

Review Of New Book By James P. Cannon

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THE MILITANT

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U.S.-British Message Is Not Addressed To Italian Masses

Allied Military Governor Keeps Fascists In Office In Sicily;
AMGOT Policy Continuation Of Darlan Deal In North Africa

By Felix Morrow

The Roosevelt-Churchill message of July 16 is ostensibly addressed to the Italian people. In its political essence, however, it is addressed only to the Italian counterparts of the Darlans and Girauds. If the message "urges revolution," as some newspapers here headlined it, then it is a palace revolution which would not displace the real forces of reaction in Italy, who are merely being asked to change sides in the war.

None of the pillars of the fascist regime during its bestial 22-year rule—the monarchy, the army officer caste, the church hierarchy, the capitalists and landlords—are mentioned in the message. It does not even promise the Italian people a democratic government.

First Fruits

The concrete meaning of the Roosevelt-Churchill message was indicated in the first proclamation of the Allied military governor of Sicily, Gen. Sir Harold Alexander. True, it ordered the Fascist party dissolved, as the newspaper headlines announced. But the key paragraph of the proclamation — one which very few newspapers published — reads as follows:

"All administrative and judicial officials of provinces and communities and all other government and municipal functionaries and employees, and all officers and employees of state, municipal or other public services except such officials and political leaders as are removed by me are required to continue in performance of their duties subject to my direction."

All these officials are, of course, fascist party members. No doubt, as the Military Governor indicates, he will remove some of them. But it is clear that he intends to retain in the main the apparatus built by the fascists, and this pattern in Sicily will be repeated in Italy as a whole. Apologists for this policy may argue that this is traditional military law, and it is true enough that the U. S. military-law textbooks provide for the least disruption of the apparatus of occupied territory. True: they take the given capitalist structure as desirable. That is another way of saying that, while the "socialist" supporters of the war prattle about it as "international civil war," that is precisely what capitalist military law seeks to prevent.

At Casablanca, where the plans for the invasion of Sicily and Italy were formulated, Anne O'Hare McCormick reports, "the general staffs spent three days discussing what to do with Italy and whom to recognize after the expected surrender. They came to no conclusion. . . ." (N. Y. Times, July 17.) This is a polite way of saying that the general staffs left the way open to

"recognize" (install) as the rulers of Italy the same capitalist class forces which have been ruling through the fascist party. If there was indecision at Casablanca, it was only over tenth-rate questions such as whether the King himself could be retained or whether he would have to be replaced by another member of the ruling house.

When The Policy Began

As in the installation of Darlan and then Giraud in North Africa, Washington and London will justify this policy on the grounds of military expediency. But this policy began long before the invasion became an imminent possibility.

It began, indeed, 22 years ago, when the King and the capitalist class, with the approval of the Catholic hierarchy, invited the fascists to take over the government. That was the real mechanics of the so-called march on Rome. Frightened by the growth of the revolutionary working class movement, Italian capitalism called in the fascist gangs to destroy every form of working class organization.

Fascism consolidated its regime by the most bestial methods. Union halls and labor newspaper buildings were burned to the ground. Tens of thousands of workers and peasants were mutilated and beaten, thousands murdered in the streets and villages, by the fascist gangs which were armed by the army, financed by the industrialists and blessed by the church. Untold thousands of workers were tortured in the fascist dungeons.

And all this went on amid approval from the "democrats" in Washington and London. Among the leading figures in the governments of the "democracies" today there is not one who can claim to have recorded his disapproval of Italian fascism in the years that it was brutally consolidating its power, nor afterwards. On the contrary, it is a matter of record that in those years Churchill declared he would be a fascist if he were an Italian. Wall Street and the City of London hastened to bolster Mussolini with loans. Tired businessmen went off to vacation in Italy and returned to praise Mussolini. How many times we were told by the "democratic" press that, thanks to fascism, the trains ran on time! For 19 years bestial fascism ruled with the direct backing of the "democracies."

"Order And Purpose"

Those two decades are still too recent to be ignored. An editorial in the July 17 N. Y. Times tries to explain them away: "Fascism, which many Americans and Britons at first regarded

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CIO Leaders Take Lead In Move To Block Labor Party

Monuments To Big Business



Hillman Urges Rebuilding Of Labor's Non-Partisan League

By Anthony Massini

A greatly ballyhooed political campaign was initiated by the national leaders of the CIO last week. The CIO bureaucrats paint this campaign as an effort to mobilize labor's ranks on the political field to beat back the growing anti-labor offensive in Washington. But its primary purpose is actually to head off and prevent the creation of an independent labor party through which the workers can successfully challenge the political agents of Big Business.

The CIO campaign got

underway in Philadelphia last weekend, where the first of a series of regional conferences was held under the leadership of a newly-appointed CIO political action committee headed by Sidney Hillman. The function of the Hillman committee is to decide which candidates for office should be supported. Another special CIO committee, set up to supplement the work of the Hillman body, issued a statement on July 18 outlining a program by which the present anti-labor Congress is to be transformed into a pro-labor Congress.

What explains the CIO leaders' unusual interest in political activity at this time? They have undoubtedly been scared sick by Big Business' anti-labor drive. But that isn't the only thing that is worrying them.

LEARNING NEED FOR POLITICAL ACTION

More and more workers have learned since Pearl Harbor that the economic problems of the labor movement can no longer be solved in the "normal" trade union manner. Price rises authorized and tolerated in Washington have more than nullified the wage raises won by the unions. Wage-freezing and compulsory arbitration have put an end to collective bargaining as it was known and practiced before the war. Job freezing has stymied the efforts of the workers to protect their living standards by seeking new and better-paying jobs. The no-strike pledge has made a mockery of union grievance machinery.

The record of the present Con-

gress, which enacted the slave-labor law and a harsh tax bill while refusing to curb prices or to limit salaries to \$25,000, has opened the eyes of great sections of the working class. It is clear to millions today that the unions must now intervene on the political field, where the fate of most of their economic problems is being settled, or face a rapid destruction of their gains and democratic rights.

The question is: What kind of political action will meet the needs of the labor movement? In several important industrial centers — Michigan, New Jersey, New York, etc. — labor's ranks as well as many local union leaders have answered: We need a party of our own, one that will be controlled by labor and responsive to it, that will run its own candidates in elections and put forward a program in opposition to the program of Big Business which is carried out by the Democratic and Republican Parties.

UNION LEADERS SCARED

But the Murrys and Greens are afraid of such a possible development. They don't have the nerve to really fight the anti-labor politicians. They have no perspective but to cling to Roosevelt's coat-tails, to shield him from the dissatisfaction of the workers. In return, they hope that Roosevelt will guarantee them their privileges and prestige and shield them from the union-busting industrialists as well as their own union rank and file. Above all they have no confidence in the workers to take leadership of the people and to defeat Big Business.

What do the CIO leaders propose to do about the present critical situation facing labor? Absolutely nothing new — as their present campaign demonstrates. They intend to continue with the same bootlicking policies which have left labor without a single spokesman in Congress. They are making more noise than previously; they will throw away more of the workers' money in the present campaign. But when it is all over, the same old Democrats and Republicans — or new Democrats and Republicans who follow the same old anti-labor program — will still be in the seats of power.

PHILADELPHIA PARLEY

The program drawn up at the Philadelphia CIO conference consists of a lot of elaborate and noisy ballyhoo to hide the fear and the lack of an independent policy on the part of the CIO "general staff." It reminds one of the speech delivered a year ago by Victor Reuther at an emergency conference of the UAW, when he proposed that labor take the offensive against its enemies by giving up its double-time premium on Sundays.

The CIO masterminds, under the direction of Sidney Hillman, proposed that labor make its power felt politically. How? By setting up a labor league of some kind modeled on Labor's Non-Partisan League of the 1930s days. Experience has shown the workers that all Lewis got in return for labor's half million dollar investment in 1936 and for LNPL support of Roosevelt was the smashing of the Little Steel strike in the fall of 1937, not to mention the treatment the coal miners received in 1943.

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UAW Local Aids Kelly Postal

Local 6 of the United Auto Workers, CIO, Melrose Park, Ill., is the latest in the growing list of unions to extend financial and moral support to the defense of Kelly Postal, the Civil Rights Defense Committee announced this week.

Murray Approves Return of Speedup

By PHILIP BLAKE

When rising prices led to a demand by labor's ranks for the scrapping of the "Little Steel formula," the Philip Murray leadership of the CIO came out with a program to roll back prices to the September, 1942 level and a promise to demand higher wages if the program was not carried out.

Now when even the blind can see that the government won't roll back prices or even hold them at their present high level, Murray has come out with another scheme which he hopes will postpone or avert a fight against the government's wage-freezing policies—the adoption of an "incentive wage" plan.

This was made clear last week when the July 10 CIO News announced that the Murray-dominated National Executive Board of the United Steel workers of America had decided to support "a wage policy for the steel industry that will guarantee increased earnings for increased production."

