. R. DUNNE

Kelly Postal, Secretary-Treasurer of Motor Transport and Allied Workers Union Local 544-CIO of Minneapolis, was incarcerated in the State Prison at Stillwater, Minnesota, on June 21. One more name has been added to the long list of militants victimized because they had the courage to fight for labor's rights.

Kelly Postal must serve a sentence of up to 5 years. This is the price he must pay for making an uncompromising fight for democracy in the labor movement.

After the membership of Local 544 voted on June 9, 1941 to leave the AFL and join the CIO, Daniel Tobin, the International President of the AFL Teamsters, lodged the charge of embezzlement against the officers of Local 544, among them Kelly Postal.

Kelly Postal's "Crimes"

The office held by Postal was his, not by appointment, but by a free election of the membership who had voted him into the union leadership year after year. He had played a great role in building the union. He also played a prominent part in swinging the local into the CIO. The instructions and will of the membership were always carried out to the letter by Postal. When instructed by the membership to transfer the local union funds to the new affiliation, he loyally and unhesitatingly did so. That was the crime of crimes in Daniel Tobin's eyes. At the same time Tobin saw in this a peg on which to hang a frameup.

No one has even intimated that a single penny of these funds was diverted by Postal for personal use or that any such steps had been contemplated. The transfer of union funds, voted for by the membership and carried out at their instruction, constituted the whole of Postal's "crime." This was the ground on which he was indicted for embezzlement.

The first trial resulted in a complete exoneration of Postal for having followed the instructions voted by the rank and file in a regular membership meeting of his local union attended by an overwhelming majority of its members. Instead of deterring Tobin, this made him all the more adamant. By means of legal subterfuges, a second trial against Postal was launched. The charges were the same; the evidence was the same.

Union Democracy Is Issue

This second trial was a frameup from beginning to end. The jury was instructed by the judge to find Postal guilty. Around the Hennepin County court house in Minneapolis, it was common talk before, during and after the second trial, that Kelly Postal was the victim of a frameup.

Tobin's victory is a blow not only against an individual but against the very foundation

tions of trade union democracy. This conviction means, if it is allowed to stand, that the membership of any local union cannot vote, no matter by how large a majority, to transfer from one trade union organization to another and to take the local union property or funds with them.

Trade union democracy is the issue. It is not unfitting that this issue should revolve around the personality of Kelly Postal, one of the bravest, most able, resourceful and devoted union men it has been my privilege to know. Those who know Postal know that he could not have acted in any other way than he did.

He has devoted his life to the interests of his fellow workers. A student of the labor movement and an internationalist in the true sense of the term, he has always been a union man. His record is an open book.

His Role in the Union

He was one of the first to see the possibility of building a strong and militant Truck Drivers Union in Minneapolis in the winter of 1933-1934.

He was one of the outstanding leaders of the coal yard strike in February, 1934 when 75 retail and wholesale coal companies were tied up and the open-shop employers were forced to recognize the local and to grant wages increases to truck drivers and yard laborers.

In the swift organization campaign which followed this union victory, Postal took his place, being invariably present in those situations that could profit most from his devoted, tireless, selfless activity. Thousands of truck drivers have known him for years and looked to him for leadership. They knew him, as he always has been—honest, just, friendly, "for the union," and absolutely fearless.

Thousands of other newer workers came to know him for these and other sterling qualities displayed in action especially during the two great strikes in May and July, 1934, when the Citizens Alliance open-shop in Minneapolis was finally smashed and the General Drivers Union Local 574 (later 544) was launched. Every militant still remembers and admires Kelly Postal for his work in those crucial weeks and months of day-to-day, night-and-day functioning of the union and the strike headquarters.

A Man of Courage

Many old-timers still discuss among themselves Postal's feat in fighting almost single-handed a gang of armed hoodlums who early one May morning attacked the strike headquarters. He held the thugs off until the sleeping pickets were aroused and came to his aid.

