

Leon Trotsky On The Problems Of Italy

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THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

VOL. VII—No. 32

NEW YORK, N. Y., SATURDAY, AUGUST 7, 1943

PRICE: FIVE CENTS

ANTI-WAR REVOLT SPREADS IN ITALY

DANGERS FACING THE ITALIAN REVOLUTION

An Editorial

Italy is now in the throes of revolution. The Italian revolution is only ten days old. But already the workers there are displaying all the imagination, boldness and heroism that the working class always displays in time of revolution. They are taking their place at the head of all the oppressed masses in the country. And their example is already inspiring the workers of all Europe, especially those of Germany.

It was the Italian masses that toppled Mussolini from power. They stormed the houses of the fascist leaders. They sacked the leading fascist newspapers. They forced open the prisons and freed the political prisoners. The Italian workers seek to obliterate and destroy every symbol and vestige of the hated fascist regime.

After defying the demands and the anger of the revolting Italian people for three days, the monarchist-militarist Badoglio government retreated under the pressure of the masses and ordered the fascist party dissolved. A day later the government was likewise forced to abolish the whole facade and apparatus of the fascist regime.

But the power behind the Badoglio regime — the capitalists, the church hierarchy, the monarchy — this reactionary gang, which helped organize the fascist government, which propped it up for over twenty years, and which finally discarded it in desperation, this reactionary gang still hopes to salvage itself and its rule.

The acts of the new Badoglio government show it to be as reactionary and hostile to the people as the Mussolini government it replaced.

See how desperately it tries to cling to the power which is already beginning to slip out of its hands. The government's first act was to clamp down martial law, forbidding three people or more to gather in or out of doors. Next it suppresses the newspapers that various underground groups have already begun to publish. A drastic military censorship is clamped down. And finally, the Badoglio government crowns its rule of infamy by ordering the soldiers to shoot down the demonstrating workers.

But all to no avail. The revolution continues. It grows broader, deeper, more sweeping every day. It is already finding response throughout Europe. Badoglio can still issue draconian orders. He is already losing the power to carry them out.

The Italian workers did not rise in their might, they did not take to the streets, they did not storm the fascist homes and jails, they did not call political strikes merely to replace a Mussolini with a Badoglio. The Italian people want something far more substantial than that. They want an end of the war. They want bread. They want to regain their political rights and freedom.

Left to their own devices, the Italian masses would un-

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Bad News for Wall Street

THE NEW YORK TIMES
SUNDAY, AUGUST 1, 1943
STOCKS CONTINUE
DOWNWARD TREND
Big Board Ends Week at the
Lowest Level Since Decline
Began With Mussolini Ouster



The Italian-American Agents Of Wall Street

By John Adamson

Italian-American Committees are beginning to spring up in this country like mushrooms after a rain. They are all busy providing the American people with "expert" opinions on what is transpiring in Italy and are profuse in giving advice to the Italian people.

These groups are all organized by Americans of Italian descent. It is this fact which supposedly gives them the authority to render judgment and advice. Being themselves of Italian parentage they presumably have the best interests of the Italian people at heart.

A brief examination of all these groups reveals that they are representatives or agents of American capitalism and that their sole purpose is to organize the Italian population of this country more effectively to put over the foreign policy of Washington-Wall Street.

PECORA COMMITTEE
On July 26 a number of American politicians of Italian origin met and organized the "American

Committee for Italian Democracy." New York Supreme Court Justice Ferdinand Pecora was elected as temporary chairman of the committee, Luigi Antonini, vice-president of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, AFL, vice-chairman. Others officers and members included Generoso Pope, Rev. Frank B. Gigliotti of California, Charles Fama, Chairman of the Italian Medical Board of the N. Y. City Retirement System, Judge Felix Forte of Boston, etc.

This Pecora - Antonini - Pope committee is the most imposing of all the Italian-American committees, in the sense that many of its members enjoy unofficial backing of the government war agencies and that the bulk of its sponsors consists of solid, well-heeled and influential politicians and government figures.

The composition of this group is revealing. Generoso Pope is a millionaire Italian newspaper publisher. Judge Forte is President of the Sons of Italy, an organization which supported the fascist regime right up to Pearl Harbor.

REACTIONARY PROGRAM
The program of the group is in line with the composition of

W D L, NEGRO LEADER JOIN IN POSTAL PARDON PLEA

The Workers Defense League announced this week that it had joined the national campaign to free Kelly Postal, Secretary-Treasurer of Minneapolis Teamsters Local 544-CIO, now serving five years in prison on a trumped-up charge of "embezzlement."

Stating its belief that "this veteran trade unionist" is "a victim of a frameup," the League is publicizing his story and urging its members and friends to help in petitioning Governor Ed Thye of Minnesota for Postal's immediate and unconditional pardon.

The fight for Postal's freedom is being widely backed by unions and liberal groups throughout the country. Joseph E. Ford, Secre-

Ten Days Of The Badoglio Government

By Philip Blake

As he took over Mussolini's job of premier on July 25, Marshal Badoglio tried to talk with the voice of a strong man: "...whoever believes he can interrupt the normal progress of events or whoever seeks to disturb internal order will be struck down without mercy," he declared.

Badoglio evidently expected to rule with an iron hand in the interests of the capitalist class and the king. He and the ruling class had known in advance of the rising spirit of revolt among the masses. But they had not reckoned that it would develop so rapidly. Badoglio's strong words were quickly reduced to bluster by the action of the masses.

CABINET COMPOSITION

Badoglio's cabinet was necessarily a weak one. To have any influence among the people, it had to give the impression of being non-fascist. But every important figure in the capitalist ruling circles had been in or close to the fascist party, and to create a cabinet Badoglio had to choose non-fascists.

Even so, practically all of them had served Mussolini in the past, and the cabinet was such that the Rome correspondent of the Stockholm Tidningen could report it was "formed out of the same elements that only a few days ago constituted the kernel of the fascist party." The ruling class put on a new mask, but everyone with old reaction could see the same old reactionary face behind it.

Badoglio proclaimed martial law on the second day ordering his troops to treat as outlaws any group of more than three on the streets. But from the reports martial law has been marked more in the breach than the observance. The masses poured out into the streets to demonstrate not by threes but by thousands. Badoglio was willing enough to shoot them down, but apparently not able. He cannot rely fully even on his troops. In the face of the spreading demonstrations his strong words have been of no avail. The press reports of how he handled the demonstrators in Milan is a classic example of impotence.

On July 29, when the military commander in Milan ordered the demonstrators to disperse, the masses stood their ground. The commander did not know if his soldiers would shoot if he gave the order, and he did not know what would follow if they did shoot. So he telephoned Badoglio and asked for instructions. According to the UP report, "Badoglio saved the day with a simple solution." He ordered the sounding of the air raid sirens although no planes were in sight, and the demonstrators ran for cover.

But what a Pyrrhic victory for Badoglio! The masses took it as a sign of weakness; the soldiers' obedience to their officers sank lower than ever. That's the kind of "solution" you can use only

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Italian Upsurge Inspires Workers Thruout Europe

By William F. Warde

The uprising of the Italian masses bringing about Mussolini's downfall and the collapse of Fascism has shaken Europe like an earthquake. Here are some of the first repercussions recorded in the American press:

Germany:

Mussolini's exit stunned the Nazi ruling circles. The news was first received by official Berlin with forbidding silence. For 24 hours the press and radio tried to belittle the events.

The Nazi censorship soon had to discard the pretence that the Italian events were a minor matter and began to give fuller details. A counter-campaign was started against "rumor mongering" upon orders from Propaganda Minister Goebbels who whined about "unpatriotic" Germans listening to foreign broadcasts.

While the Nazi ruler kept mum, the masses buzzed with excitement.

(Continued on page 2)

Roosevelt Expresses Allied Aims

By Anthony Massini

The clearest expression so far of the Allied leaders' attitude toward the Italian events was President Roosevelt's statement, at his press conference July 30, that he "did not care with whom we dealt so long as he was not a member of the Fascist government and could get the Italian troops to lay down their arms and could prevent anarchy. It might be the King or a Prime Minister or a Mayor who could serve these ends." (N. Y. Times, July 31.)

The kind of deal referred to here by Roosevelt is not the same thing as the acceptance of unconditional surrender. If all it meant were unconditional surrender, then Churchill and Roosevelt would certainly be ready for that purpose to "deal with" Mussolini and Hitler too.

This "deal" obviously implies something different—a willingness on the part of Roosevelt to recognize as the authoritative government of Italy, "for the present," those who meet the three conditions laid down in his statement, something which presumably he was not prepared to do with the Mussolini regime.

PROTECTS KING AND BADOGLIO

Roosevelt describes Mussolini, Hitler and Tojo as the "war criminals." He declared in his July 28 radio address that the Allies "will have no truck with fascism in any way, in any shape

(Continued on page 3)

Outbreak In Harlem Was Caused By Jim Crowism

Five killed, more than 500 injured, more than 500 arrested, property damages exceeding \$5,000,000—these were the immediate results of the outburst in Harlem last Sunday and Monday.

It began Sunday night when a white policeman shot and wounded a young Negro soldier who had objected to his maltreatment of a Negro woman he was arresting. The rumor spread that the soldier had been killed, and resentment rose high. Groups began roaming the streets, fighting with police, breaking store windows, carrying off merchandise. With the exception of 40 police injured all of the casualties were Negroes.