The name by which this policy is known to millions of workers is the speedup-piecework system. To get rid of it their unions had to fight vigorously for many years. Now the cowardice of Murray and his associates has reversed the situation to the point where the leaders of one of the most important unions in the country are publicly favoring the reintroduction of this hated system.

BOSSES WILL APPLAUD

The CIO News story reports also that the USA Executive Board had asked the War Labor Board and the War Production Board to call a conference of the steel corporations and the union to take up this and similar questions. The corporations and the Big Business-dominated government agencies can be expected to greet this proposal with approval, because the speedup "incentive wage" plan automatically guarantees the employers increased profits. It also provides them with a weapon for undermining and destroying the militancy and solidarity of the workers.

It enables the employers to divide and turn the workers against each other by the method of assigning the "good" jobs to stool-

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SHOP STEWARD SYSTEM REBUILT IN BRITAIN

National Conference Sponsored By Clyde Workers Committee Votes Militant Program

A step far-reaching in its implications and importance has been taken by the trade union militants in Britain: They have moved to organize on a national scale the shop steward committees along the lines of the Clyde Workers Committee, which was originally formed during the last war and which occupies a proud and honored place in English working class history.

The initiative has come from the metal and machine - shop workers

who by the middle of May set up local committees in London, Newcastle, Glasgow and other centers in order to combat the offensive of the capitalists against their living and working conditions. This action signals the sharpening of the class struggle in England and the emergence of an open opposition to the trade union and Labor Party bureaucrats, their policy of collaboration, and their attempts to keep the British workers within the straitjacket of such agencies and the notorious "Arbitration Tribunal" and other governmental bodies, prototypes of the War Labor Board, etc., in this country.

GRATIFYING RESPONSE
The local committees organized by the militants very quickly felt the need for unity of action. As isolated bodies they presented easy targets for the bosses. At the initiative of the revived Clyde Workers Committee a call was issued for a conference to lay the groundwork for a nation-wide organization. The response was gratifying.

Thirty delegates from London, Glasgow, Barrow, the Midlands, Yorkshire and Newcastle-on-Tyne met on June 5-6 in Glasgow. The conference was presided over by McCrory, one of a dozen key shop stewards recently expelled from the Communist Party in Glasgow. Many other militants who either left the ranks of the Stalinists or were expelled are active in the movement.

The reports of the various delegates are summed up as follows in the mid-June issue of the Socialist Appeal, organ of the Trotskyist Workers International League:

CAUSE OF CONFERENCE
"Since the commencement of the war, the workers in all walks of life have suffered a series of heavy defeats and setbacks at the hands of the capitalist class. The heavy burden of income tax was causing keen resentment amongst the workers.

"The Essential Works Order, the compulsory transfer of labor, and that monument to collaboration, the Joint Production Committee," the Dr. Jekyll of industry, with its Mr. Hyde transformation, the 'Joint Absentee Committee' handing out fines to all and sundry in industry — all these things together with the long hours of compulsory labor where forcing the workers to take a belated stand in protection of their own rights and interests. The compulsory 'Arbitration Tribunal' with its hopelessly inadequate

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AFL International Longshoremen Elect Ryan President For Life

Three hundred delegates from Atlantic, Gulf and Great Lake ports attended the 33rd quadrennial convention of the International Longshoremen's Association, AFL, at the New York's Hotel Commodore from July 12 to 16.

The convention passed resolutions which:

1. Called for immediate readmission of the United Mine Workers into the AFL.

2. Asked the government to either roll back prices or abandon the "Little Steel formula."

3. Condemned Stalinists and their fellow travelers in the American labor movement because "it is their avowed policy to penetrate and capture labor unions in key industries for the purpose of using the economic power so acquired for political ends."

4. Elected Joseph Ryan as ILA president for life.

The resolution calling for readmission of the UMW was part of a general resolution on labor unity. It requested the AFL to start negotiations to facilitate the return to the AFL of the International Association of Machinists, the Brewery and Typographical Internationals and all other organizations "which may have only technical differences with the parent organization."

in line with the general Hutcheson-Woll plan to use the reentrance of the mine union to attract other CIO organizations and isolate the Stalinists in a vastly reduced and crippled CIO. This, like all the other resolutions, was adopted by the convention with a minimum of discussion and no opposition.

RYAN DEFENDS SHAPEUP

What Ryan's life tenure of office means to working longshoremen was made clear in his report to the convention in which he felt it necessary to defend the shipowners' shapeup system of hiring which allows for "star gangs" and elimination of union militants.

Said Ryan: "At the basis of inefficiency is the hiring hall. Working efficiency (on the west coast) has disintegrated because the steady coordinated gang such as prevails under the ILA has been replaced by the hit-or-miss system of the hiring hall. . . . All efforts to extend the hiring hall must be fought as an effort to wreck the efficiency of our industry."

Ryan could not do otherwise than defend the company-sponsored shapeup system. It is the basis of his control of the ILA whose hand-picked convention delegates have just elected him to life presidency at \$20,000 a year.

FREE KELLY POSTAL

Secretary-Treasurer of Minneapolis Teamsters Local 544—CIO

Victimized for his Loyalty to Trade Union Democracy

GOVERNOR ED THYE,
ST. PAUL, MINNESOTA

The undersigned respectfully petition you to do everything in your power to secure pardon for Kelly Postal, Secretary-Treasurer of Minneapolis Teamsters Local 544—CIO, now serving a five year sentence in the State Penitentiary at Stillwater.

Kelly Postal was convicted for alleged "embezzlement" of funds belonging to his own union, although he did nothing more than transfer these funds when the majority of the union membership voted to disaffiliate from the AFL and join the CIO. As Judge Hall stated in directing Postal's discharge in his first trial on the same indictment: "Postal, the defendant, was the agent and steward of the membership and turned over the money at their direction" in an "open and avowed" manner. He is no more guilty of "embezzlement" than any other officers of the CIO who took their union funds along with them when they left the AFL.

We urge favorable consideration of Kelly Postal's application for pardon at the next session of the Minnesota Board of Pardons.

NAME

ADDRESS

Please return signed petition to CIVIL RIGHTS DEFENSE COMMITTEE, 160 Fifth Ave., New York City.
JAMES T. FARRELL, Chairman JOHN DOS PASSOS, Vice-Chairman

CRDC Launches Nation-Wide Campaign To Secure Unconditional Pardon For Kelly Postal

Local branches of the Civil Rights Defense Committee all over the country this week moved into action on the nation-wide campaign to secure thousands of signatures on petitions asking the Governor of Minnesota to pardon Kelly Postal, Secretary-Treasurer of Teamsters Local 544-CIO. The text of the CRDC petition is reprinted above.

Postal, now serving a five years sentence in Stillwater State Penitentiary on trumped-up charges of "embezzlement" of union funds, was "guilty" only of obeying his union's mandate to trans-

fer its own funds to the CIO when it disaffiliated from the AFL. Postal was never accused of misusing the funds personally, and in a previous trial on substantially the same charges, Judge Hall directed the jury to discharge the case. This case sets a dangerous precedent that can be used against other union officials and against the democratic rights of labor.

Through this petition campaign the Civil Rights Defense Committee is bringing this infamous conviction to the attention of the whole labor movement. The

signature of union members on these petitions, together with thousands of individual letters to the Governor of Minnesota, will aid in securing an immediate and unconditional pardon for Kelly Postal.

Readers of The Militant can aid this campaign by sending individual letters requesting a pardon to Governor Ed Thye, St. Paul, Minn., and by getting signatures on these petitions. Petition forms may be obtained by writing to the Civil Rights Defense Committee, 160 Fifth Avenue, N. Y. C.

TRADE UNION NOTES

By E. R. Frank

The United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers, CIO, has negotiated a contract with the Westinghouse Electric and Manufacturing Company, covering approximately 75,000 workers.

The contract provides for absolutely no wage increase. It does however include the speedup.

"One of the outstanding features of the proposed new national U.E. Westinghouse contract," the July 10 issue of the *UE News* states, "is the agreement for additional earnings for day workers, based upon additional production made necessary by the war effort."

Piecework was the rule in industry, prior to the advent of the CIO. That is why the mass production industries were known as young men's industries. When a man reached the age of 40 or 45, he was tossed out on the garbage heap. And with good reason. He wasn't of much value to the bosses any longer. A few years on the production lines burned up a man permanently.

That is why one of the first big demands that rose up in the automobile and the other mass production industries, right after the big strike victories in 1936-37 was: Abolish the piecework system. Get rid of the speedup.

Now six years later, along comes the miserable crew of Stalinist finks, who make up the majority of the national UE leadership, and sign a contract which brings back the hated speedup.

"The action of the War Labor Board on our Big Four cases," writes S. H. Dalrymple, president of the United Rubber Workers, CIO, in the July issue of the *United Rubber Worker*, "was a big disappointment to us all. It is still our belief that the Board acted unjustly and unfairly. However the decision must be accepted..."