Thousands of workers remember how Kelly, as spokesman for a union committee of three, was called in by Governor Olsen

during the strike. With Minneapolis under martial law, with the strike headquarters in the hands of the troops, with most of the union leaders and hundreds of pickets in the military stockade, Postal told the Governor that the strike would NOT be called off, that picketing WOULD CONTINUE.

No less well known to every militant in the twin cities is Postal's acceptance of the responsibilities of leadership (without pay) during the difficult period in the summer of 1935 when Tobin tried to smash the new Truck Drivers Union Local 574 by withdrawing its charter and telling the employers that they did not have to deal with Local 574.

At the meeting of the entire Teamsters International Executive Board at Washington on June 3, 1941 Kelly Postal faced Dictator Daniel J. Tobin; told him that he was a liar, and branded as fraudulent most of the evidence presented against the 544 leadership. He further told Tobin that Local 544 would not give up its democratic rights and accept an appointed receiver. This is how Postal incurred Tobin's enmity. All this was reported to the membership meeting of Local 544 on June 9, 1941—the meeting that voted to affiliate with the CIO.

It is a matter of record how Kelly Postal stood firm under the all-out campaign of union busting immediately launched by Tobin with the aid of Governor Stassen, Biddle and Roosevelt against Local 544-CIO. He had to stand trial in the Federal Court in the famous Minneapolis "sedition" Trial in November and December, 1941.

Dictator Tobin first tried to get Postal by framing him on federal charges. But this failed; Postal was one of the five union leaders acquitted by the jury in the Federal Court.

Thereupon Tobin moved—with the pressure of his \$8,000,000 treasury—into the District Courts of Minneapolis. The first "embezzlement" frameup of Tobin's failed in January, 1942 when Postal was acquitted. The second time Tobin met with success.

Postal Must Be Freed!

Now Kelly Postal, a man of unimpeachable integrity, the soul of working-class honor, sits in a cell as an "embezzler." Why? Tobin knows. So does Stassen. So do Biddle and Roosevelt. They know because they all took part in the frameup.

No honest militant can or will rest so long as this monstrous injustice is not rectified. Kelly Postal must not rot in jail. He must be freed. A full pardon must be won.

The Civil Rights Defense Committee has launched a national campaign to secure Postal's pardon.

The way to smash the Kelly Postal frameup is to join in this campaign.

Curtiss-Wright Found Guilty Of Endangering Lives Of Soldiers

(Continued from page 1)

tee began its own investigation, during which Air Force officials misrepresented facts, tried to intimidate witnesses, and otherwise "displayed an undue regard for the well-being of the Wright Aeronautical Corporation and too often seemed to be motivated by a desire to protect the company and its interests."

The Truman Committee then turned its findings over to the Army which set up an investigating board headed by Lt. Gen. William S. Knudsen of OPM notoriety. This board admitted finding substantially the same

facts as the Committee, but claimed that the situation was not serious. Corporation officials were able this week to point to the Knudsen board's whitewash conclusions as a defense of their policies. No action has yet been taken against the military officials who tried to obstruct the Committee's investigation.

Two days after the report was released, Acting Secretary of War Robert P. Patterson issued a statement saying that the results of the situation at the Lockland plant were "much less sensational" than appeared, but admitted that the Army had had to

remove two officers acting as its representatives at the plant, change and increase personnel there and take other "remedial action."

The Department of Justice reports that it is still investigating. Meanwhile it has brought suit for damages against a number of the corporation's officials. If found guilty, the corporation would have to pay a token fine which wouldn't make even a dent in its tremendous profits. This action is similar to that taken in the government's case against Anaconda Wire and Cable Corporation, which resulted in a measly fine that Senator Bone correctly described as "a slap on the wrist."

THE BASIC CAUSE

An editorial in the N. Y. Times of July 12 tries to dismiss the whole affair by saying that in the growth of a big corporation such as Curtiss-Wright "errors almost inevitably creep in." The undeniable facts of the Truman report, and the efforts of the corporation to cover up its activities before the Senate Committee, show that what went on was not an "error," but a cold-blooded conspiracy.