What set these thousands of people into motion in this way? The shooting of the soldier was only a chance incident; it could have been precipitated by some other accidental event. The real cause must be sought in the social, economic and political conditions of the Negro people.

JIM CROW BRUTALITY

On several occasions in the past year Negro leaders have been compelled to complain publicly about the brutality of the

AN EDITORIAL ON HARLEM

— See Page 4 —

New York police toward Negro citizens. More than one outbreak provoked by police brutality has been narrowly averted in Harlem in recent months. The Negro people are sick and tired of being beaten, maimed and thrown into jail on the slightest pretext.

They are revolting against victimization by the police who have been taught by the press that all Negroes are "muggers" and must be dealt with viciously.

Another and equally important factor in the Harlem conflict was the fact that a Negro soldier was involved in the initial incident. Nothing rankles in the Negro people so much as the true stories they hear and read about the treatment of the Negro soldiers, especially in southern camps. Many Harlemites have sons and brothers in Camp Stewart, Ga., and other "hell-holes," as the soldiers describe them, and they know that their relatives, being trained to fight in a "war for democracy" are themselves Jim Crowed and insulted in a manner to make Hitler green with envy.

Every Negro leader in Harlem recognizes this to be one of the basic causes of last Sunday's outbreak.

On top of these are the economic conditions in Harlem, aggravated in the extreme by the

war. Rents are uncontrolled. Prices are higher, the quality of food is generally lower, and food is scarcer than in other parts of the city. Negroes have the worst-paying jobs, despite the manpower shortage. The Negro people suffered from the lowest standard of living in the city before the war; today they are even worse off.

A SPONTANEOUS PROTEST

On Sunday and Monday the Negro people carried on a spontaneous protest. Their protest took on a distorted, elemental and chaotic form, as protests usually do in the absence of a clear program and a trained leadership; under these conditions the protest could not possibly win what the demonstrators wanted. But it is perfectly clear that they were trying to show in some way that they were fed up with present conditions and ready to fight against them.

STALINIST TREACHERY

The Communist Party, which has considerable influence in Harlem, was among the very first to denounce the protesting Negroes. Acting in the interests of the Stalinist bureaucracy in the Soviet Union these Stalinist finks have betrayed the Negro struggle as well as the labor movement at home.

For LaGuardia, who knew long ago what was coming and failed to do a thing about it but make

(Continued on page 2)

New York Meeting on Italian Events

SPEAKER:
FELIX MORROW
EDITOR OF
'FOURTH INTERNATIONAL'

TIME:
SUNDAY, AUGUST 8
AT
8:00 P. M.

PLACE:
116 UNIVERSITY PL.
CORNER OF
13th STREET

AUSPICES:
SOCIALIST WORKERS
PARTY
LOCAL NEW YORK

TRADE UNION NOTES

By E. R. Frank

The War Labor Board has moved to drop charges of unfair labor practices against the West Coast Kaiser shipyards. This action is in compliance with the rider, recently passed by Congress and approved by Roosevelt, to the effect that no contract can be challenged which is more than three months old. This rider, passed with the encouragement and backing of the AFL metal trades council, opens the way for the signing of backdoor "sweetheart" agreements and the legalization of company-union set-ups.

The WLB has rejected the demand of the UAW-CIO for a five cent hourly wage increase for the workers of the Bendix Aviation Corporation.

Attorney General Francis Biddle ruled on July 31 that under the Smith-Connally Act the representatives of any group of employees in a war plant, even if speaking for a minority, could request a strike vote.

As a result of this ruling, the National Labor Relations Board must conduct a strike vote on August 4 at the Allis-Chalmers plant in Springfield, Ill. Local 120 of the Farm Equipment and Metal Workers Union, CIO, holds a contract with the company. District 50 of the United Mine Workers demanded the strike vote after the NLRB refused its petition for an election at the plant.

There are about 41 other requests for strike votes in the hands of the NLRB.

The CIO will hold its annual convention the first week of November in Philadelphia.

The Executive Board of the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers, CIO has requested all of its locals to approve a ten-cent monthly increase in per capita payment to the International office. The leadership of this union, dominated by the Stalinists, has just concluded the signing of a major contract with the Westinghouse corporation which grants absolutely no wage increases but does bring back the speedup system.

The board statement points out that in the past year its expenses have increased 77% while income rose only 24%. Of course that is nothing new in a Stalinist-dominated union. The Stalinists always squander union funds and spend money like a bunch of drunks. The membership should instruct them to spend less money on full page ads in the daily papers plugging for the speedup plan. Maybe then they will be able to "balance their budget." Maybe a still better idea would be to boot out the Stalinist flunks and speedup advocates, and elect to office union men of honesty and integrity.

The Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees, which now holds contracts with 314 railroads, totalling 93% of the entire railroad mileage of the country, instructed its president at the recent Detroit convention to withdraw the union's no-strike pledge any time he deems fit.

Business Week, national businessmen's paper, pointed out in last week's issue that the Smith-Connally Act might turn out to be a two-edged sword. It warned the business community that labor at the present time "cannot be pushed down from its present high ground."

V. C. Jones of the Washington staff of the Wall Street Journal states that "America's industrial army is suffering annual casualties forty times as great as those of the United States armed forces since Pearl Harbor." He estimated that at least 90% of all the accidents and deaths can be prevented.

If they can be why aren't they? Because safety measures cost money and the bloated war profiteers don't intend to cough up.

The National Labor Relation Board will decide on August 3 whether to order a run-off election at the Glenn L. Martin aircraft company plants in Baltimore. The results of the original NLRB election were as follows: UAW-CIO, 40.4% of the vote, No union, 42.3%, Machinists Union, 11.1%.

Regardless of the decision of the NLRB, the "fat boys" of the labor unions have to make up their minds that you can't build the union movement by supporting wage freezing programs and Little Steel formulas.

Over 100 delegates representing the western Ohio district of the UAW-CIO voted at the regional conference held in Fostoria, Ohio on July 17 to demand that

the UAW national convention rescind the no-strike clause and scrap the Little Steel formula.

The July 15 United Mine Workers Journal writes: "It is now learned that the securing of legislative compromises affecting appropriation bills and the votes necessary to sustain the President's veto of the Commodity Credit Bill prohibiting subsidies to pay for roll backs was done at the expense of the Administration's private guarantee to the Senate and House leadership that no additional roll backs would be attempted, and even those prices upon which roll backs were in effect would be permitted to rise."

"All America rejoiced over the capitulation of Mussolini except Wall Street," states the July 27 AFL Weekly News Service.

Joseph D. Keenan, WPB Vice Chairman for Labor Production reveals that about 85% of American war workers are in plants covered by union agreements.

The July number of the Indiana Teamster, under a leading editorial entitled "His Honor Stinks" declares: "Federal Judge Thomas W. Slick of Fort Wayne, Ind., should be impeached from office for violation of his trust and for callous disregard for the safety of American soldiers and sailors."

Slick is the judge who presided at the trial of officials of the Anaconda Wire and Cable company. The editorial concludes: "This decision is as rotten as the crime."

The following item appears in the Washington column of Justice, magazine of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, AFL: "The political rumblings of labor's anger with a Tory Congress on anti-labor legislation and with a do-nothing Administration on food prices and living costs worked out finally in the CIO writing President Roosevelt a political blank check. What the AFL will do along that line must await the Executive Council's meeting in Chicago August 9, and while the AFL is showing tendencies towards a more independent tough-mindedness, in their case, too, there seems little question of the final political lineup."

La Follette's weekly paper, The Progressive, carries important information in its August 2 issue. Fred Rodell in his article on John L. Lewis writes: "Even the President paid back-handed tribute to Lewis' upsurge in his strange handling of the anti-strike bill. It is quite clear that he originally let it be known he would sign the bill—or at least allow it to become law without his signature—no doubt in the hope that labor would blame the bill on Lewis. Later, he seems to have realized that if he failed to veto it, his failure might well give a black eye to those labor leaders, notably Philip Murray, who had supported him loyally in the face of Lewis' attacks. Hence the late and fake veto-fake. In the sense that he made no effort whatsoever to have it upheld."

The Appalachian coal operators demand that Ickes return the mines to them at once. Ireland and Burke, spokesmen for the northern and southern coal operators, wired Ickes on July 30: "We consider it your duty under the War Labor Disputes Act and the compliance order of the National War Board in connection with its directive of June 18 to return our mines and other assets to private ownership and urgently request that you take immediate steps to do so."

The Fair Employment Practices Committee has requested the Kaiser company to reinstate 300 Negro ship workers. These men were fired because they refused to pay dues to the AFL Boiler-makers Union which has a closed shop contract with the Kaiser yards.

The west coast AFL Boilermakers Union practices "segregation." The union does not permit Negro workers to join but forces them into a special Jim Crow "auxiliary."

Hundreds of Negro ship workers are now refusing to pay dues to the auxiliary local as a protest against the union's Jim Crow policies.

The situation is white hot in the Kaiser shipyards.