We'll hear what the rank and file of the rubber union think about this decision and what they intend to do about it when the United Rubber Workers hold their eighth annual convention at Toronto on September 20.

Midwest Labor Union, organ of the St. Louis Joint Council, United Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Employees, CIO, "published for 94,000 mass production workers of Greater St. Louis," calls "For An Independent Labor Party" in the front page editorial of its July 14 issue.

The July 1 issue of *News and Views*, official paper of the Minneapolis Furniture and Woodworkers Union, states in its leading editorial: "We need a labor party now!"

An editorial in the June issue of the *Lincoln Leader*, official publication of Ford Local 900, UAW-CIO, reviews the lessons of the recent Chrysler strike: "Labor cannot sign away its only potent weapon, the strike, in the hope that industry will let up in its war against labor... The war between labor and the owners of industry will continue till one side or the other is victorious... With but a few encouraging exceptions, labor leadership has failed to provide the answer, either to the current problems of the workers, or to the post war difficulties they face... The CIO policy conference in Cleveland fell far short of filling this bill... Labor needs a political party of its own, through which it can unite with progressive farmers and middle class people, to achieve the political power necessary to end forever the ruthless power of the corporations."

Daniel J. Tobin, chairman of the three-man committee appointed by the AFL Executive Council to consider the application of John L. Lewis for reaffiliation of the United Workers, has announced that the committee would meet with officers of the UMW this week.

The committee is expected to make its report to the AFL Executive Council, which will meet in Chicago on August 9.

The preliminary report of the National Safety Council on 1942 industrial accidents establishes that deaths in manufacturing establishments rose 14% over the previous year. In seven states,

the increase was more than 25%. Some 18,500 workers were killed on the job and 1,750,000 were injured, 70,000 of them permanently. Two mine explosions took the lives of 90 miners, an explosion in an ordnance plant killed 54.

The war casualties on the industrial front are still larger than on the military front.

Dr. Alice Hamilton of the U. S. Public Health Service, one of America's pioneers in the field of industrial diseases, writes in the July 17 *Nation* about "the system that still obtains in the coal mines, where the physician is appointed by the company and responsible to the company but is paid entirely by money deducted from the monthly pay checks of the miners. The men have nothing to say about the choice of a doctor, and even if they dislike and mistrust the company's choice they are forced to support him. It is amazing that a strong union like that of the coal miners has submitted all these years to such a system."

The July 9 number of *Seafarers Log*, official paper of the Atlantic and Gulf District, Seafarers International Union of North America, AFL, reports the following: "The navy states that the enemy subs have been beaten, but the SIU lost more ships for the months of May and June than we did for any previous month except in June '42. It raised our casualty list to 743 brothers lost through enemy action."

Delegates from the Packinghouse Workers Organizing Committee are scheduled to assemble in Chicago on October 13 for the purpose of forming an autonomous International union of the CIO.

The Cleveland Regional War Labor Board ordered the suspension of the union shop clause in a contract reached between the United Auto Workers Union, AFL, and the Trailer Company of America.

No doubt, the labor members of the regional WLB protested this decision, but "loyally" agreed to remain on the WLB and abide by the decision of the "majority." Collective bargaining, in the old Gompers sense, is dead as a doornail. The trade unions have no choice but to get into politics.

A strike of 200 CIO bus and street car operators tied up all mass transportation facilities in Akron last week, when the WLB panel refused to approve a wage increase demand. Michael Quill, Stalinist president of the Transport Workers Union, arrived in Akron by airplane and ordered the strikers to return to work.

The federal grand jury is holding an investigation of the insurgent strike in the captive mines. Several district officials of the United Mine Workers have been called as witnesses this week.

Secretary Morgenthau announced that U. S. Treasury officials have forwarded to Attorney General Biddle the results of an investigation involving the United Mine Workers and John L. Lewis. The matter relates to an alleged action of Lewis in subsidizing a mine company six years ago to carry on a fight with the Progressive Miners of America, AFL.

Why did the government wait six years?

Message Not Meant For Italian Masses

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with some tolerance because it seemed to stand for order and purpose, we have learned to hate." The mountains of corpses of Italian workers and peasants which the fascist gangs piled up for 19 years, the castor-oil tortures, the punitive expeditions into the villages—that "seemed to stand for order and purpose." The Italian anti-fascists could not even get space in the "democratic" press, including the *Times*, to tell their terrible story. Only after Mussolini joined the other side in the war for re-division of the world did the *Times* and those it speaks for claim they had at last "learned to hate fascism."

In reality, however, they did not at all change their attitude toward fascism. For the purposes of war propaganda they have inveighed against the fascist regime since Italy's formal entry into the war in June, 1940. But to this day neither Washington nor London has uttered a word against the masters of Mussolini—the army and church hierarchies, the monarchy, the landlords and capitalists.

During the three years since Italy entered the war, Italian emigres have been vainly imploring Roosevelt to assure the Italian masses that U. S. troops will not back the Italian reactionaries against the people. These pleas have fallen upon deaf ears. With irrefutable scholarship noted Italians savants like Gaetano Salvemini have written millions of words proving that Mussolini is inseparable from the monarchy, the army and the church hierarchy. All to no avail—the "democracies" want no revolution in Italy, only a switch in war-partners.

Since Roosevelt and Churchill pretend that their policy flows from considerations of military expediency, the Italian emigres have argued that the best way to shorten the war would be to assure the Italian masses that defeat for Italy would not be followed by a foreign yoke but by democracy and social reforms. This is obviously true enough—but Washington and London are incapable of giving such guarantees to the Italian people.

On the eve of the invasion of Sicily, the Italian

emigres made a last desperate effort to get Roosevelt and Churchill to change their attitude toward the Italian masses. They compiled the results of a survey made by "underground agents among Italian anti-Fascists [in Italy] who listen to U. S. and British broadcasts in Italian." The results showed that the listeners-in found the broadcasts offensive in many ways and, above all, lacking in any large-scale political perspective for the Italian masses.

What Italian Masses Want To Hear

Threats of destruction leave them cold; in general the masses react to bombing much like the masses of Britain. The repeated boasts that many of the U. S. soldiers who are coming are of Italian ancestry is answered by the bitterly worse retort: "Italians are used to killing one another." There is great interest in the news of resistance to the Nazis in occupied Europe, but the Italian listeners ask for more concrete information on how the underground is working; how illegal newspapers are written, distributed.

We can be sure that their request for this kind of information—how to carry on revolutionary work!—will not be granted. Nor will other suggestions of theirs, such as these two reported in the survey:

"Italians would like, for instance, to hear: 1) that Fascist printing presses in Tunis and Tripoli are now printing democratic Italian newspapers; 2) that the property of Fascists who fled from these cities has been confiscated, their mansions turned into rest homes for tired workmen." (*Time* magazine, July 12.)

Instead of appealing to the Italian masses along this line suggested by the underground survey, Roosevelt and Churchill issued their message—not to the Italian people but to the monarchy, the army and church hierarchies and, in a word, to Italian capitalism. Their message was a warning to their class brothers that the jig is up and they had better get together as quickly as possible, not merely against Hitler, but again the Italian and European revolution.

Two Reactionary Factions Battle For Control Of ALP

By WILLIAM F. WARDE

The Dubinsky-Alex Rose-Social-Democratic bureaucrats and their Stalinist rivals are squabbling over control of the America Labor Party in New York, which will hold its primary elections on August 10.

Dubinsky's mouthpieces now misleading the ALP declare that the Stalinists, having been ruled off the ballot because they received less than the required 50,000 votes in the 1942 elections, are invading the ALP in order to "steal" it away from them. They further accuse the Stalinists of secretly conspiring to destroy the ALP as an independent political organization.

The Stalinists assert that Dubinsky and his gang are anti-Soviet and treat the ALP as their private property. They also accuse them of conspiring with John

L. Lewis and of not giving service enough support to Roosevelt's "win-the-war" program.

DIFFERENCES AND LIKENESSES

It is true that the Dubinsky crowd is today and has been since 1917 enemies of the Soviet Union. They "defend" the USSR only so long as the capitalist masters in Washington are interested in doing so—and only in their manner. Moreover, these bureaucrats run the ALP as undemocratically as their own unions, as though they belonged to them and not to the rank and file. They fear the inroads of the Stalinists as gangster chiefs fear another gangster muscling into their private domain.

The Dubinsky gang has done its best to convert the ALP into a kite of the Democratic Party and Roosevelt's political career. Far from conspiring with Lewis

against Roosevelt's starvation and no-strike program, as the Stalinists allege, they have conspired with Roosevelt to repress any independent and militant struggle of the workers against the Big Business-Roosevelt-Congress anti-labor offensive.

It is also true that the Stalinist-controlled Marcantonio-Connolly crowd want to take over the ALP for their own reactionary ends which have nothing in common with the interests of the workers. The Stalinists, have proved to be capable of any crimes against organized labor from advocating speed up to strike breaking.