Of course, it is possible that in some of these fraud cases the top officials are not aware of all the details, or take care not to be informed of them. But even in such cases they are at least indirectly involved for what happens because they are continuously forcing their underlings to speed up output to such a degree that production of defective articles inevitably results. Minor officials then resort to such methods as faking inspection tests and records in order to hold their jobs. Regardless of how these criminal policies are arrived at, the responsibility for them can always be traced back to the profit system and the profit motive.

The question arises: What should be done about the criminals?

A sorrowful editorial in the July 11 issue of the New York daily, PM, says: "...ask yourself if this country shouldn't have a law enabling it to shoot as traitors all those who are responsible for selling out the war effort for gain." Many workers, especially those with relatives in the armed forces whose lives have been imperiled by the practices of the corporations, will undoubtedly answer this question with an angry Yes.

The Militant, however, has a far more drastic proposal. Shooting the capitalists responsible would certainly make the other employers more cautious, but such action by itself could not solve the basic problem because the place of the capitalists removed would be taken by other capitalists whose outlook is motivated by the same insatiable lust for profits and more profits.

The Militant proposes that the ownership and control of the war industries be taken away from Big Business. Let the government, which has paid for most of the war plants anyhow, take over their ownership, and let democratically-elected committees of the workers in the plants take over their control.

This program will strike even more fear into the hearts of the corporation officials than a shooting law. In addition it is the only workable solution to the problem of criminal fraud endangering the lives of the men in the armed forces. Government ownership would put an end to war profiteering, which is the root cause of the criminal practices. Control of industry by the workers, who have no interest in extracting profits from the blood of the soldiers, would insure careful construction and honest testing of war materials.

It is time to end the Big Business murder conspiracy! It is time to institute government ownership and workers' control of the war industries!

The Smith-Connally Act, Labor And The Middle Class

By M. Morrison

The enactment of the Smith-Connally bill over the veto of the President is the most serious warning that organized labor has thus far received to the effect that its policies are ineffective and, if continued, must necessarily lead to the destruction of all the rights that it has gained in years of struggle. On its face the Connally bill is for the duration of the war only, but one would be foolish to expect that, with the end of the war, labor's rights will automatically once more be recognized by the owners of industry and by the government.

War or no war, labor will meet greater blows than the anti-strike bill unless it makes a shift from the narrow basis of business unionism to a program capable of solving the problems of the nation.

The ease and haste with which the bill was passed over the veto of the President is an indication that the middle classes are almost solidly behind it. The propaganda of the capitalist press against the trade unions was obviously effective and the legislators must have felt that voting for the bill would lose them no support from the middle class voters. As anxious as they are to do the bidding of the capitalists, many Congressmen hesitate when it comes to voting for a measure that is unpopular with the vast majority of the voters.

Why did the capitalists succeed in winning a great part of the middle class to its side?

Certain sections of the middle class are suffering severe privations as a result of the war. This is especially true of the urban middle class. The income of this group has not increased proportionately as much even as the income of the workers and, with the rise in the cost of living, it has been caught in a vise. This has engendered a terrific resentment against the present state of affairs, a resentment which the capitalists have succeeded in turning against the trade unions.

The middle classes are patriotic and the capitalists cleverly play upon this patriotism to win their support against any strikes. The real purpose of the big industrialists in their drive for anti-labor legislation is not apparent to the average citizen who belongs to the middle class. It is not at all clear to him that anti-labor legislation is the means whereby the monopolies guarantee huge profits for themselves.

In this situation the conservative trade union leaders are utterly helpless. Pathetically they turn to their savior, President Roosevelt, and thank him for a veto which is slowly being recognized as a mere political maneuver to prevent a complete break between the president and the working masses. The trade union leaders are grateful for the veto because, for the moment, it saves them from complete political bankruptcy. They can still go to the rank and file and preach faith in Roosevelt.

Although John L. Lewis does not fawn on Roosevelt, he does not see much further than Green or Murray. For a moment he captured the imagination of the workers who are being driven to desperation by the freezing of wages and the rising cost of living. But Lewis' militant business unionism is far from sufficient to solve the basic problems at this time. Indeed, it must be admitted that the capitalists, by pointing to his militancy, were able to convince a large part of the middle class of the need to pass anti-labor legislation. With the Stalinists and liberals this means that his militancy should be condemned. With us it means that his lack of an adequate program should be criticized.