The employers have embarked on a policy of defiance of the War Labor Board. Ten companies to date have refused to comply with WLB orders. The WLB however seems determined to do nothing until it is able to force the United

Revolt In Italy Inspires European Working Class

(Continued from page 1)

ment, scarcely able to restrain their inner thoughts and deep feelings. "The fall of Mussolini," reported the UP from Stockholm, July 28, "shook the German people more than any event of the war."

The first eyewitness accounts from Germany on Berlin's reaction to Mussolini's fall, reported by the N. Y. Times correspondent from Stockholm, July 31, "reveal that the Reich capital experienced its most troublesome day since Adolf Hitler assumed power when the news first became known on Monday." Numerous Italian workers in the Siemens-Schuckert plant (the General Electric Corporation of Germany) took the lead in the noonday pause to celebrate the news by singing the "Internationale." Their German fellow-workers joined in. Everybody helped to make bonfires of Herr Hitler's pictures, party membership books and Fascist and Nazi insignia. The police did nothing to halt the manifestation.

In the afternoon there appeared illegal leaflets signed by "The Anti-Nazi United Front," calling for peace, the deposition of Hitler, Goebbels, and Goering, and declaring: "What the Italians can do we can do."

"Everywhere in the streets," the Times report continues, "excited groups stood about and discussed the situation. People fought to buy newspapers and newspapers were sold out within ten minutes." Elite Guard units were held ready for trouble and patrolled government buildings in the center of Berlin.

Anti-Nazi propaganda blossomed forth. In the neighborhood of the Schleier railroad station red chalk inscriptions: "We do not want to be Hitler's flunkies any longer." In the worker's districts of Wedding and Moabit the inscriptions read "We wish Hitler were dead—Berlin stays red," or just "1918."

The correspondent for the Stockholm Tidningen, who toured the Wedding district, former Communist stronghold where most of the capital's low-salaried workers live, confirms these reports. As soon as the afternoon newspapers had come out with the first news, he found people buying newspapers as at other times they never do. "Oh, so that's how much the clock has struck," people declared "with moving seriousness."

The N. Y. World Telegram, July 27 published reports from the underground station "Atlantik" that violent demonstrations broke out among the Italian workers in Kiel, Wienerneustadt and Mersburg, who threw down their tools and shouted: "The war's over! We want to go back to Italy immediately." Particularly important demonstrations occurred in the Leina works near Mersburg, where machines were damaged. They were put down with tear gas, radio "Atlantik" reported.

"Fears of another sort were awakened among the Nazis by the ease with which Mussolini's 20-year-old regime fell into disarray," said an AP dispatch from Stockholm, July 29. "They were anxious about notions it might plant in the minds of the masses of Germans because correspondents had reported from Rome that the Italians began asking themselves: 'It was so easy, why didn't we do it long ago.'"

Here, according to a UP dispatch from Madrid, July 26, "Thousands defied the Germans to listen to foreign radio broadcasts. Reports said that in some towns the people could not restrain their joy and threw open their windows, shouting excitedly."

Many arrests have been made throughout France, Berne reports. There has never been such activity by Laval's police secret-service and other repressive organizations.

Owing to various conflicts between the French and Italians, the Italian authorities imposed a curfew in Savoy, taken from France after its defeat. But the Italian troops themselves are no longer reliable. The AP reports from Madrid, July 28, that: "Several divisions of Italian troops in Southern France have organized around anti-Fascist political prisoners called into military service from the Ijapari Island and other political prisons. The Fascist Government, soon after Italy entered the war, decided that these prisoners should be inducted into the army for service on the mainland.... With Mussolini's downfall, they have also created the

gathering strength of this movement. The CIO Political Action Committee, headed by Hillman, represents an attempt by the bureaucrats to stifle and head off this rank and file movement.

"WILL GROW LIKE CIO" declared Dobbs, "because the workers will break through all barriers and over all opposition in their drive to get what they need and want. The independent labor party movement will grow with the same explosive force as

the industrial union movement of the CIO in 1936-1937." The Socialist Workers Party champions this movement because the emancipation of the workers from the two capitalist parties is a necessary step in the emancipation of the American working class from capitalism. "We want a mass labor party but not a reformist labor party. We present the Trotskyist program of transitional demands as the program for such a party. We strive to make that program the property of the entire working class."

A collection of \$500 was taken for the SWP's Labor Party Campaign Fund.

NEWARK, N. J., July 29 — A well-attended meeting of industrial workers from the Newark area heard Farrell Dobbs speak on the growing movement on behalf of independent labor political action last night, and contributed over \$70 to further the party's work in this field.

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nucleus of anti-Axis forces inside the Italian Army."

The Balkans:

The fall of Italian Fascism has incited revolt throughout the Balkans; regimes are tottering.

Bulgaria:

King Boris and his Premier Bogdan Philoff started a fierce quarrel, "accusing each other of having aligned Bulgaria with the Axis," according to a UP dispatch from London, July 28. The situation was described as "most critical" and "the Bulgarian people were looking to Russia for guidance."

"Unrest is mounting in Sofia, where demonstrating crowds beat up the leader of the Bulgarian Fascist movement." The reinforced Gestapo "no longer has the situation under control," reported BBC, July 30.

"Bulgaria, honeycombed with Soviet agents, is reported trembling on the verge of revolution," cables the Chicago Daily News correspondent from London, July 29.

Hungary:

Hungary, it is said, had assured Rome that it would pull out of the war following Italy's lead. From Berne it is learned that the Nazis have demanded that Budapest send Hungarian troops, if necessary, to replace the Italian troops withdrawn from the Balkans.

The general situation has precipitated a crisis in the Hungarian government. After long cabinet meetings, it is rumored that Premier Kallay has resigned.

"Serious incidents" of an undisclosed nature were reported to have occurred in Dalmatia, Serbia, Albania and Montenegro. Stockholm reports that the revolting Albanians had reconquered half their country and were driving toward the coast, meeting little resistance from withdrawing Italian troops. The Dalmatians are now beginning open revolt against the Italians, Croats and Slovenes have joined with them. In the Udine district north of the Gulf of Trieste many of the natives fought with Slovene brigades battling their way into Italy along the Yugoslav-Italian frontier.

Greece:

The Berlin Radio reported on July 29 that Field Marshal Rommel had arrived in Greece because of the fighting that had broken out between German and Italian troops and because of a general strike of Greek workers protesting extension of Bulgarian occupation.

It is reported that German soldiers had disarmed Italians at Larissa where the largest exclusively Italian garrison in Greece is quartered because Italian soldiers were exchanging arms with Greeks for civilian clothes.

Conclusions:

From these first fragmentary reports which have penetrated the walls of a dual censorship, we can draw the following conclusions:

1. The uprising of the Italian people is the center of a profound anti-war and anti-capitalist movement of the masses extending throughout Europe. This revolt affects conquering and conquered nations alike.

2. This mass movement is being led by the industrial workers. The peasant population is awakened to action and follows the lead of the city workers.

3. The Italian events have enormously accelerated revolutionary developments in the rest of Europe, setting into motion German, Austrian, French, Portuguese, Greek workers against their native and foreign oppressors, arousing oppressed nationalities, kindling their hopes of liberation.

Europe is plunging toward the most titanic revolutionary events in history.

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Spain:

Franco cancelled his vacation upon hearing of Mussolini's fall. The Spanish police were ordered to keep a close watch upon all opposition groups. No ruler in Europe has more reason than Franco to fear the consequences of Il Duce's exit. His regime is no less decadent and in danger of collapse. The revolt of the Italian workers, peasants and soldiers is feeding the flames of insurrection throughout Fascist Spain.

Portugal:

Fires of proletarian revolt are ringing Franco on all sides. For three days last week tens of thousands of Portuguese workers went on strike. The strikes started in the heavily industrialized area in Barreiro on the south bank of the Tagu River, a short distance from the capital, Lisbon.

Women and children started the demonstrations over the lack of olive oil, codfish, potatoes and rice. Their demonstrations were quelled by police and soldiers who mounted machine-guns in the streets, arrested hundreds, and carried them off to prison in street-cars.

When the workers walked out in the shipyards, railway yards and power plants, the War Ministry drafted 10,000 workers into compulsory labor battalions; hastened to provide factory canteens with emergency "iron rations" as an inducement for the workers to return to their jobs; and announced that striking workers, irrespective of sex, would be "incorporated into a labor battalion to be employed exclusively on heavy manual labor on Cape Verde Island."

Ten thousand troops of the Lisbon garrison were ordered to parade before Dictator Salazar through the main streets of Lisbon on Sunday, August 1, in order to intimidate the discontented workers.

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Spain:

Franco cancelled his vacation upon hearing of Mussolini's fall. The Spanish police were ordered to keep a close watch upon all opposition groups. No ruler in Europe has more reason than Franco to fear the consequences of Il Duce's exit. His regime is no less decadent and in danger of collapse. The revolt of the Italian workers, peasants and soldiers is feeding the flames of insurrection throughout Fascist Spain.

Portugal:

Fires of proletarian revolt are ringing Franco on all sides. For three days last week tens of thousands of Portuguese workers went on strike. The strikes started in the heavily industrialized area in Barreiro on the south bank of the Tagu River, a short distance from the capital, Lisbon.

Women and children started the demonstrations over the lack of olive oil, codfish, potatoes and rice. Their demonstrations were quelled by police and soldiers who mounted machine-guns in the streets, arrested hundreds, and carried them off to prison in street-cars.