Both groups of scoundrels slavishly support the starvation, strikebreaking, profiteering war program of Roosevelt and his Democratic Party. Neither want to mobilize the workers for struggle against the anti-union drive of Big Business, either on a state or national scale. They are simply competing with each other to see which can render the greatest services to Roosevelt.

The Stalinists have recently outstripped the Dubinskys in this belly-crawling competition. For example, the present ALP misleadings have more or less quietly acquiesced in Roosevelt's ties with Boss Hague. The Stalinists, however, are so brazen as to espouse it openly. But these are simply differences in the technique and tempo of selling out the workers, not in basic policy.

WHY THEY SQUABBLE

Both want control of the ALP for narrow and reactionary factional ends. Both support Roosevelt, but for different reasons.

The bureaucrats around Dubinsky crawl before Roosevelt because they cannot conceive of organized labor playing an independent role in either industry or politics. They practice policies by concluding filthy deals with the bosses of the Democratic and Republican parties. Dubinsky and Rose have concluded the dirtiest electoral deals with both the Tammany and Republican machines.

The American Stalinist bureaucrats are the Charlie McCarthys of the bigger Stalinist bureaucrats ruling in Moscow. Their support of Roosevelt and Hague is only a small part of the far bigger deal Stalin has made with Roosevelt.

Neither the Dubinsky-Social Democratic gang nor the Stalinist gang has a program which can make a powerful fighting party of labor out of the ALP. Neither merits the allegiance of the militant workers of New York.

What the ALP needs to acquire strength is not unconditional support of Roosevelt but an unconditional break with him and his policies. It needs to put up its own independent candidates and elect them to office. Above all, it needs a fighting program to defend the rights and interests of the working people against Big Business and its Democratic-Republican agents. Only along this road can the ALP become a genuinely independent political instrument of labor and a decisive force in the political life of New York.

THE WORKERS AND THE SECOND WORLD WAR

A Speech by

JAMES P. CANNON
48 Pages 10 Cents

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SWP In Seattle Holds Meeting On Whitewash Movie

SEATTLE, July 11—More than fifty persons attended a Socialist Workers Party meeting here exposing the frameup character of the Moscow Trials and the distortions of its Hollywood version, "Mission To Moscow."

Feature attraction of the meeting was the showing of the film "Tsar to Lenin." The movie was followed by a speech by George Collins who explained the relationship of the Russian Revolution to the treacherous policies of the Stalinist bureaucracy. He described how the reactionary political alliance between Stalin and Roosevelt-Churchill resulted in full approval by the latter of Stalin's frameups and terror against the Trotskyists of the Soviet Union. "Mission to Moscow" was merely one phase of this alliance, the speaker said.

The meeting, held at the Socialist Workers Center at 521 Pike St., was the largest held by the SWP thus far in this city and is a highly promising sign for the future of the Trotskyist movement in the northwest.

Murray Backs Speedup In Steelworkers Union

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pigeons, backward workers and elements who don't care about the meaning and purpose of unionism, while giving the militant unionists the jobs where it is difficult for them to get more money no matter how hard they work.

This inevitably induces among the less class-conscious workers a feeling of indifference to unionism and the basic working conditions of the union as a whole, and results in increased friction among the workers. The union is weakened, the employers are strengthened and emboldened in their union-smashing campaigns.

Furthermore, because the control of industry and the operation of the "incentive wage" plan remain in the hands of the employers, they are able to maneuver and alter the basic wage rates, with the result that the workers soon find themselves driven much harder but receiving little more in wages. And a weakened union will find it much harder to resist such increased exploitation than a union where the workers realize that an injury to one is an injury to all.

STALINISTS HAPPY, TOO

During the last half year the capitalist advocates of the speedup piece work system have been joined and aided by the Stalinist finks, who favor this system on the ground that it will increase "production to speed the second front" and divert the attention of the workers from an effective struggle against the wage-freezing policies of the administration.

The Stalinists have already introduced the speedup in the unions which they dominate (United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers, etc.) but they have been strongly repulsed in the United Auto Workers, where the members still remember with bitterness and hatred the grueling effects of the speedup and stretchout in the pre-union days. One result of Murray's endorsement of the speedup will be to give the Stalinists new ammunition in pushing this reactionary system in the UAW and other unions. The *Daily Worker* has already gleefully commented on this latest development as an encouraging sign for their efforts.

The speedup plan is not the workers' answer to the problem of rising living costs and frozen wages. It is only a device for increasing profits for Big Business and for enabling the yellow-

But this does not worry Hillman a bit. He proposes that labor keep on marching down the road which can ultimately lead only to labor's doom and destruction.

MISERABLE PROGRAM

We are going to change the present anti-labor Congress into a pro-labor Congress, say the CIO leaders with a straight face. And how are they going to do that—by sprinkling the tails of the hardened Congressional labor-baiters with some magic salt? The sad truth is that their proposals are no more realistic or effective.

The CIO leaders propose to establish special committees to 1. "make every CIO member and resident in the district fully aware of the record" of their Congressman—by meetings, rallies, leaflets, posters, radio addresses, etc. Apparently the CIO leaders think their members are very ignorant people, who don't know that Congress is filled with rabid enemies of labor.

Murray Backs Speedup In Steelworkers Union

belled labor leaders to sidestep their responsibilities by saying to the workers: "You want higher wages? The only way to get it is by working harder and faster."

PLAN MUST BE RESISTED

A "labor relations consultant" to a large number of plants in the metropolitan area, Austin M. Fisher, reported recently that the War Labor Board was considering "a definite policy approving incentives" and added that the Board will probably "leave the job of siphoning off whatever excess purchasing power develops to the Treasury Department." (*N. Y. Times*, March 7). Under this perspective the workers would be persuaded to strain themselves to the breaking point only to find no improvement at all in their living standards.

No matter who presents it—the employers or the War Labor Board or the Stalinists or Philip Murray—the speedup plan is a menace to the union movement and the working conditions of its members. It must be protested and combatted even if the head bureaucrat of the CIO gives it his blessing. The problem of rising living costs cannot be solved unless the unions conduct a militant, concerted drive against the "Little Steel formula" and order their members to resign from the War Labor Board which enforces this formula.



by C. Charles

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CIO LEADERS TAKE LEAD IN MOVE TO BLOCK LABOR PARTY

(Continued from page 1)

2. Inform the Congressmen of public opinion on their record—by inviting them to speak at union and other community meetings; by sending delegations to discuss with them at their homes and offices; by sending them telegrams, letters and petitions. In other words, the trouble with Congress is that it too is filled with ignorant people, who mean well but just don't know what the people want, who make mistakes like passing anti-strike bills because they don't know any better who need pressure in the form of letters and invitations to speak at union meetings and presto!—they will be transformed into pro-labor elements.

It seems as if everyone is ignorant but the labor bureaucrats—who know everything but how to lead the workers in defense of their rights and conditions.

AFL COUNCIL'S POLICY

The CIO program is ridiculous on the face of it, and will be greeted by the workers with passivity at best. Unfortunately it is no worse than the AFL program of political action outlined by William Green.

The AFL Executive Council's political policy is to bring about the defeat of "every member of Congress who voted for the Smith-Connally bill." But how? By forming a labor party to run labor's own candidates against the men who passed the Smith-Connally bill? Perish the thought!

The AFL bureaucrats line is to support those Democrats and Republicans who run against incumbent Congressmen who voted for the slave-labor bill. They are evidently sick and tired of looking at the old faces. For them salvation seems to lie in some new faces. Of course these new faces will act just like the old ones when they get the chance—but what's the odds? Green will then be able to call on the harried workers to elect still other new faces.

A COUNTERFEIT

The frenzied political campaign of the CIO top bureaucrats reveals of course their fright at the onslaught of the open-shoppers and union-busters. But even more strongly it demonstrates the determination of the Murrays and Hillmans to head off the movement for an independent labor party. These labor skates are determined to keep control of the labor organizations. That is why they dangle this fake toy of "independent" political action in front of the workers' eyes. That is what the Philadelphia CIO conference is—a counterfeit.

The workers are not fools, regardless of the opinions of the Murrays and Greens. They have said clearly and unmistakably in several of the key industrial states that they want to undertake independent labor political action by the launching of a labor party. They will reject the counterfeit product which Murray and Hillman are now trying to sell them.

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The Negro Struggle

By David Ransom

What Was to Blame for Detroit?

Like Hitler, Mayor Jeffries of Detroit must think that if you tell a big enough lie, and say it loud and long enough, people will believe you. Last week, Mayor Jeffries issued his version of the anti-Negro pogrom of last month. In this masterpiece of fiction the Mayor answers the charge of police brutality toward Negroes by ignoring the facts and saying, "The police department's role in the riot needs no defense. On the whole it was splendid and at times magnificent."

So splendid and so magnificent was the behavior of the police that they still are unable to explain 14 of the 34 deaths which occurred during the violence. A Detroit correspondent writing in the July 18 PM says, "The Detroit Police and the Wayne County, Mich. prosecuting attorney's office are unable to 'account' for fourteen deaths that occurred in Detroit's race rioting of June 21." It is needless to add that of the 19 accountable deaths, the great majority was slain by the police.