It is the failure of organized labor to present a program for the nation, for the workers and middle classes, that represents such a great danger and enables the capitalists to take advantage of the resentment of large sections of the population. To gain

the support of the people, the trade unions must offer a program which presents the possibility of solving their problems. They must connect their militant struggles for immediate gains with this program for the people and thus gain the support of the people for their militant struggles.

The central feature of that program must be the taking over of the big industries by the government with their operation under the control of the workers. It may be argued that the middle class is opposed to government ownership of industry. Even if that is so—and I seriously doubt it—it is essential to launch a campaign for the education of the middle class, to make it realize that at the bottom of all their difficulties is not the demands of organized labor but the desire of Big Business for profits. The trade unions must show by all the arguments available that the elimination of private ownership of the major industries and their operation under workers' control will solve the problems now confronting the nation.

The masses are primarily interested in getting sufficient food, clothing and shelter. The trade unions must show them who and what are responsible for the inability of the masses to have their needs satisfied. It is the only way by which the trade unions can rally the wide masses around them and thus not only assure their present position but their progress.

The capitalists have fairly well succeeded in convincing the people that the war requires sacrifices and is responsible for their privations. As against this, the trade unions must undertake to show that the productive capacity of the country is so huge that, if properly organized, it can satisfy not only the needs of the war but of the civil population. A proper organization of industry requires, as a preliminary, its nationalization and operation under workers' control.

There is boasting galore about the huge production of armaments since the country entered into the war. The conservative trade union leaders add their voices to this boasting, seeking to gain the credit for the achievements of industry in order to strengthen their position. But the increase in the production of war armaments does not satisfy the needs of the masses and by joining in the chorus of capitalist bragging the trade union leaders do not at all gain the sympathy of the masses. They would serve the interests of the workers infinitely more if they were to show that, with the elimination of profit and with the proper organization of industry, production of war material would be even greater than at present without the need of curtailing the means to satisfy the essential needs of the people. Even the patriotic masses would respond to such an argument.

So long as the trade union leadership has no fundamental program, so long as it continues, at best, to confine its efforts to getting a little improvement for their membership, so long must it inevitably alienate large sections of the middle class.

In this country the working masses, I think, constitute a majority of the population. But the middle class is a very significant part of the population. If labor can gain its support, the path to greater gains will be comparatively easy. If the capitalists gain the support of the middle class, labor will find it harder to make progress.

But no section of the middle class will be for labor if labor does not create a political party of its own with a fundamental program for the nation.

It is too much to expect the backward trade union leaders to take the lesson of the Smith-Connally Act to heart. It is for the trade union militants to begin a serious agitation for a labor party with an adequate program.

LEON TROTSKY'S

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THE MILITANT

Published in the interests of the
Working People

VOL. VII—No. 29 Saturday, July 17, 1943

Published Weekly by

THE MILITANT PUBLISHING ASS'N
at 116 University Place, New York, 3, N. Y.
Telephone: ALgonquin 4-8647
Editor: GEORGE BREITMAN

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Subscriptions: \$2.00 per year; \$1.00 for 6 months. Foreign: \$3.00 per year, \$1.50 for 6 months. Bundle orders: 3 cents per copy in the United States; 4 cents per copy in all foreign countries. Single copies: 5 cents.

Application for entry as second-class matter is pending.



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.
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Class Justice

Two weeks ago we commented in this place on the contrast between the speed with which Congress hastened to override Roosevelt's veto of an anti-labor measure, the Smith-Connally bill, and the leisurely tempo in which it handles a measure in the interests of Negro and white workers, the anti-poll tax bill.

Since then developments have given rise to a similar contrast in actions by another arm of the government, the Department of Justice.