When the workers walked out in the shipyards, railway yards and power plants, the War Ministry drafted 10,000 workers into compulsory labor battalions; hastened to provide factory canteens with emergency "iron rations" as an inducement for the workers to return to their jobs; and announced that striking workers, irrespective of sex, would be "incorporated into a labor battalion to be employed exclusively on heavy manual labor on Cape Verde Island."

Ten thousand troops of the Lisbon garrison were ordered to parade before Dictator Salazar through the main streets of Lisbon on Sunday, August 1, in order to intimidate the discontented workers.

Greece:

The Berlin Radio reported on July 29 that Field Marshal Rommel had arrived in Greece because of the fighting that had broken out between German and Italian troops and because of a general strike of Greek workers protesting extension of Bulgarian occupation.

It is reported that German soldiers had disarmed Italians at Larissa where the largest exclusively Italian garrison in Greece is quartered because Italian soldiers were exchanging arms with Greeks for civilian clothes.

Conclusions:

From these first fragmentary reports which have penetrated the walls of a dual censorship, we can draw the following conclusions:

1. The uprising of the Italian people is the center of a profound anti-war and anti-capitalist movement of the masses extending throughout Europe. This revolt affects conquering and conquered nations alike.

2. This mass movement is being led by the industrial workers. The peasant population is awakened to action and follows the lead of the city workers.

3. The Italian events have enormously accelerated revolutionary developments in the rest of Europe, setting into motion German, Austrian, French, Portuguese, Greek workers against their native and foreign oppressors, arousing oppressed nationalities, kindling their hopes of liberation.

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Why Stalin Launched The "Free Germany" Movement

By A. Roland

The quick collapse of the Kursk offensive by Hitler's army in the Soviet Union is the clearest indication that the Germans are now approaching the point of exhaustion. Wars have a way of taking surprising turns, as the second World War did not fail to prove, but we may be quite certain of the inevitable defeat of fascist Germany by the Allied Nations. What will happen to Germany after its defeat? That question is no longer academic. It will rapidly become a burning issue, just as is that of the fate of Italy with the debacle of the Mussolini regime.

Stalin has made a first move in connection with the fate of Germany. This move, the constituting of a completely bureaucratic "free German" committee in Soviet Russia, has aroused considerable apprehension among the Allies. The Kremlin dictator took advantage of the propaganda appeal made by Churchill and Roosevelt to the Italian people to overthrow Mussolini, to make a similar appeal to the German masses.

True, the leaders of the democracies had made it clear that the Italian people were not quite in the same category as the German. The Italians had been duped by the fascist leaders and had been led unwillingly into the war; the German people, on the other hand, were to be held responsible for Hitler's barbaric atrocities. Stalin thus made a semi-independent gesture, but a gesture indicating a difference in attitude towards the future Germany.

CAPITALIST PROGRAM

The Allied leaders are completely opportunistic in their approach to post-war problems. They pursue the general aim of defeating their imperialist rivals and at the same time preserving the capitalist system in the defeated countries.

Just what program will be followed in carrying out these major aims, will depend entirely on the way in which events shape up as the war approaches its end. There is one section of the democratic capitalist camp that calls for the complete dismemberment of Germany, thereby destroying the basis for the German technology that proved to be so formidable a rival. Another section desires to see Germany left a united nation, but under the complete domination of the victorious powers. On one question there seems to be unanimity; namely, that Germany be taken over by the armed forces of England and America for as long as is deemed necessary to reestablish capitalism and to prevent proletarian revolution.

Stalin is quite evidently faced by a dilemma the nearer the termination of the war comes. The Kremlin opportunist had hoped in the beginning to stay out of the war entirely. Germany proved stronger, and the Allies weaker than Stalin had bargained for, so that Russia had to face a victorious and very powerful Germany.

In his own bureaucratic and short-sighted fashion Stalin had attempted to play off one imperialist camp against the other. His misjudgment in giving Hitler the go-ahead signal for the second World War cost the Soviet Union dearly indeed. Hitler tore a vast and important section away from the USSR, not only halted the upward swing of Soviet planned economy but made terrible inroads into the gains made at such tremendous sacrifices by the Russian workers — and thus will leave, even after his defeat, a very much weakened Soviet Union to face the vast tasks of peace and reconstruction.

STALIN'S DILEMMA

If Germany is dismembered, or even so weakened by the new Versailles imposed by the Anglo-American alliance that Germany will become a third-rate power for a long time to come, then the Soviet Union will face not a world with two rival imperialist camps, but a world dominated by a determined Anglo-American coalition. This coalition will dominate the seven seas. It will continue to bottle the USSR up in the Black Sea by an even greater stranglehold on the Mediterranean Sea than has ever existed before. The vast naval strength will be supplemented by an air force at the peak of its powers, and by armed forces already on the soil of Europe for the purpose of policing the occupied nations. These forces can be used to achieve Allied aims elsewhere if that becomes necessary. The defeat of Japan that will inevitably follow the downfall of Hitler in Europe will mean that the Allies also control the Pacific Ocean and bases at the back door of Soviet Russia. Stalin would be blind indeed if he did not sense the threat existing in the post-war situation that will ensue upon an Allied victory.

But in addition to the general world picture, there is the more immediate question of the states bordering Russia. The idea of

a new "cordon sanitaire" has not been altogether absent from the minds of the speculating capitalists. Stalin has given every indication, cautiously enough it is true, that he does not trust the intentions of the Churchills and the Roosevelts. Alexander Werth cables from Moscow:

"Many people (read Stalin) are disturbed by a variety of political manifestations, particularly in America but also in England. The Russian magazine War and the Working Class, now the leading Russian periodical on international affairs, prints in its latest number an article analyzing the currents in America and England with particular attention to the idea of an East European federation, which is strongly sponsored by London Poles and supported by papers like the Fortnightly. The idea of such a federation is essentially a cordon sanitaire . . ." (N. Y. Times, July 25).

STALIN'S PREFERENCE

Stalin would therefore prefer to see a united Germany whose military power has not been clipped completely, a Germany that might still serve to offset the Allies in case they be tempted to turn on their former Russian ally. Furthermore Stalin knows that more than ever the Soviet Union will have to depend on the world market for many primary tools to start reconstruction right after the war. The Allies will be in a position to deny Soviet Russia free access to its needs. A united Germany, retaining a good part of its technological strength, might then serve as both a buffer and a rival source of needed machinery.

A second dilemma for Stalin arises out of the first one. The end of Hitler will leave a completely undermined German capitalism. There is not even a monarchy in being in Germany, as in Italy, to take over the reins of government. A united Germany will leave a revived German proletariat as the strongest force in post-war Germany. Stalin does not want a working class revolution any more than does Churchill or Roosevelt. In this he is not merely serving the interests of the allied capitalist powers, but his own clique's interests as well. A revolution would just as surely doom Stalin as it would the German monopoly capitalists.

STALIN'S AIM

If Stalin's criminal policies had not given the Communist Party its death blow, then the pact with Hitler would have served to add the coup de grace. But the rule of Hitler prevented the emergence of a real working class party in the period since 1933. There can be no question but that such a party will rapidly spring up with the defeat of Hitler and the complete demoralization of the fascists. Stalin proposes to take advantage of this period in which such a strong organization does not yet exist. He hopes to use the power of his bureaucratic state apparatus, supplemented of course by bribery and corruption (yes, and murder where he considers that necessary for his purposes) to set up a polarizing force under his own fist.

This is the meaning of the "Free German" movement bureaucratically constituted on Russian soil. Its purpose, aside from any immediate propaganda value as a military weapon to undermine Hitler's armies, is not to "free" Germany, not to aid the proletarian revolution, but on the contrary to set up a capitalist Germany favorably inclined towards Stalin and willing to ally itself with him. Stalin errs badly. He is mistaken when he thinks that the post-war world can possibly settle down again to the old game of power politics. The problems of European and world economy have become too acute to await solutions in the distant future.

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Problems Of The Italian Revolution

Thirteen years ago, two years before Hitler's advent to power, a group of Italian Left Communists asked Trotsky's opinion on a number of important questions, among them the class nature of the revolution against fascism, and the character of a "transitional" period in Italy following the overthrow of fascism. These are immediate burning questions today. Despite the lapse of years, Trotsky's answer retains full validity in all its essentials.

Here is what Leon Trotsky wrote on May 14, 1930 in reply to a question about the class nature of the revolution against fascism:

Social Character of Italian Revolution

"You deny the possibility of a bourgeois revolution in Italy and in this you are absolutely correct. History hasn't the capacity for turning back a considerable number of pages, each denoting a decade. The Central Committee of the Italian Communist Party used to try to skate around this question by declaring that the revolution would be neither bourgeois nor proletarian but a 'people's' revolution. This is a mere repetition of the answer given at the beginning of our century by the Russian Populists (Narodniki) to the question of what will be the nature of the revolution against Czarism. This is the same answer that the Comintern has given and continues to give with respect to China and India. It is a pseudo-revolutionary rehashing of the social-democratic theory of Otto Bauer and others, a theory proclaiming that the state can rise above the classes, i.e., be neither bourgeois nor proletarian. This theory is fatal for the proletariat and for the revolution. In China it turned the proletariat into cannon fodder for the bourgeois counter-revolution.