Not content with telling a lie in order to hide the truth about the criminal role of the police, Mayor Jeffries slanders the Negro people and by imputing blame to them for the violence. According to Jeffries, the Detroit police are free of any anti-Negro bias; and if anyone it is at fault for strained race relations, it is the Negro people who are "antagonistic" to the police. Says the Mayor: "I am rapidly losing my patience with those Negro leaders who insist that their people do not and will not trust policeman and the police department. After what happened, I am certain that some of these leaders are more vocal in their caustic criticisms of the Police Department than they are in educating their own people to their responsibilities as citizens."

Jeffries' back-handed attack on the Negro people was answered by the NAACP. In a letter to the Mayor, the NAACP declares: "Citizens become educated to their responsibilities as citizens only so far as they are treated as citizens. Killings, vile name-calling, wanton unnecessary arrests of colored citizens, inspire no regard for a Police Department which spoke of some of our citizens as 'niggers'."

The NAACP furthermore catches Jeffries in his attempt to squirm out of responsibility for the social conditions which aggravated racial friction. It says, "We agree with you that the underlying factors behind this racial hostility have not been settled by the riot of June 20 and 21. However, we cannot find you blameless because of your admitted mistakes, or as a lawyer, of not knowing the proper legal procedure to get Federal martial law declared."

"In 1941 you appointed a mayor's committee after the Northwestern High school riot . . . its recommendations were laid upon your desk where they lie today, unheeded. The answer for the underlying causes was in that report and it would not have taken a generation to start working on some of our troubles. We at least would have had a two-year start."

"That report pointed out the failure of the Police Department

and its prejudice toward Negroes. It pointed out the lack of recreation, the need for resurveying our educational system which, too, lies not blameless in our community failure. It pointed out the growth of minority population and the growing racial antipathy because of changing neighborhoods. It made specific recommendations which you chose to ignore."

It is not a big step from the attempt of the local authorities to stifle criticism of their anti-Negro bias to the next step of intimidating the Negro people in their struggle to destroy the Jim Crow barriers. Where Mayor Jeffries leaves off, the capitalist papers begin. A. M. White, a feature writer for the *Detroit News* accuses the NAACP convention, which met in Detroit just before the anti-Negro violence of being one of the causes of racial dissension. According to him, the NAACP meeting was a "fighting" conference and "sowed seeds of violence in the hearts of youths, both colored and white." In his attempt to link the NAACP conference with the causes of the riot, White states: "To contend that a strictly militant convention, which ended with a mass meeting of 20,000 colored people, had no influence on the fighting spirit of younger, irresponsible colored people, is a denial of the laws of psychology."

This twisted logic distorts a struggle against racial prejudice and segregation into the cause of mob assaults against the Negro people, and it does this for only one purpose — to frighten the Negro people into passivity with the specter of more bloodshed.

A similar attempt at intimidation is made by the Jim Crow Southern paper, *The Southern Watchman*, which passes this judgment on the NAACP campaign to raise funds for legal aid to victims of the Detroit terror: "Walter White has preached for the absolute equality of races. In so doing he has contributed no small amount toward strife in America. He has a large equity in the Detroit riots. As much as any man in America, he has brought about discord. With every additional dollar which he raises to fight the Negroes' enemies, he is raising money for the shedding of more Negro blood."

To say the militancy of the Negro is the cause of racial strife is putting the cart before the horse. Will the Negro be safe if he remains peacefully inside the Jim Crow ghetto? Mayor Jeffries, no friend of the Negro people, admits in his report that "another outbreak of race riots can occur at any time after the troops end their patrol" because "none of the underlying factors behind this racial hostility have been settled by the rioting of June 20 and 21."

As the struggle for existence becomes sharper, the backward worker can be incited by reactionary gangs to use violence against the Negro and eliminate him as a competitor for only one reason — the worker has been taught to look upon the Negro as his inferior. That is why the Negro people and their natural allies, the unions, must fight militantly against the system of Jim Crow which breeds insecurity and want and which makes the Negro a scapegoat — the capitalist system of private property.

How To Build Marxist Party Is Theme Of Cannon's Book

By George Breitman

Eight months ago Pioneer Publishers issued "In Defense of Marxism" by Leon Trotsky, a compilation of his writings on the defense of the Soviet Union, dialectical materialism and other questions fought over in the struggle of the Socialist Workers Party against a revisionist petty-bourgeois opposition in 1939-40. Now Pioneer has issued as a companion volume to Trotsky's a new book by James P. Cannon ("The Struggle For A Proletarian Party," 302 pages, \$1.50 paper bound, \$2 cloth bound), dealing also with the issues of that factional struggle, and particularly with the organization question.

Why do the Trotskyists, who after all are still a small party with limited resources, go to the trouble and expense of publishing and distributing two such full-sized books comprising the main record of an internal party fight, a fight which at the time interested only a few thousand people in this country and which, moreover, was waged and concluded over three years ago? Is it merely because the Trotskyists take pleasure in being able—unlike the renegades from Sidney Hook to James Burnham—to look at what they said yesterday without squirming and retracting today? If that were the only reason, then these books would probably not have been published for some time to come.

Purpose Of The Books

Looking backward, it is possible to say that a revolutionary party at times undergoes factional fights which have no historical justification, which are fruitless or trivial and have little to teach or interest the student of a later period. On the other hand, some faction fights are not only historically unavoidable but also are conducted in such a pedagogical way as to make them serve as the instruments for the most necessary and valuable kind of education for all fighters for socialism. Examples that quickly spring to mind are the polemics of Plekhanov, Luxemburg and Mehring against revisionism; of Lenin against Menshevism; of Trotsky against Stalinism. It would be no exaggeration to say that the revolutionists on a world scale reached maturity in the post-World War I period only after they had assimilated the dearly-paid for lessons of these bitter factional fights.

Comparable in importance and urgency to the above mentioned struggles was the fight in the Socialist Workers Party against the petty bourgeois group which sought not only to revise the theory and program of Marxism but also to transform the party in the organizational sphere from a movement modeled on Lenin's Bolshevik party into a loose, undisciplined debating society. That struggle, as we have said, was successfully concluded more than three years ago, and its lessons were permanently

burned into the consciousness of most of the people who then belonged to the party.

But the membership of the revolutionary party is not static, it is constantly recruiting new members who haven't had the benefit of such experiences. The Trotskyists do not shrink from factional discussions and fights when they are necessary and useful in clarifying ideas or elaborating the program; but we do not want needlessly to go through the same experience over and over again, a profitless procedure if nothing new is learned in the process. That is why these books are made available in permanent form: to facilitate the education of the newcomers to Trotskyism in this country as well as our co-thinkers in other parts of the world. (I cannot help expressing at this point the opinion that it would have been a good thing if the record of all the important faction fights within the Marxist movement, including the American Trotskyist party, had been made as fully and permanently available as this one.)

How to build the revolutionary party that will lead the workers in the fight to replace capitalist exploitation and misery with a socialist system of security and peace? Cannon's book was written in the heat of the party struggle, and necessarily had to take up some of the trivial arguments of the revisionist opposition, but even his answers to these threw light on the far more vital question posed above. It is true, as Cannon says in one place in this book, that you can't learn how to lead the revolutionary party or a workers' organization by reading a book. (One reason is that there have been altogether too few books dealing with the question; another is that no one book could deal with its numerous and ever-changing aspects.) But that doesn't mean that you can't learn quite a lot about the question by reading and studying; and Cannon's book helps to fill an important need in this respect.

Program And Leadership

Building the revolutionary party is a most complex and difficult task. It requires first of all, as Cannon demonstrates, the correct program, without which no party—no matter how devoted, courageous or well-intentioned—can hope to be successful in its historic task. But even this requirement, over which so many organizations have stumbled and fallen, is not enough. Also needed is a leadership, selected by the party and accountable to the party, which is capable of defending the program and developing it and applying it.

This of course is not all there is to it, but even this part is not as easy as it sounds. As the party develops, it inevitably attracts alien and uneducated elements—from the ranks of the petty bourgeoisie and of certain strata of the working class as well. The party through its leadership must be able to repulse those elements which

have no place within the organization and it must learn how to assimilate those who can become useful members; otherwise it will be wrecked, or, what is the same thing, begin to stagnate.

Especially in periods of general reaction, the party must be prepared to resist the pressure of capitalist society which is reflected and transmitted through those of its members who are because of their occupations or social ties most susceptible to this pressure. That is why, Cannon explains, "It is not sufficient for the party to have a proletarian program; it also requires a proletarian composition. Otherwise the program can be turned into a scrap of paper over night."

Petty bourgeois radicals of all types, who don't want to be bound too tightly by the discipline which membership in the revolutionary party entails, have often attempted, as they departed unladen from the party, to cover up their political differences with Marxism by charging that it was the methods of Bolshevism which gave rise to Stalinism. Cannon answers these people by setting the organization question (the question of method) "in its proper setting and in its proper place—as an important but subordinate issue; as an expression in organizational terms of the political differences, but not as a substitute for them."