It was generally expected after the anti-Negro terror in Detroit had yielded casualties of more than 30 dead and hundreds severely injured, that a grand jury investigation would be held. When the local authorities made it plain that they were not interested in such an investigation, eyes were turned toward Washington and the Department of Justice. Scores of organizations and thousands of individuals appealed to the White House and the Attorney General for grand jury action.

But not a word came from Washington. It is reported that Vice-President Wallace may soon deliver a speech in Detroit which presumably will be quite wordy and filled with all the proper sentiments. But not a single step toward a grand jury investigation is being planned by the Department of Justice so far as anyone can learn.

To assume from this that the Department of Justice is incapable of moving with rapidity would be to make a big mistake, as Attorney General Biddle convincingly demonstrated last week.

The third coal strike was called off by the United Mine Workers three weeks ago, but in a great many areas, its members did not return to work immediately. Indeed, in the California-Brownsville area in Western Pennsylvania, center of the captive mines owned by the big steel corporations which played a leading part in rejecting the miners' justified demands, workers have remained out of the pits up to this week.

On July 8 some coal operators whose mines were still closed down called on the federal district attorney in Pittsburgh to demand some action from the government. These were just a few men, mind you, not thousands of people. But they got action in a hurry. The district attorney telephoned Attorney General Biddle. Biddle asked for a complete report of the situation. Sources close to him asserted that there would be "fireworks aplenty soon," which would probably pave the way for federal prosecutions under the Smith-Connally law.

By the next day Biddle apparently had already received his complete report. His district attorney in Pittsburgh went before a federal judge and with-

out a moment's delay got his signature to an order for a federal grand jury investigation.

The grand jury was called for July 14. Although that was only five days off, federal officials said that in the meantime "law enforcement officials will be expected to make arrests of persons committing overt acts." "Overt acts," under the Smith-Connally law, include encouraging, instigating or aiding strikes at government-controlled enterprises such as the mines.

Many liberals and labor zombies spend a lot of time trying to prove that there is a basic difference between the Democratic-Republican Congress and the New Deal administration. But the parallel we have shown between the attitude of Congress and of the administration's Department of Justice demonstrates that there is no important difference. An independent labor party is needed to challenge not only the reactionaries in Congress but those in the administration as well.

Two Methods

The War Labor Board has voted to include "maintenance of membership" clauses in several union contracts since the passage of the Smith-Connally Act. WLB Chairman Davis announced that the Board will continue to grant these "union security" clauses.

Howard W. Smith, co-author of the anti-strike law, insists that such clauses are outlawed by the new law and demands that they be discontinued. "Mr. Davis deliberately and knowingly is violating the law," Smith declared.

What is behind this tug-of-war between the WLB, which represents Roosevelt, and Smith, who represents the anti-Roosevelt bloc in Congress?

The Roosevelt administration rests upon an alliance with the labor movement, via its top leadership. Roosevelt knows full well that the Murrys and Greens are political cowards, that they are willing to sell out the interests of their members, that they will go to any lengths to hang on to Roosevelt's coat-tails.

But the Murrys and Greens are big "labor statesmen" only by virtue of the fact that they head a numerically powerful labor movement. They can continue to help Roosevelt put over the freezing of wages, they can continue to keep the labor movement tied in the straitjacket of the war machine, only if their union careers are assured. Roosevelt's present policy is therefore to organizationally prop up the labor unions by means of "maintenance of membership" clauses and the checkoff. Roosevelt guarantees the union bureaucrats their revenue and their continued recognition as the national leadership of labor.

Howard Smith represents the point of view of the National Association of Manufacturers. The industrialists do not want to govern on the English model, by means of a coalition with labor. The industrialists want to go back to the good old days of Harding, Coolidge and Hoover. They do not want to maneuver with a strong labor movement. They want to seize the opportunities afforded by the war to crush the labor movement and re-establish the old relationship of masters and slaves.

The quarrel between Howard Smith and Roosevelt is therefore not a quarrel between friends of labor and enemies of labor. It is merely a quarrel between two sections of the capitalist class. Both want to throttle the labor movement. They simply have different ideas as to which method is most effective.