"Every great revolution in history is a people's revolution in the sense that the entire people enters into the channel of the revolution. The Great French Revolution and the October revolution were people's revolutions in the full sense of the term. But the former was bourgeois inasmuch as it established private property whereas the latter was proletarian inasmuch as it abolished private property.

"Only hopelessly belated petty-bourgeois revolutionists are still capable of envisaging nowadays the perspective of neither bourgeois nor proletarian revolutions but a 'people's' (i.e., petty-bourgeois) one. But in the imperialist epoch the petty bourgeoisie is utterly incapable not only of leading the revolution but of playing an independent role in it."

With regard to the "transitional" period in Italy after the downfall of fascism, a question closely linked with the foregoing, Trotsky wrote:

Two Diametrically Opposed Conceptions

"First of all it is necessary to pose clearly the question — a transitional period from what to what? A transitional period between a bourgeois (or 'people's') revolution and the proletarian revolution — that is one thing. A transitional period between the fascist dictatorship and the proletarian dictatorship — that is something else again. In accordance with the first conception on the order of the day is a bourgeois revolution and one must fix the place of the proletariat in it, and only after this will there open up the transitional period to the proletarian revolution. According to the other conception, at issue is a series of battles, social shocks, changing situations, and partial turns which comprise the stage of the proletarian revolution. There might be several such stages. But between them there cannot and will not be either a bourgeois revolution or the mysterious hybrid of a 'people's' revolution.

"Does this mean that Italy might not again turn for a certain time into a parliamentary state or become a 'democratic republic'? I consider — apparently in complete agreement with you — that such a perspective is not excluded. But it can manifest itself not as the product of a bourgeois revolution but as the abortion of the proletarian revolution, which had not fully matured and which had not been brought to its conclusion. In the event of a profound revolutionary crisis and mass battles in the course of which, however, the proletarian vanguard proves as yet incapable of coming to power, the bourgeoisie might restore its rule on 'democratic' foundations.

A Phase of the Counter-Revolution

"Is it permissible to say, for instance, that the existing German (Weimar) Republic is the conquest of a bourgeois revolution? Such a characterization would be absurd. What took place in Germany in 1918-1919 was a proletarian revolution which for lack of leadership was deceived betrayed and crushed. The bourgeois counter-revolution, however, was forced to adapt itself to the situation created by the crushing of the proletarian revolution and to assume the forms of a parliamentary 'democratic' republic.

"Is something similar (within certain limits of course) excluded for Italy? No, it is not. The enthronement of fascism came as a result of the 1920 proletarian revolution which was not carried to its conclusion. The fascists can be overthrown only by a new proletarian revolution. Should this again not be carried to its conclusion (owing to the weakness of the Communist Party, the maneuvers and betrayals of the social-democrats, the Freemasons, the Catholics), then the 'transitional' state which the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie would be compelled to create after the founding of the fascist form of its rule could not be anything else but a parliamentary and democratic state.

"What in reality is the political aim of the anti-fascist concentration? Foreseeing the collapse of the fascist state, as a consequence of the rising of the proletariat and, generally, the oppressed popular masses, the concentration is making preparations to check this movement, to paralyze and rob it by passing off the victory of refurbished counter-revolution as the victory of the democratic bourgeois revolution.

"If one does not constantly keep in mind this dialectic of living social forces, then it is possible to become hopelessly confused and lose one's way. As I see it, there are no disagreements on this score among us.

Marxist Attitude to Democratic Slogans

"Does this mean that we, Communists, reject in advance any and all democratic slogans, and, generally, all transitional and preparatory slogans, and limit ourselves solely to the slogan of the dictatorship of the proletariat? This would be hopeless sectarian doctrinairism. We do not at all think that the proletarian dictatorship is separated from the fascist regime by a single revolutionary leap. We do not at all deny a transitional period with its transitional demands, including democratic demands. With the aid of these transitional slogans, which always open up the road for the proletarian dictatorship, the communist vanguard must conquer the entire working class to its side, while the working class as a whole must rally around it all the oppressed masses of the nation.

"I do not exclude even the slogan of a Constituent Assembly which under certain conditions can be imposed by the course of the struggle, or more correctly, by the process of the revolutionary awakening of the oppressed masses. On the broad historical scale, i.e., from a perspective of a whole number of years, the fate of Italy is undoubtedly concentrated in the alternative: fascism or communism? But to assert that this alternative has already today become the conscious attainment of the oppressed classes in the nation is obviously to indulge in wishful thinking

and to consider as solved the colossal task which still fully confronts the weak Communist Party.

"Should the revolutionary crisis unfold, say, in the course of the next few months—under the influence of the economic crisis on the one hand, and under the impact of the revolutionary impulse from Spain on the other—then vast masses of toilers, not only peasants but also workers would undoubtedly advance, alongside of economic demands, democratic slogans (freedom of assembly, of the press, coalitions, unions, democratic representation in parliament, municipalities, etc.). Does it mean that a communist party must reject these demands? On the contrary. It must invest them with the most audacious and resolute meaning. The revolutionary dictatorship cannot be imposed upon the popular masses. It can be realized in life only by conducting the struggle—the entire struggle for all the transitional demands, tasks and needs of the masses—at the head of these masses.

Bolshevik Policy in 1917

"Let me recall that Bolshevism by no means came to power under the abstract slogan of the dictatorship of the proletariat. We fought for the Constituent Assembly much more resolutely and boldly than all the other parties. We said to the peasants: 'You demand equal distribution of land? Our agrarian program goes much further. But no one except us will assist you peasants in realizing the equal use of the land. For this you must support the workers.' In regard to the war we said to the popular masses: 'Our communist task is the war against all oppressors. But you are not ready to go so far. You are striving to break out of the imperialist war. No one except us Bolsheviks will help you achieve this task.'

"I do not touch here at all upon the question of what should be the central slogans of the transitional period in Italy, right now in the year 1930. In order to outline the proper slogans, and to effect correct and timely changes, it is necessary to be far better acquainted with Italy's internal life and to be far closer to her toiling masses than is possible for me. Here, in addition to the correct method, it is also necessary to be able to listen to

the masses. I want here simply to indicate the general place of transitional demands in the struggle of communism against fascism, and, generally, against bourgeois society.

"Democratic" Charlatanism

"While advancing one or another set of democratic slogans, we must irreconcilably fight against all forms of democratic charlatanism. Such low-grade charlatanism is represented by the slogan of the Italian social-democracy: 'The Democratic Republic of the Toilers.' The toilers' republic can be only the class state of the proletariat. The 'Democratic Republic' is only a masked rule of the bourgeoisie. The combination of the two is a naive petty-bourgeois illusion of the social-democratic rank and file (workers, peasants) and deliberate treachery on the part of the social-democratic leaders (all these Turatis, Modiglianis, and their ilk). Let me once again remark in passing that I was and remain opposed to the formula of a 'National Assembly on the basis of worker-peasant committees' precisely because this formula approaches the social-democratic slogan of the 'Democratic Toilers' Republic' and, consequently, can render extremely difficult for us the struggle against the social-democrats.

The Threat of Social-Democratic Betrayal

"The assertion of the official leadership (of the Comintern) to the effect that the social-democracy no longer exists politically in Italy is a consoling theory for optimistic functionaries who see ready-made conquests where it is still a question only of great tasks. Fascism did not liquidate the social-democracy but on the contrary has conserved it. In the eyes of the masses the social-democrats do not bear the direct responsibility for the regime whose victims they are to a certain extent. This gains them new sympathies or strengthens the old ones. At a certain moment the social-democracy will coin political currency from the blood of Matteotti just as profitably as Rome coins Christ's blood. It is not at all excluded that in the initial period of the revolutionary crisis the leadership can turn out to be concentrated chiefly in the hands of the social-democracy. If large

masses are drawn immediately into the crisis, and if the communist leadership conducts a correct policy, then the social-democracy can be reduced to a cipher within a brief period of time. But this is a task and not a conquest already attained. One cannot leap over this task: one must solve it.

Blunders of the Comintern

"Let me recall in passing that Zinoviev, and later the Manu-ilsky and Kuusinen, have already announced on two or three occasions that the German social-democracy no longer exists in essence. In 1925 in a statement to the French party, written by the flighty Lozovsky, the Comintern announced that the French Socialist Party has completely departed from the scene. Against this light-mindedness the Left Opposition protested resolutely each time. Only boobies or traitors will seek to instill in the proletarian vanguard of Italy the idea that Italian social-democracy can no longer play the role analogous to that played by the German social-democracy in relation to the German revolution of 1918.

"It may be objected that inasmuch as the social-democracy has already deceived and betrayed the Italian proletariat (in 1920), it will not succeed in repeating its treachery. Illusions! Self-deception! In the course of its entire history the proletariat has been deceived many times, first by liberalism and then by social-democracy.

"Apart from everything else, it is impermissible to forget that since 1920 a decade has passed; and since the victory of fascism—8 years. Ten and twelve-year-old boys and girls, who witnessed the fascist activities of 1920-22, comprise today the new generation of workers and peasants who will struggle most selflessly against the fascists, but who lack, however, political experience. Communists will come in contact with the masses themselves only in the course of the revolution itself, and in the best case they will require a number of months in order to expose and abolish the social-democracy, which I repeat, was not liquidated by fascism, but on the contrary conserved." (Published in September-October 1930 issue of the Bulletin of the Russian Opposition, Translated by John G. Wright).