Lenin's Organizational Method

The revolutionary party is like a ship which must follow a course between two reefs on either of which it can founder: on the one side bureaucracy, on the other a lack of discipline. The ranks of the party must be able to decide the party's program; they must also be able to select the leadership and to replace it with a new leadership when they are dissatisfied with its performance. Otherwise, the ranks cannot correct the mistakes or shortcomings of the leadership, and they cannot have genuine confidence in the leadership. On the other hand, the democracy of the party is designed for a specific purpose, to advance the socialist revolution; it cannot be permitted to become an excuse for endless discussion and debate; it must be supplemented by centralized leadership and discipline so that the party can carry out its tasks. Democracy—for the decision on the program and the selection of the leadership. Centralism—for the subordination of the minority to the majority, for discipline, for unity in action. Democratic centralism—to synthesize the two as the only means for safeguarding and applying the program. That was Lenin's organizational method; that is the organizational method defended in Cannon's book.

"The Struggle For A Proletarian Party" raises far too many questions of importance to readers of *The Militant* for it to be dealt with adequately in a review of this size. It will be discussed again in coming issues of this paper.

Stalin Fosters Military Caste To Prop Up His Rule In USSR

By John G. Wright

The rise and intrenchment of an officers' caste is among the most striking war-time developments in the Soviet Union. This privileged military formation of rather recent origin is now crowned by more than 2,000 generals, and about a score of marshals, among them Stalin himself. The bulk of the generals are new appointees.

Godfrey Blunden, Moscow correspondent of the Australian newspaper, *Daily Telegraph*, has recently returned after a 14 months' stay in the USSR with one of the best eyewitness reports. He estimates that "about one-third (of the generals) have been given the rank in the last six months." Blunden's estimate is more than borne out by the reports in *Pravda*, official organ of the Russian Communist Party. Since January and as late as May of this year, the new appointments have averaged 50 a week, and the flood still continues. A similar but much less publicized process has been occurring with respect to the lower-ranking commissioned officers, whose number now probably runs well over 100,000.

SPECIAL GUARD UNITS

The mass base of this military aristocracy is constituted by special Guard units in the army. A rank and file in the Guard units wears special decorations, has a few privileges, gets better food and his pay is double that of an ordinary soldier at the front. The formation of these Guard units dates back to the first period of the Nazi invasion of the Soviet Union. Something approximating these special units, but on a much more restricted scale,

used to exist in the pre-war days under Stalin in the shape of privates' corps. With regard to the officers' corps we are witnessing a war-time evolution of a process which began before the war itself. After Stalin completed the blood purge of the Red Army, an integral part of his monstrous purges and frameups of 1936-1938, he proceeded to create a new officers' caste, restoring the rank of general, reviving the non-commissioned officers, and instituting new disciplinary statutes which deprived the rank and file of the army of all the reforms introduced by the October Revolution. In May 1940, this officers' caste was crowned by the appointment of 1,000 odd generals, few of whom now remain.

The first winter of the war saw a complete reshuffling of the Red Army command; the flow of appointments has fluctuated since then but never ceased. The new generals, as the columns of the Russian press indicate, represent a third selection in the two years of war.

It is hardly necessary to stress the dominant role of the Red Army in the life of the Soviet Union today. In many spheres the rule of the military has already replaced the former civilian bureaucracy. All transport and important sections of industry are already under direct supervision of the officers. Military tribunals have supplanted the courts. Only the front but the rear as well is under martial law. Unless Stalin assures himself the control of the army, his regime is doomed.

That is why he purged the Red Army on the eve of the war; that is why he sponsored the original officers' caste; that is why he must continue to try to keep it tied to his personal rule.

Exigencies of the war compelled Stalin to raise to leading posi-

tions in the army a considerable number of men who established their qualifications and merit on the field of battle. All previous selection was restricted to hand-picked funkies with political subservience to Stalin as the sole criterion. The rise of military leaders, who do not, like their predecessors, owe everything to Stalin, naturally presents a mortal danger to his regime. This is partially counteracted by maintaining, as before, a steady stream of purely political appointments. A great many of the top bureaucrats, previously civilians, have donned uniforms. Stalin's assumption of the marshal's baton is the outstanding instance of the "militarization" of the bureaucracy.

An integral part of the same political maneuver is the flooding of officers' ranks with the former political commissars of the Red Army. Stalin's decree abolishing the political commissars has been widely publicized; but less known is another decree he issued simultaneously, raising the commissars to the rank of officers. "Many of these new generals are former Commissars, whose experience warrants them assuming full command."

WHAT STALIN WANTS

But there are limits to such manipulations, especially in war time. That is why Stalin places so much stress on trying to drive an impassable gulf between the officers' corps and the rank and file of the Red Army. The privileges accorded the officers far surpass those arrogated to themselves by the civilian bureaucracy in peacetime. Moreover, the distinctions in rank are rigidly enforced.

Blunden's remarks in this connection are quite illuminating. He writes:

"Today there is increasing emphasis on the prestige of senior cadres: Generals are expected to dress with distinction, and the social lives of their families must be fully in keeping with their rank. Their wives must dress well, and they have special apartments and rations."

To this he adds, "Great emphasis is now laid upon formal distinction between officer and rank-and-file soldier." (*Daily Telegraph*, May 20).

And further: "The saluting of officers was insisted upon. Officers were no longer permitted to wear felt boots or to be unshaven when attending a theatre, or to carry more than a small suitcase in their left hand. It was a serious offense to appear without epaulettes. Soldiers were instructed to address their officers as 'Sir'."

CLASHING TENDENCIES

It must be borne in mind that with the exception of the introduction of new insignia (epaulettes, stripes, etc.), nothing essentially new has been added to Stalin's 1940 disciplinary statutes, patterned after the harshest Prussian model. The need for stressing these formal aspects in 1943 denotes that the Kremlin is running into unforeseen obstacles. Is there then a tendency toward the fusion of soldiers and officers? *Pravda* itself fulminated last year against the fraternization between Red officers and men at the front. This tradition, born during the Civil War, has persisted for too many years in the Red Army to be easily wiped out. Blunden implies as much when he reports:

"None of these developments has had the effect of turning the Red Army into a heel-clicking machine. Despite the fact that generals and colonels of the Red Army look exactly like officers of

Washington's Attitude To Giraud-De Gaulle Dispute

By M. Morrison

Giraud's visit to Washington in response to an invitation from Roosevelt is undoubtedly being taken as a very serious warning by the French masses that American capitalism is maneuvering to place reactionary clericalism in power in France as soon as Hitler is driven out of that country. All of Roosevelt's indignant assertions that he plans to leave the French people themselves to choose the kind of government they want is, without a doubt, accepted as mere camouflage. Washington's ostentatious welcome given to a general who has not at all been backward in voicing his reactionary sentiments and ideas is in direct contradiction to Roosevelt's statements.

What explains Washington's decision to support Giraud as against De Gaulle for its candidate as the present and future head of the French ruling clique? It cannot be that the leading politicians in Washington fear De Gaulle as a radical. From the point of view of social outlook they must know that there is no difference between the two generals.

Roosevelt and his spokesmen justify the administration's policy towards Giraud and De Gaulle on the basis of the practical consideration that it is necessary, above all, to defeat Hitler and that Giraud has the confidence of the largest group of French officers who are able to build and lead a French army.

If we grant that this factor is the one which determines the attitude of the administration, then it is clear that Roosevelt is not fighting for the four freedoms. For people do not depend upon reactionaries in any struggle for real freedom.

But according to all reports De Gaulle has a greater hold on the French soldiers than Giraud who is supported mainly by the higher officers who have grown too old to be of any real service, assuming that they have some ability in military matters. From the point of view of building an effective French army, the advocates of De Gaulle certainly have a much better argument. We must conclude that there are other considerations determining Washington's partiality towards Giraud.

American capitalism wants two things in Europe. It wants order and hegemony. It wants to prevent any revolutionary uprising to play the dominant role in Europe. It may be conceded that Roosevelt would prefer to have democratic capitalism re-established in Europe. But to grant any kind of democracy to the European masses, after Hitler is eliminated from the scene, would be taking a very serious risk that the masses would establish workers' governments and proceed to abolish the capitalist system. American capitalism is not willing to run the risk of such a catastrophe for itself.

Under the circumstances the best means to keep the European masses in subjection to capital is to support a clerical authoritarianism. The only other means is open fascism, but this method is for the present out of the question. Not because American capitalism is opposed to fascism but because fascism is a movement basing its bid for power on the support of the middle classes and this support cannot be obtained under the conditions of a military defeat of Hitler. There is also the factor that the present British and American governments claim to be fighting fascism and it would be too great a shock for the American and British masses to have their governments support the kind of regime which they claimed to struggle against.

similar ranks in the Czarist Army there is still—especially at the front—a great deal of democracy among the Red Army soldiers and officers."