Congress Forgets The Soldiers

Every time the House and the Senate took up an anti-labor measure this year, the halls of Congress resounded with thunderous speeches about "our boys on the fighting fronts and in the fox holes." The gums if not the hearts of the labor baiters literally bled for the members of the armed forces.

When Congress, somewhat exhausted by passing so much anti-labor legislation, took a recess last week, it had appropriated something like 135 billion dollars in 1943. Yet for some reason Congress was unable to find a single dollar to raise the miserably inadequate allotments for soldiers' dependents.

At the present time there are close to 4,000,000 dependents receiving such allotments from the government. The mother of one child receives \$62 per month to meet all expenses; she gets an additional \$10 per month for each additional child. Dependent parents receive \$37 per month.

These allotment figures were wholly inadequate when the dependency act was first passed. Since then prices have skyrocketed and have reduced the living standards of many soldiers' dependents to a level lower than that of a WPA worker.

The flannel-mouthed gentlemen in Congress are little concerned with the welfare of soldiers' dependents. Their main concern is safeguarding profits. The war and all the sufferings it entails, including the suffering of the soldiers, merely supply them with a convenient pretext for carrying out the anti-labor program which they supported long before the war began. Only the militant labor movement, today the object of Congressional attacks, will safeguard the living standards of the masses as a whole and of the soldiers' families in particular.

It Is Time to Build An Independent Labor Party

Coal Miners Threatened With Anti-Strike Law

(Continued from page 1)

miners could be persuaded to return to work. The miners were consumed with bitterness and resentment against the mine owners and the government. They found it hard to swallow the bitter pill that Roosevelt handed them. The passage of the Smith-Connally anti-strike law did not frighten them, or dampen their ardor. It only increased their hostility and inflamed their mood of defiance. The injustice of the treatment they had received continued to rankle the proud and independent men who mine the nation's coal.

This hostility, resentment and defiance reached the breaking point in the western district of Pennsylvania, where are located the greatest number of the "captive mines" owned directly by the steel corporations. The coal miners are only too well aware that these corporations, making millions of dollars in war profits, are the leaders of the present union-busting drive.

MINERS STILL BITTER

The situation in this region has been chaotic since June 22. Miners would work one day and walk out the next. A climax was reached last week, when approximately 18,000 miners were reported out in the California-Brownsville area. Twenty one mines were shut down, including the most

important mines of U. S. Steel, Republic Steel, Crucible Steel, Weirton Steel, Jones and Laughlin and the Pittsburgh Coal Company. Flying squads of union men were travelling around the district in automobiles and women were reported especially active in discouraging the miners from returning to work.

The leading editorial in the current issue of the *Mine Workers Journal* states: "Mine workers should return to work. There is nothing to be gained by continuing the work suspension in local areas."

But the coal miners of this region are embittered and defiant. Undeterred by the passage of the anti-strike law, they are continuing to fight.

WHAT OPERATORS WANT

Meanwhile the coal operators are pressing the government for a bloody crushing of the miners and their union. They are not satisfied with denying the miners their justified demands. They now want to force the UMW to sign a two year contract, as ordered by the War Labor Board. They continue in addition to demand an immediate return of their properties.

"We do not believe," the Appalachian operators representatives stated in a letter to Byrnes, on July 9, "that the administration will continue to tolerate the pres-

ent interruption of coal production nor that it will continue to deprive us of possession of our mines. To do so would mean complete capitulation to Mr. Lewis, and that in turn, would be a threat to the entire industrial structure of the nation."

They complained of Roosevelt's statement at a pressconference that there was no way of forcing the UMW to sign a contract. "If the coal industry is to retain its faith in the authority of the War Labor Board and the power of your office," they wrote Byrnes, "it is essential that you give us some assurance that the president's remarks this morning do not constitute capitulation by government to Mr. Lewis."

Byrnes apparently gave the coal operators such assurance.

The next stage in the coal fight is about to begin. The government has made it clear throughout the three months' period of negotiations in coal that it was determined to housebreak the miners union. The denial of any concessions to the miners was meant as a dramatic warning to the whole labor movement that it had better reconcile itself to a drastic reduction of its standard of living.