All Served the Same Cause



Reading left to right are King Victor Emmanuel, Mussolini and Marshal Badoglio shown at a fascist military parade. The three collaborated for over 20 years in maintaining the Italian fascist regime. When the Italian masses got ready to dump Mussolini, the capitalist rulers decided to dispense with his services and let the king and Badoglio carry the ball alone.

First 10 Days Of The Badoglio Government

(Continued from page 1)

once, Badoglio "saved the day" but the next day the masses were out in the street again, and when the officers summoned up the nerve to give the order to fire, the soldiers refused. All Badoglio could save in this situation was face, and he replaced the Milan commander with someone else.

ATTITUDE TO FASCISTS

It was plain from the very beginning that although the new government wanted to be accepted as non-fascist, Badoglio did not intend to take any strong measures against the bulk of the fascists. In fact, he contented himself with detaining a few notorious top leaders and incorporating the black-shirted militia into the regular army. The reason for the mildness of these measures is explained by the fact that Badoglio did not want to antagonize most of the fascists; he expected rather to use them as a base for his government.

But the strikes and demonstrations calling for the removal of fascists from all posts put a crimp in his plan. It took three days but finally his cabinet was forced to dissolve the fascist party and the Chamber of Fasces and Corporations and to prohibit the wearing of the fascist emblem. Badoglio also had to arrest many thousands of additional fascists, taking them into protective custody (and thus saving them from the hands of the angry workers).

PRESSURE OF MASSES

There was no hint of a democratic form of government in Badoglio's first statements. But before the first week had passed, he was promising an election of the Chamber of Deputies—of course, after the war.

Badoglio wanted least of all to see the working class political opponents of Mussolini released from prison but the storming of the jails and the forcible libera-

BADOGGIO'S RECORD

What is the past record of Marshal Pietro Badoglio, the man whom Roosevelt doesn't want criticized?

From his youth he has been a member of the Italian military caste, who threw in his lot with Victor Emmanuel and followed his orders before fascism, during the reign of fascism when the king supported Mussolini, and now after the collapse of fascism.

He served as Mussolini's ambassador to Brazil in 1924-25.

He served as Mussolini's governor of Libya from 1929-34 and there used the most brutal methods to smash the resistance of the Arabs.

He accepted a membership certificate in the fascist party. He led the barbarous subjugation of Ethiopia in 1935-36 and was awarded with the post of Viceroy of Ethiopia.

In 1937 he wrote a book on "The War In Abyssinia," which he "dedicated to the fascist nation" and which contained a foreword by Mussolini.

During the same year he accepted a medal from Hitler.

In a telegram on the eighteenth year of fascist rule in 1939, he told Mussolini, "I am sure that imperial Italy's fortune will always be greater under your imperial leadership."

This is the man with whom the Allied leaders are ready to play ball if only he will take Italy out of the war as Hitler's partner.

tion of these prisoners by mass action quickly induced him to promise individual review of all such cases in the immediate future.

The appointment of Badoglio was not only an attempt to hold the masses in check, but also to open the way for a settlement of the military crisis, in which a Nazi pistol is aimed at the temple of Italy on one side, with the Allies coming up to aim one at the other. But the pressure of the masses is weakening the bargaining hand of the government. Badoglio's attempts to stall are meeting with increasing resentment. Even the five party coalition of Stalins, social-democrats and liberals—which started out without any criticism

EQUAL PAY FOR EQUAL WORK FOR WOMEN

Roosevelt Expresses Aims Of The Allies

(Continued from page 1)

or manner"; he promised that Roosevelt promised that "eventually" the people of Italy will have the opportunity to choose their own government; in his July 30 press conference he repeated this promise, adding that "this issue would not arise in the first week but was a long-range affair, and no controversy was called for or advisable at this stage."

What about the accomplices and supporters of Mussolini—prominently among whom for 20 years have been Victor Emmanuel and Badoglio? He doesn't seem at all concerned in seeing them punished—in fact, he seems intent on seeing them go scot free. He tolerates no denunciations of them and goes out of his way to repudiate the OWI's attacks on them. His General Eisenhower even goes to the point of "commending" the House of Savoy.

Roosevelt is unwilling to punish the real rulers whom fascism served, on the contrary he is quite willing to have truck with them.

MEANING OF "ANARCHY"

All of a sudden we are hearing a lot of talk from the Allied leaders about "chaos and anarchy" and their dangers. But who in Italy wants chaos and anarchy? Surely not the masses, who are revolting against the chaos of imperialist war. Surely not the advanced workers, who are raising the slogan of a Socialist Republic to put an end to the anarchy of the capitalist system. Surely not the soldiers who want peace and who refuse to obey their officers' orders to shoot down the demonstrating workers.

But against whom are Churchill and Roosevelt directing their remarks about the menace of anarchy if not against these workers and soldiers? If the masses of Italy were to overthrow Badoglio and the capitalist system and set up a workers' and peasants' government, the Allied leaders would not be willing to deal with such a government, even if it sued for peace, because it would be the very opposite of their concept of law and order.

WILLING TO HELP

By "preventing anarchy" Roosevelt means that "the King or a Prime Minister or a Mayor" must oppose all attempts by the masses to create "anarchy"—that is, to create a government and system based on the interests of the workers and peasants. But he does not mean that they must carry on this job alone. He is quite willing and eager to lend a helping hand in preventing any such "tragedy".

"Regarding Italy, the President said at his press conference that when a victorious army went into a country there were two essentials: first, to put an end to armed opposition; second, to avoid anarchy which, if it appeared, would require a lot of the occupying troops to handle." (N. Y. Times, July 31.)

to continue the job which Mussolini began.

Of course in his radio address Roosevelt promised that "eventually" the people of Italy will have the opportunity to choose their own government; in his July 30 press conference he repeated this promise, adding that "this issue would not arise in the first week but was a long-range affair, and no controversy was called for or advisable at this stage."

ASSUMING HITLER'S JOB?

"Eventually." Eventually would be when the capitalists have had the time and chance to bolster their shaken power, when they have managed to create a powerful substitute for the fascist party. Eventually would be when the workers' revolts have been put down, their organizations dispersed or crushed. Eventually would be when the balance of power has swung safely back to the side of the capitalist class, when there no longer appears to

be the opportunity for the masses to have their way.

What happens in Italy may well serve as the pattern for all Europe. Hitler's historic role was to attempt on an all-European scale what Mussolini achieved for a time in Italy—the maintenance of decaying capitalism by the smashing of the workers' organizations. Will Allied troops—and food and money—be used to carry on Hitler's work when his day is done?

What Washington and London think about this question is important, but the final word will be said by the workers of Europe and their class brothers, the workers of the United States.

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DANGERS FACING THE ITALIAN REVOLUTION

(Continued from page 1)

questionably finish the job that they have started. They would extirpate root and branch every remnant of the criminal fascist regime. There is no question but that all the exploiters, the profiteers, the tyrants, the oppressors of the people would be decisively crushed.

We can be sure that if the Italian masses are given their choice, the revolution will go on until the capitalists, the monarchy, the church hierarchy are deposed from power and a workers' and peasants' government set up—the only kind of government which can guarantee the will of the overwhelming majority of the people, the only kind of government which can guarantee the people peace, bread and freedom.

But there's the rub. The Italian people are not being left alone. They are not being allowed to finish the job. Roosevelt and Churchill have already announced that they intend to land an army of occupation in Italy, that they intend to rule the country by military force, that they intend to prevent the people at the present time from setting up their own freely elected democratic government.

Roosevelt and Churchill are obviously preparing to make a deal with the ruling class circles under the auspices of Badoglio or some equally reactionary scoundrel, before which the Darlan deal in North Africa will pale into insignificance. Roosevelt and Churchill do not come to Italy as friends of the Italian revolution. As representatives of capitalism they can come only as its foes.

Eisenhower assures the Italian people that Allied occupation will be a wonderful thing. It will be, he says in his proclamation, 'beneficent' and 'mild.' We have already seen how this 'beneficent' occupation authority ordered the fascist administrators to remain at their posts and continue their duties in Sicily. The Italian workers are demonstrating in action that they and not Roosevelt or Churchill are the real fighters against fascism.

The American workers are watching with intense interest and obvious sympathy and enthusiasm the struggle of the Italian people for their liberation. They do not want American troops to interfere with this struggle. The American people do not want to be conquerors or tyrants. They do not want to prop up a Badoglio or similar reactionary government. They do not want to take over Hitler's hangman work in Europe. They must make their voices heard right now against the Washington-Wall Street conspiracy against the Italian people. The cry must become loud and overpowering: HANDS OFF THE ITALIAN REVOLUTION!

The Beginning Of The Italian Revolution

The following is the text of a speech delivered by George Breitman, editor of *The Militant*, at a meeting held on Thursday, July 29, by the Central Branch, Local New York, Socialist Workers Party.

Like Churchill, we have the right to complain that there is much going on in Italy about which we have not been informed. Like Churchill too, however, we already have a general picture of what is transpiring in Italy. Unlike Churchill — and Roosevelt and the Italian ruling class and Hitler — for whom the news is a source of fear and worry, the accounts of what is taking place are the source of much rejoicing for us, as they are for the masses of Italy and all Europe. For what we have seen in the last four days is the beginning of the Italian revolution.