Which way will the process finally unfold? Will it tend in the direction in which Stalin is driving? Or will the strengthening of the Red Army, despite Stalin, prove one of the major factors in his downfall?

These questions like all other important ones pertaining to the fate of the Soviet Union will not be settled on the restricted national arena to which the Kremlin's own horizon is restricted, but on the world arena where all questions are now being decided. The very first major revolutionary developments will have their profoundest effects precisely within the Soviet Union, and, first and foremost, within the Red Army.

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Giraud is not tainted as an open collaborator with Hitler. At the same time his reactionary character is assurance that he will not hesitate to use the most strenuous measures to keep the French masses from taking power into their own hands. Only one more characteristic is necessary to make him completely acceptable to Washington as the leader of France — a willingness to "co-operate." Thus far Giraud has shown the required subservience to satisfy the Washington politicians.

Not so long ago British imperialism was clearly supporting De Gaulle as against Giraud backed by American imperialism. There has been a sudden about-face and De Gaulle is no longer Churchill's darling child. It is clear that the most important factor in this change is the overwhelming power and influence of American capitalism to which British capitalism, at the present moment, must yield on all questions deemed vital by American capitalism. Undoubtedly, there were negotiations, agreements and compromises, but London yielded to Washington.

Naturally the same desire to keep order in Europe animates the British as well as the American capitalists. The British wanted order under De Gaulle who, they were certain, would co-operate with them rather than with the American capitalists. But in addition to the pressure exerted by the American government, De Gaulle proved to be a little too independent to be acceptable to the British.

The fact that his main support comes from the lower middle class and working class elements undoubtedly has an effect upon De Gaulle. From all indications the French working class as a whole does not support De Gaulle but in all probability the workers are far more favorably inclined towards him because he has been continuing the struggle against Hitler. It may well be that De Gaulle is by nature a very independent person. It is doubtful, however, that he would show his independence were he not supported by elements who really want to be independent of both British and American capitalism.

While De Gaulle's loyalty to democracy is, to say the least, questionable, he is certainly anxious to revive the France of pre-war days and have it play an independent role. This necessarily brings him into conflict with American and British capitalism whose post-war plans have not even mentioned France as playing any kind of a role.

It is of course not to be taken for granted that all the plans for the control of France have been laid out or that they will be strictly followed even if they have been made. In the course of events changes and modifications are quite possible.

A small section of the American capitalists is not satisfied with the present policy. If Walter Lippmann correctly represents the viewpoint of this group, then it means that this section wants order to be kept in France by De Gaulle. Being out of power they can afford the luxury of insisting on greater correspondence between assertions and deeds. To be so openly anti-democratic as to support Giraud as against De Gaulle is considered, by Lippmann and those for whom he speaks, as injurious to the interests of American capitalism.

Stalin's influence is at present behind De Gaulle who, lacking support in the more solid section of the French capitalists, is quite willing to accept the help of the Stalinists. It is evident that some compromise acceptable to all the interested parties with reference to the best method of keeping order in France and in Europe after Hitler is defeated, may still emerge.

But whatever compromise is acceptable to Washington, London, Stalin, Giraud and De Gaulle cannot possibly be acceptable to the French masses. To these names, who by devious ways are learning of Giraud's visit to Washington, it must be clear as noonday that the reactionary general is being groomed by American capitalism to keep them under control. It must be clear to the French masses that the army which is being equipped in North Africa with American material is an army which will march into France under the leadership of Giraud and be used to keep order.

This is the lesson of Giraud's visit to Washington. It is a lesson not only for the French masses but for the masses of all of Europe now suffering under Hitler's brutal dictatorship. If the European masses take this lesson to heart, they will conclude that salvation for them lies only in a Socialist United States of Europe.

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

— LEON TROTSKY

JOIN US IN FIGHTING FOR:

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

Roosevelt And The Wallace-Jones Feud

The muddle headed liberals are whining again. Roosevelt, they claim, has let them down once more. They still insist however that Roosevelt has nothing in common with the Southern poll taxers, the Big Business representatives who are running his administration and his Democratic Party.

This blind man's buff has been thoroughly exposed by Roosevelt's action in the dispute between Vice-President Wallace and Secretary of Commerce Jesse Jones.

Wallace, head of the Bureau of Economic Warfare, regarded by the New Dealers as Roosevelt's political heir, accuses RFC Administrator Jones of hampering the prosecution of the war by refusing to buy strategic materials. Jones, according to Wallace, was more anxious to show a profit on his operations than to insure that essential supplies of quinine, rubber, etc. would be at hand.

Actually, Banker Jones is not very much interested in the government showing a profit. In his signing of government contracts with Alcoa, U. S. Steel and the other billionaire corporations, Jones revealed that what concerns him primarily is maintaining and strengthening the domination of the monopolies. Far from worrying about the people's money, Jones has been busy for the past twelve years in handing out through the RFC tens of billions of dollars of federal funds to the corporate interests.

Jones is in the Roosevelt administration not because he is a Roosevelt supporter, but because he is the representative of Big Business. The billion dollar industrialists and bankers insist that their own man hold the purse-strings and sign the checks.

Is Wallace however interested in fighting monopoly? Not at all. In common with the rest of the crew of liberal muddle heads, he would like to see a capitalist system free from profiteering scandals. He would like to see the flourishing of imperialism which would provide every child with a quart of milk. But Big Business makes clear to him again the old maxim: Love me, love my dog. You must take me as I am.

Big Business in America is running the war. Not only indirectly, but also through its numerous dollar-a-year corporation representatives. Roosevelt is the chief spokesman of American capitalism.

He acted true to his role in the squabble between Wallace and Jones.

He cracked down upon Wallace, abolishing his Board of Economic Warfare, depriving him of all power over the foreign purchase of materials,

removing his principal assistant, Milo Perkins, cleaning out the New Dealers. The new agency created is in charge of Leo Crowley, utilities president and banker-pal of Jesse Jones, a conservative who fought even the mild reforms of the LaFollette Progressives in Wisconsin. Jones retains his veto-power over expenditures.

Roosevelt's "win-the-war" program is dictated by the needs of the ruling capitalist class. Administration of that policy involves appeasement of reactionaries at home and abroad, patronage of the profiteers, impoverishment of the masses, repression against labor.

It is impossible to back Roosevelt and his Democratic Party without helping to bring about these inescapable consequences of his program and thereby strengthening the forces of reaction.

Scrap The "Little Steel Formula"

The AFL-CIO bureaucrats keep uttering theatrical threats that either prices have to be rolled back or the "Little Steel formula" scrapped. Latest to be heard from is William Green who declared on July 19 to the convention of Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees that "unless prices of food are brought down to a reasonable level," organized labor will have "no other recourse but to demand wage increases."

This is the formula of betrayal. This is the formula by which these fakers try to whitewash Roosevelt's freezing of wages under conditions of ever-mounting war inflation.

Green and Murray are making a laughing-stock out of labor with all their hypocritical talk about rolling back prices when every government official knows and virtually admits that the rollback scheme is an empty promise, a fraud. Even the flimsy OPA restrictions are being lifted.

Here, out of the OPA's own mouth, is the sordid story of its impending bankruptcy:

Price Administrator Brown pointed out that the present subsidy program will be limited to \$450,000,000. Canned vegetables and possibly butter and beef are the sole items on which prices are to be rolled back. Grade labeling is out. Instead of getting 160,000 additional investigators he asked for, Brown must cut down on his present staff. Business men are to replace key OPA officials who made some stab at price control.

Brown said that the subsidies would result in reducing the cost of living by 1%. Green himself admits that food prices have gone up 50-200%.

The CIO originally set July 15 as the deadline for rolling back prices. Now Murray has forgotten about the dead line. What are these labor fakers waiting for? Do they want the White House to hang out a sign saying: "We will positively not roll back prices" before they start to fight for higher wages?

The rank and file want the "Little Steel formula" scrapped. They want a rising scale of wages to meet the soaring costs of living. And they want it, they need it NOW!

Two Vetoes

Amid their denunciations of the Democratic-Republican Congress that passed the Smith-Connelly slave-labor law, the labor fakers continue the farce of slobbering over Roosevelt, "the great humanitarian" who remained true to labor by vetoing the bill. According to these scoundrels, Roosevelt was simply overwhelmed by the reactionary bloc.

What a whitewash of Roosevelt's role! Roosevelt gave the game away in the case of the anti-subsidy bill where he really wanted Congress to uphold his veto.

Consider these tell-tale differences in the two cases.

Roosevelt wrote a blistering veto message to Congress on the anti-subsidy bill. He wrote a friendly veto message to Congress on the Smith-Connelly bill, agreeing with seven out of its nine points and virtually inviting Congress to re-pass it.