The government is apparently preparing now to teach the American workers that they will be put in jail if they resist this policy.

Stalinists Push Fink Line At NMU Gathering

(Continued from page 1)

sent labor-baiting, union-smashing campaign of the American bosses, both Curran and Meyers placed the blame wholly upon a "handful of appeasers and local fascists." Almost without discussion the convention accepted the resolution and voted to send Roosevelt an inscribed statement of its no-strike pledge, signed by every delegate. A resolution offering Roosevelt unqualified endorsement was also unanimously adopted.

WSA THREAT

Captain Edward Macauley, deputy administrator of the War Shipping Administration, an important speaker at the convention who apparently was aware that the convention did not represent the sentiments of the rank-and-file membership of the NMU, issued an ominous warning to the delegates. Attacking what he termed a "minority in the union who constitute a potential powder keg," he warned the convention that the maritime unions would "suffer the loss of many of their present rights unless these elements are weeded out and ejected from the maritime industry."

Lt. Commander Dugan of the U. S. Coast Guard explained the disciplinary functions and procedure of the Coast Guard Hearing Units. He was answered with a resolution endorsing the Hearing Units and pledging the union to assist the Coast Guard in "weeding the undesirable elements" out of the merchant marine.

LYNCH SPIRIT AGAINST UMW

An old time Stalinist hack in the maritime unions, Jack Lawrenson, presented the "home front" resolution calling for unity behind Roosevelt. After castigat-

ing the National Association of Manufacturers, Hamilton Fish, Dies, etc., and whitewashing the anti-Negro attacks as "Axis-inspired," Lawrenson launched into a hysterical tirade against the leadership of the United Mine Workers for their rejection of the no-strike policy. The discussion which followed this harangue developed a lynch spirit against union militants and ended in an appeal to the government to "hang John L. Lewis."

Two resolutions on the United Mine Workers were presented to the delegates. One offered the miners conditional support in their fight against the coal operators—the condition being that they cease to fight and that they oust their present leadership. The other called upon the Attorney General to invoke the sedition laws against John L. Lewis as an enemy who "seeks to change the American way of life." Not a word of discussion preceded the unanimous approval of these two proposals.

Craig Vincent, East Coast Regional Director of the Recruitment and Manning Organization, an outfit in the forefront of the campaign to eliminate the union hiring halls, commended the officials of the NMU on the degree of collaboration they have achieved with the shipowners and government boards. Vincent appealed to the union to cooperate with the RMO in driving back to sea those former merchant marine workers who have found jobs in shoreside industries. The convention adopted a proposal which promised the RMO full cooperation in ferreting out these ex-seamen and forcing them back to sea.

UNION PROBLEMS UNSOLVED

One of the few concrete demands dealing with the problems of the seamen that was

presented to the convention was the demand for a flat sea-risk bonus of \$250 for all ratings on merchant ships in place of the present bonus of 100% of the salary for a rating. Another demand raised was for a 40-hour working week for seamen who now put in a 56-hour week. How these demands were to be won was not explained by the leaders.

The NMU convention was a complete success from the point of view of the Stalinists. Machine-controlled from start to finish, not a dissident voice was raised against the Stalinist fink line. An indication that this line may not go down so well with the rank-and-file membership was the great amount of attention given by the bureaucrats to what they vaguely designated as the "unruly minority."

The marked absence of rank-and-file seamen in the visitors' section showed that the membership understood that the most vital problems confronting the maritime workers would receive little attention at this Stalinized convention.

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Why U. S. Government Backs General Giraud

Upon his arrival in Washington on July 7, a reception with full military honors was accorded General Honore Giraud, Commander-in-Chief of the French armed forces in North Africa and co-president of the newly formed French National Committee of Liberation, Admiral Leahy. President Roosevelt's personal representative, headed the reception committee of high American and French dignitaries at Bolling air field to greet General Giraud. As soon as the welcoming ceremonies were over, Giraud was whisked off to a private conference with Roosevelt at the White House.