What we have had demonstrated to us in this short period is the utter bankruptcy of Italian fascism. This system, which was supposed to last 1000 years — it never even had the chance to reach the voting age of 21. This system, which was going to organize a society in which the class struggle would be abolished, was itself abolished by the operation of the class struggle. This system, which was going to conquer the world, failed to conquer its own workers and peasants and soldiers and fell like rotten fruit at the first military crisis on its own soil.

Fascism turned out not only exhausted and bankrupt, but bereft of all powers of resistance. When the end came, this system did not even have the capacity for self-preservation. It collapsed like a busted accordion. That old blackshirt magic is gone. It is time for Burnham to write a new book about the nature of the future society . . .

Here, comrades, we see reflected the decay of capitalism on a world scale. The same process is occurring in Germany, at a different tempo.

THE BADOGLIO GOVERNMENT

Mussolini knew the soldiers did not want to fight for fascism. He also had had a good opportunity to feel the temper of the working masses. We have read much about the demonstrations after Mussolini's removal, but now it begins to appear that there were a considerable number before as well. The Stalinists suddenly report that in March of this year 200,000 workers in the important cities, Milan and Turin, demonstrated on the streets. One account of the last meeting of the fascist leaders is that in his final speech to them "Mussolini admitted that general strikes had broken out in the large Italian cities." Before long, we can be sure, we will hear many verifications of this.

There is much we don't know about the situation, but the fascists knew enough to see that the ship was sinking; like rats they departed from it while it was still possible for them to do so. Fascism collapsed because it was used up and it knew it, even if the Burnhams didn't.

Now the Mussolini regime has been replaced by the Badoglio government in a desperate attempt by Italy's ruling class to tide over the crisis and save its power. Badoglio himself admits that it is a transitory government, but he doesn't realize just how transitory it really will be. Like the Mussolini regime, it is based on dictatorial power. It is compromised from the outset by its utterly reactionary composition. Every last member of the cabinet supported or served Mussolini in one capacity or another. It cannot serve the interests of the ruling class or secure the allegiance of the masses any better than Mussolini could.

A late report informs us that the Badoglio government promises to free all political prisoners and to hold an election to the Chamber of Deputies four months after the

For some time now, it is apparent to all, Italian fascism has survived through inertia alone. From this we can estimate how terrible is the crime of the Stalinist leaders of the Soviet Union who have refused to issue a revolutionary summons to the workers of Europe. What a different situation would obtain in Europe if there had been a Marxist leadership in the Soviet Union able and willing to arouse the masses in the Axis countries to revolt by offering them the aid and collaboration of the Soviet people. If that had been done, today we could be celebrating the victories of a Soviet Italy rather than the fall of fascism.

And here also we have the proof that our analysis of the character of fascism is fully correct. Fascism was and is the instrument of the capitalists. The capitalists were the masters all the time, not the fascists as some people tried to tell us. When they no longer had use for the fascist system which had served them so long, the capitalists cast it aside. This doesn't mean that they won't turn to it again. What a devastating answer the events of the last few days give to the liberals and reformists of all stripe who whine that the way to fight fascism is by supporting the democratic capitalists!

The precise manner in which the Mussolini regime fell is not fully known to us as yet, but that question is of episodic importance anyhow. The *N. Y. Sun*, in an editorial discussing the report that Mussolini fell over the issue of how best to defend Italy, correctly says: "It is obvious that Mussolini could not have fallen on this issue alone. The mine had already been prepared, the fuse laid. All that was needed was a spark and an explosion had to follow." What was the spark?

cessation of hostilities, although prohibiting the creation of political parties at present. This represents a recognition by the Badoglio government of the revolutionary moods of the masses and is a maneuver designed to check them by appearing to grant what they want. There is little chance that the promise to hold elections will ever be fulfilled by Badoglio, if for no other reason because he won't be around four months after the cessation of hostilities.

How broad is the arena in which the ruling class of Italy can maneuver in the present crisis? No broader, I believe, than the outlook of most members of the U. S. Congress. Their strongest card — the dumping of Mussolini — has already been played, and if anything it has served to aggravate the situation and speed up the developments. The fascist party is gone, and the ruling class has very little to lean on in its hour of need. The rulers have no base in the country outside of their internal class resources and the army, which is demoralized, divided itself and looking on for the most part to see what the masses will do.

That lack of support explains why the only important act of the Badoglio government so far has been to proclaim martial law — and it explains also why it has been unable to enforce its martial law in most cases. Seldom in the history of capitalism has the ruling class of any country been in such a disadvantageous position. The Russian capitalists had the Mensheviks and SR's to fall back on when Czarism collapsed, and the German capitalists unfortunately had the services of the Social Democrats when the Kaiser was overthrown. But the Italian capitalists as yet have no counterpart of these treacherous organizations with any sizeable influence or following.

THE MASSES IN ACTION

The only real reserve of the Italian capitalists is world capitalism, which itself is divided by the imperialist war. On the one side is Hitler, who certainly has his hands full on the eastern front to say nothing of at home, and on the other side are the leaders of the democracies who also must reckon with their own masses in any moves which brazenly conflict with their claims that they are fighting a war for democracy and against fascism. Before long the capitalists may be wishing that they could take a powder the way Mussolini did.

Comrades, we are witnessing in Italy — even though from afar and with little of the facts at our disposal — an experience in many respects without precedent in capitalist history. Consider what the Italian masses have undergone in the last 29 years: Four years of the first war, which bled Italy white. Two years of revolutionary explosion crushed only with the aid of the treachery and cowardice of the Socialist Party and because of the immaturity of the Communist Party. Two years of counter-revolutionary blows and attrition. And then almost 21 under fascism, the last three of which were spent in war again.

What are the workers like after such an experience? What have they learned from the concentration camps and the rule of naked reaction? Have they forgotten how to fight for their own interests? Has it cowed them? Permanently broken their spirit? Destroyed their self confidence and militancy? Made them forget the existence

indicate the speed with which things change in such situations, but a ready, although it was written only two days ago, *The Militant's* description of the demonstrations is out of date.

The masses are growing angrier. They don't like to see the fascist criminals let off scot free and they like even less to see Badoglio's men protecting the fascists and shooting at the workers.

Mass attacks on fascists, in which shots are fired on both sides; burning of fascist

headquarters, newspaper offices and homes; the execution of hated fascist leaders — these show one thing for sure: that living under fascism for 20 years doesn't convert you to pacifism. Think of workers hunting down and taking care of strikebreakers after a long strike and then multiply that by a thousand and you begin to get a rough idea of the situation which can be summed up as follows: "It's the open season on fascists in Italy."

WHAT THE WORKERS WANT

The press reports that the masses are breaking into the homes of the fascists and taking away the great quantities of food stored there. Yes, these workers who were brought up to be slaves, march right into the homes of the men who were their rulers a few hours ago. Is that how slaves behave? Or is that the behavior of men who feel that they are the real masters in the country?

On Monday workers in the factories of Milan threatened to leave the factories if the fascists were not removed from all posts. Tuesday, according to the press, "all workers were reported to have left their jobs." What is that but a political strike? And what is the newly reported railroad strike crippling all of northern Italy but a political strike? Apparently the workers have not forgotten how to use the weapons at their disposal, the weapons which they used so well in the period after World War I. And when strikes are here, can the reconstitution of factory committees be far behind?

Less than 24 hours after Mussolini's ouster, demonstrators in Milan asked an editor to demand through his paper the release of all political prisoners. But they didn't even wait to see if he would do it. They began storming the jails at once and although some were killed in the fight, they forced the police to release many prisoners. Another story tells of the prisoners themselves burning down part of their jail. The reports are full of stories of escaped political prisoners directing the activities of the demonstrators. The demand is so great that Badoglio must give way to it at least for the present.

Why do the workers seek the release of these prisoners? It is not only because they want to see injustice abolished, but because they realize as Leon Trotsky said on many occasions that the leaders of tomorrow are sitting in the jails and concentration camps of today. The Italian work-

ers want their leaders back — to advise them and guide them in their coming struggles.

The names of streets and squares are being renamed. The Rome radio continues to insist that King Victor Emmanuel's name is cheered. But in Milan the Corso Vittorio Emanuele has been renamed Corso Matteotti after the socialist martyr. A square has been renamed Piazza Giovanni Amendola after another socialist victim of Mussolini. Let it be noted that no streets have been renamed after Badoglio. . . . Nor even after Roosevelt.

Red flags are flying in Milan, Turin, Bologna, and other cities, according to travellers returning to Switzerland. In Como demonstrators covered a statue of Garibaldi with a red flag. Police intervened, substituting the national flag. But we can be sure that the workers will be able to find other red flags.

"Peace! Peace! An end to the war!" That is the popular cry from one end of Italy to the other. Above all the masses are revolting against the imperialist war. They want no part of it — whether it is led by a Mussolini or a Badoglio or anyone else. No one has heard a single report of a demonstration on behalf of continuing the war. Well-fed and round-bellied professors and politicians who fled from Mussolini to America are proclaiming that they will be satisfied with nothing less than the adherence of Italy to the United Nations and their war. But no one has heard of any workers in Italy raising such a demand.