For a full day before the President returned his anti-subsidy veto, his assistant Byrnes was in conference with the Senate majority leader, McCormack, who in turn conferred with the House speaker, Sam Rayburn. Roosevelt remained silent and inactive for ten days while the Smith-Connelly bill lay on his desk. He dispatched his veto message to Congress at the last moment, giving many of the pro-Roosevelt Congressmen plenty of time to leave town and hampering labor representatives in their campaign against its passage.

Byrnes didn't line up any votes to defeat the Smith-Connelly bill. On the contrary, support behind the scenes he had been lining up earlier for the bill.

The Democratic whips sent telegrams to fifty absentee Congressmen to return and vote to uphold the anti-subsidy veto. Nobody bothered to call back the pro-Roosevelt Congressmen to back up the veto of the Smith-Connelly bill, although only nine votes in the House and two in the Senate were needed to sustain the veto. There were ten Representatives from New York City alone, all elected with labor support, who absented themselves from the voting.

The least scrutiny of the circumstances surrounding Roosevelt's veto of the Smith-Connelly bill would convince a child that Roosevelt merely went through a few facing-saving technicalities while he and his aides connived with Congress to put over the anti-strike law.

It Is Time to Build An Independent Labor Party

Offspring Of Capitalism



WORKERS' FORUM

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

Why Labor Must Support The Miners

Editor:

The miners' fight has made its way into every labor organization.

The leadership, bound to Roosevelt, supports the War Labor Board in its attacks on the mine union. This usually takes the form of paying lip service to the justified demands of the miners but condemning John L. Lewis for striking.

The CIO leadership, which has buried John L. Lewis every six months, is in fear of the moral authority which he now commands amongst the workers in the mass production industries.

The only organized "rank and file" attacks on the miners come from the Stalinists.

In recent unofficial gatherings of North Jersey CIO unionists, the miners' fight was the topic of some heated discussion. At one of these particular meetings, attended by local union presidents, shop stewards, committeemen, etc., several militants took the floor and asked the question of how else the miners could win their admittedly just demands except by striking, in the face of the "Little Steel formula" and Roosevelt's executive order freezing wages.

One worker asked if the miners' demands were justified, why did not Roosevelt put some heat on the rich operators instead of on the hungry miners. Others pointed out that the real saboteurs of production are the companies like the U. S. Steel Corporation, which sold defective steel and thus imperiled the lives of workers in the Army and Navy. And that this same U. S. Steel was the spearhead of the fight against the miners.

One very convincing argument given by a militant was that if the miners are crushed, it would be the signal for a new attack on the workers living standards.

John L. Lewis or no John L. Lewis, if we expect to get any wage increases, we had better rally to the support of the miners.

A. W. Bayonne, N. J.

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Warns Bosses Will Try To Incite 'Riots'

Editor:

As a Negro worker who has read a good deal about the so-called "race riots" during and after the first world war, I want to call upon everybody in the labor movement to be on guard against any moves to provoke conflicts between white and Negro workers. In a time like this when the employers are trying to weaken the unions, they will not hesitate to encourage race friction by pretending to favor colored workers over white or white over colored. If we fall asleep on this job, the workers of all races will suffer.

I first heard about your paper in the Pittsburgh Courier a few weeks ago, when it told about your editorial explaining why the unions must come to the defense of the Negro people, and have read only a few of your issues since then, but I want to congratulate you on your stand and ask you to keep up the good work.

L. R. New York City

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What other Workers Say About Miners

Editor:

The grim struggle of the miners is still being watched. And even when it is over, it will be forgotten by no one. Most of the workers I know feel that the miners are 100 per cent right. I want to pass on to you a few of their comments in the hope that some miners will read them and realize they are not so friendless as the capitalist press, radio and movies try to make out.

Steel worker: "I can't live on \$55 a week. How can they get along on 40 — and in a company town?"

Construction worker: "Whatever these miners get, it won't be enough."

Dishwasher: "What do I think of them? They know their onions, brother."

Steel worker: "If the government's running the mines, why doesn't the government come across with the dough?"

Welder: "Of course the rest of labor ought to help them out, but those big shots of the AFL and CIO are doing just the opposite."

Burner: "What do I think of the miners? Listen, you just give me 15 minutes and I'll show you where those miners are right, mister."

Steel worker: "It's all politics. If those Republicans and Democrats weren't dominated by the corporations, the government would give something to the miners. We ought to have a political party dominated by the unions. But they call that socialism."

From the discussions I have participated in, I can add that those with more than a couple of years wage slavery under their belts especially the steelworkers, shipbuilders, construction and iron workers of this city, are the strongest sympathizers of the miners.

The aircraft and auto workers here are not so solid. They are composed of more than 50% women — new to industry. And among them are bank clerks, bell boys, students, soda jerkers, etc., who have yet to learn the bitter lessons the miners learned long ago. But even here many militant voices are being raised.

Steel Worker, Buffalo, N. Y.

German Emigres Issue Statement On Comintern

A group of German workers now living in Great Britain issued the following declaration to the British Socialist Appeal shortly after the announcement of the Comintern dissolution:

"The undersigned, ex-members of the Communist Party of Germany, following the dissolution of the Comintern, make this statement:

"1. The Comintern has led a shadow-existence since the last Congress in 1935.

"2. The Comintern acted since the expulsion of Trotsky in November, 1927 as an agency of Soviet Russian foreign policy. One of its main tasks appeared to be the spying out and denunciation of internationally minded communists.

"3. The liquidation by trial and murder of nearly all the leading members of the Comintern was essential to clear the way for the decease of the Comintern.

"4. The Comintern with its unprincipled, opportunist, nationalist and unscrupulous policy (Ruhr policy, Canton putsch, popular front, League of Nations policy, Mussolini pact, Spain, Hitler pact) now defunct has disappeared ignominiously.

"5. It is to the credit of Leon Trotsky that he first perceived the cancer growing in the body of the Comintern and therefore inspired and organized the Fourth International. We ask the comrades in exile to reconsider their views and tactics, to take once more their place in the class struggle. They should not allow considerations of out-moded allegiances now formally revoked, to stand in their way.

"6. Nevertheless the Comintern has stood in the eyes of the oppressed as a portent of world revolution. For this reason it has been respected even in the days of its decay and feared by its enemy.

"7. The Third International is dead. Long live the Fourth International."

The Socialist Appeal withheld the signatures for obvious reasons.

An AP dispatch from Chungking on July 7 quoted a government spokesman as saying that the dissolution of the Comintern had caused a split in the Chinese Communist Party. One group which favored the C. I. dissolution is moving closer to the Chiang Kai-shek government, while the other group still holds to the need for internationalism, according to the report.

Trotskyists Still Active In Indian Struggle

The Bolshevik-Leninist Party, Indian section of the Fourth International, fights on despite the bestial repressions and totalitarian censorship of British imperialism, writes the July issue of the magazine, Fourth International, which is in possession of ten leaflets and a pamphlet published by the Indian Trotskyists during the past year.

Through the leaflets one can follow the response of the party to the revolutionary developments in India. The latest of them is a leaflet issued for the Indian Independence Day celebration on January 26, 1943. Another is a rounded political statement issued on August 9, 1942, when the All-India Congress Committee ratified the resolution of its Working Committee to launch a mass civil-disobedience struggle.

This leaflet solidarizes with the struggle for independence, warns the masses to be on guard against the weak and vacillating Gandhi leadership and the policy of compromise, pledges support to "any mass action that the Congress may take against British imperialism," and confidently predicts:

"The movement started under the leadership of the Congress is bound to develop into channels other than those laid down for it."

The Independence Day leaflet sums up the results of six months of struggle and records that the bestial repressions of the British rulers, "far from leading to demoralization, increases the volume of desperate discontent. The masses are reaching out for new methods of struggle."

The Soviet Union and Stalinism are dealt with by almost all the leaflets. One of them, headed "Defend the Soviet Union," explains why the only way to defend the workers' state is by revolutionary struggle against all the capitalists.

The July Fourth International may be obtained for 20 cents from Business Manager, 116 University Pl., New York 3, N. Y.

Giraud Praises Some Nazi 'Accomplishments'

General Henri Giraud took the occasion of his visit to Canada last week to pay a tribute—not to "democracy" with which he is formally aligned, but to Nazi Germany. "Not all is bad in the National Socialist system," he said. "Some of its accomplishments have been magnificent." (N. Y. Times, July 17.)

The General did not go on to develop at length just what "accomplishments" of the Nazis struck in him the responsive and admiring chord. But they are no secret. The decrees instituted by his predecessor Admiral Darlan in North Africa and patterned after those of Vichy and the Nazis remained in force under Giraud. The General and his colleagues are for an "orderly government." To them the "order" that is established by dictatorship is truly "magnificent." If that dictatorship needs to be propped up by discriminatory legislation against racial minorities like the Jews, why that's "magnificent" too. A few drastic regulations and laws against labor don't harm either. Assuredly, in the eyes of the French militarists like Giraud, Nazi anti-labor laws are not the least of worthy accomplishments.

Left to his own devices, and with the help of the State Department in Washington, Giraud can be expected to do his best to emulate the "good" sides of Nazism.