The reasons for General Giraud's journey to Washington were described by official sources as being "mainly military," pertaining chiefly to the rearmament of the French troops in North Africa. Government officials have denied that either the question of recognition for the National Committee of Liberation or Giraud's dispute with De Gaulle had brought Giraud to Washington.

The warm welcome extended by official Washington to Giraud is in strong contrast to the systematic campaign directed against General De Gaulle. Typical is a news story in the N. Y. Times of July 7 bearing the headlines "De Gaulle Drive Vexes Washington." This story says, "In the opinion of high American officials General De Gaulle is less interested in helping to win the war than in advancing his personal political fortunes under the assumption that the war will be won in any case."

In the struggle between De Gaulle and Giraud for control of the French National Committee of Liberation and the French armed forces in North Africa, both Washington and London, despite official denials to the contrary, have thrown their weight on the side of Giraud.

The N. Y. Post, a pro-Roosevelt paper, stated editorially on July 9: "Now it is abundantly plain to the French and ourselves that Giraud was brought to Washington as an anti-DeGaulle demonstration."

Washington and London are apprehensive of De Gaulle's "independence." When De Gaulle demanded that the more open supporters of Vichy be ousted from the North African regime, he met with stubborn resistance from Giraud — and Washington. On June 4, the office of War Information issued a statement denouncing, "the cheap political maneuverings" of the De Gaulleists, declaring they were no better than Vichy men, "Nogues, Peyrouton, and so on."

Roosevelt cynically withholds recognition from the French National Committee of Liberation on the ground "that 95% of the French people are still under the German heel and that there is no France now." But one of the reasons why Roosevelt denies "recognition" to the Committee of Liberation is in order not to give recognition to De Gaulle who shares with Giraud the leadership of it.

Washington and London know that De Gaulle differs by not one iota from Giraud in his desire to restore the French Empire to the defeated capitalist class of France. Nor do they fear De Gaulle's "dictatorial tendencies." Giraud can hardly pass for a democrat. Washington and London fear "De Gaulism" because it seeks a popular following.

Around Giraud have gathered reactionary top layers of the officer caste and powerful sections of the French capitalists whose program is limited to the military defeat of Hitler and the restoration of "orderly" government in Europe. Around De Gaulle have gathered many diverse elements — sections of the capitalist class, a portion of the officer caste, the lower middle class, and sections of the youth. Undoubtedly, "De Gaulism" is an influence in the underground movement in France.

What London and Washington fear is that the De Gaulist attempt to create a mass movement opens wide the possibility for a popular uprising in France. This can easily get out of hand and lead to a genuine revolutionary eruption which will sweep away any capitalist regime whether it stems from the left or the right.

Prepare Dissolution of Young Communist League

The National Council of the Young Communist League, youth section of the Communist Party, has called a special convention in Detroit on October 9 and 10 at which this organization will be officially buried. (Daily Worker, July 7). Nothing is to remain of the YCL, not even the name. It will be replaced by a "new united anti-fascist youth organization" with a new program and a "broader" leadership.

All pretense of the old program of mobilizing the youth for the struggle against capitalism and for the establishment of socialism has been dropped. The program of the new organization is strictly limited to "win-the-war" planks. First and foremost comes "maximum support in developing the second front of offensive in Europe." Then come the subsidiary planks for fitting the "working youth" for industry, cooperation with Civilian Defense, combatting the spread of juvenile delinquency, etc. The question of the Negro youth is dismissed with a promise "to integrate Negro youth fully into the war effort without discrimination or segregation." The only proposal faintly connected with political activity is the plank for lowering the voting age to 18.

What has all this in common with Marxism or Leninism? Appropriately enough, the statement of the National Council refrains even from referring to either Marx or Lenin. The Stalinist renegades have long ago betrayed the struggle for the socialist emancipation of mankind. For a while they found a convenient cover in revolutionary phrase-mongering. Now they deem this no longer necessary.

The burial of the YCL, coming on the heels of the dissolution of the Comintern, should open the eyes of the most naive youth who joined the Stalinists under the mistaken impression that they were thereby joining a revolutionary organization devoted to the cause of socialism.

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