What more evidence could we want to show that the masses of Italy are revolting against the imperialist war and that they want to settle accounts with the system responsible for the war and their suffering?

FEARS OF ALLIED LEADERS

Twenty long bitter hard years. But the Italian masses have not forgotten their glorious traditions. Today they are directing all their efforts to the complete extirpation of fascism, but in and during the process they will necessarily come into greater and greater conflict with all those who in the past supported the fascist system and who hold the power now — the capitalists, the landowners, the monarchy, the clerical hierarchy and the military leaders. Today the Italian revolution is still in its first stage but it will inevitably extend to a social revolution at a future stage when the masses try to solve their economic problems which are rapidly becoming aggravated. This is already confirmed by Paul Ghali, *Chicago Daily News* correspondent in Berne, who wrote on July 28:

"Most of the demonstrators have cheered the King and Premier Badoglio. But the impression is growing that the workers are trying to get the upper hand in a movement openly demanding peace, with the whole Italian people supporting the demand.

"Some workers also are calling for a Socialist Republic, but these do not have full popular backing.

"A factor playing into the hands of Leftist groups is the deteriorating economic situation. . . ."

Today the masses expropriate the fascists of food. Will they hesitate on a future day to try to extend this step and expropriate the supporters of the fascists — the capitalists and landowners — of the factories and the land? We must consider this question objectively, but we know that it is giving Churchill and Roosevelt many a sleepless hour.

Churchill's speech on July 27 made abundantly clear what worries the Allied leaders. He repeated the demand for unconditional surrender but added some remarks which show that he is seriously considering the advisability of coming to some deal with the reactionary Badoglio-Victor Emmanuel regime. He did not criticize Badoglio or the king in any way. He did not even suggest that they would have to apply the principles of the "four freedoms" to Italy before he would deal with them. On the contrary, he made it clear he was quite willing to come to a deal with them when he said:

"We do not know what is happening in Italy, and now that Mussolini has gone and the fascist power has certainly been irretrievably broken, we would be foolish to deprive ourselves of any means of coming to general conclusion with the Italian nation."

Churchill is an old hand at fighting revolutions and he knows one when he sees it: "Past experience," he warned, "shows that in cases of great change of heart and character in government of a nation very often one stage is rapidly succeeded by another." And he added:

"It would be a grave mistake when Italian affairs are in this flexible, fluid and

formative condition for the rescuing powers of Britain and the United States so to act as to break down the whole structure and expression of the Italian state. We certainly do not wish to reduce Italian life to a condition of chaos and anarchy, and find ourselves without any authority with whom to deal. . . ."

Anyone who remembers Churchill's efforts to destroy the young Soviet Republic and his writings on the early history of the Russian revolution knows what he means when he speaks of "chaos and anarchy." It is the specter of revolution haunting him.

Roosevelt showed his agreement with the line of Churchill's speech when he denounced the OWI's early attacks on Badoglio and the monarchy. Eisenhower showed what the Allied line was when he gave credit for the removal of Mussolini to the House of Savoy which summoned Mussolini to power 20 years ago and supported him fully as long as he was of any use to the ruling class. And then there was the July 29 radio address of Roosevelt, which was the speech of a man trying to pretend nothing has happened.

Roosevelt spoke at length about how the Allied leaders were going to punish Mussolini and his gang, but said nothing against Badoglio and Victor Emmanuel. I think the Italian masses are showing a splendid capacity to take care of the fascists themselves. Eventually, said Roosevelt, the Italian people will have democracy. But they seem to be intent on getting it now, not eventually. The people listened to Roosevelt to hear the answer to the questions on Italy. Instead he threw them an extra pound of coffee and promised mustering out pay for the soldiers. . . .

Churchill and Roosevelt are aware that what is involved is not only Italy, but all of Europe and the very outcome of the war. They are taken aback by the suddenness with which Italian fascism collapsed. Perhaps, they think, German fascism may do the same thing any day and give way to a revolutionary government before the Allied armies are anywhere near Germany. This is the stuff of which nightmares are bred in Washington and London.

Unquestionably their fears are well founded. The fall of Mussolini has given new hope and inspiration to millions in occupied Europe. Heads are being lifted again and the thought is forming: "If it was so easily accomplished with Mussolini, why can't it be done in the same way with Hitler and Laval and Franco?" The underground groups must also have taken on new courage. Doubts will enter the minds of even the staunchest fascists, and these doubts will later bring on paralysis and fear. Even Franco, who has the support of the Pope and who has kept out of the war, is reported by a London dispatch on July 28 to be taking precautions against possible opposition to his dictatorship. And Hitler knows in his own heart he hasn't far to go.

Things are moving faster than Roosevelt and Churchill expected and not at all in the direction they intend. What they want is some non-revolutionary setup which could be propped up by AMGOT as in Sicily. What kind of victory for the "democratic" capitalists will it be if the fascists countries go socialist and unite with the masses of the USSR to create a socialist United States of Europe? No wonder the stock market took a nosedive early this week when Wall Street heard the "terrible" news about Mussolini. . . .

The greatest obstacle facing the Italian workers is the absence of a revolutionary Marxist party. A revolutionary party cannot of course, create a revolutionary situation artificially. But a revolutionary situation cannot result in a successful socialist revolution without the existence and leadership of such a party. That is the greatest lesson we've learned in the last quarter of a cen-

tury — that there is no substitute for the revolutionary party. In Italy unfortunately this party will have to be forced in the heat of the struggle against the class enemy. The difficulties of this will be appreciated when we remember that this was attempted in and after World War I and attempted without success. The mere fact that it is difficult doesn't mean that it can't be done. There are positive as well as negative factors to be considered in this respect too.

In the first place the Italian working class starts out minus a few of the handicaps that have in the past acted as a drag on the revolution. If the working class doesn't have a party, neither does the capitalist class. And while the capitalist class strives desperately to create a party and a political base for itself, the working class is being given time to do the same. And time is precious in revolutionary periods because then everything is telescoped.

MARXIST PARTY NEEDED

Yes, there are plenty of groups pushing themselves forward, making a bid to assume leadership of the masses so that they can better serve the interests of the ruling class. If these groups have their way, they can make very difficult the creation of the revolutionary party. But so far none of these groups has any significant following. Even more important, none of them has a program that will exert much attraction toward the masses in even their present mood.

Five of them, the Action, Liberal Reconstruction, Christian Democratic, Communist and Socialist Parties, are presenting a common front in an effort to become the center of influence. What a miserable coalition they are is demonstrated by the manifesto they issued in Turin, which after 20 years of fascism had only the slogan of "liberty" to offer the masses. And it was shown again the following day when the Milan representatives of these parties issued a statement praising "the army" — which can only be an indication of willingness to support even Badoglio.

If the masses remember their socialist traditions, we can be sure their advanced elements will recognize the organizations, and methods and successors of the groups that betrayed them after the last war. One of these parties is called socialist — but what resemblance is there between this organization and the escaped political prisoners who are also called socialist, who are leading the masses in militant struggle today and from whom without question the

talk is coming about a Socialist Republic (not a democratic capitalist republic)?

All of these five parties are devoted to the liberal capitalist system. And because the Communist Party is involved it is certain that they are all pro-Ally in their sympathies. Pro-Ally parties, I firmly believe, will be quickly discredited — as soon as the Allies appear on the Italian mainland with their AMGOT or even earlier, when the Italian people learn the meaning of the AMGOT policy.

Looking at the events of the past four days, we already see the raw material for the party. We must not make the mistake of looking at the question only from a national viewpoint. The revolutionary party is a world party and the workers already have a world party in the Fourth International. We can be confident that the Italian vanguard will be driven in the direction of the Fourth International by events themselves and by the logic of the struggle. No other organization has the program, no other organization has the same spotless record and proud tradition. Events themselves will educate the masses as to the true character of the aforementioned five parties. The great masses will perhaps hear of Trotskyism for the first time when the Stalinists, Social Democrats and others start explaining to them why they cannot have a Socialist Republic now. The question is not whether the vanguard will find its way to Trotskyism — but rather whether it will find it in time.

THE TREND DEVELOPING

And here I should report that there are already a number of Italian Trotskyists — not a large number, it is true, but comrades who have stood firm all these years in their adherence to the principles of Bolshevism, who are tried and tested leaders. A number of these comrades are in a country close to Italy — and some may still be in the Italian prisons if they have not already been released this week. We can be confident that the comrades outside of Italy will be able to find the means to return there at the earliest possible moment just as Lenin and Trotsky found their way back to Russia in 1917 in spite of similar difficulties. And that, once they are there, they will find a way to influence and unite with the revolutionary socialist ex-prisoners and workers in the creation of an Italian section of the Fourth International.

Let us also bear in mind that the heroic struggles of the Soviet Union cannot but have driven home to many militants in the Axis as well as the Allied countries the lessons of the October Revolution. The Italian workers don't have to be told what the Russian masses did — they know, they remember, in fact they tried to follow their example more than 20 years ago. They'll soon see the difference between Stalinism and the October Revolution. I don't want to underestimate the menace of Stalinism, which is more than ready to repeat the role it played in Spain, but I don't think the Stalinist will get the same chance to repeat it. Stalin has dissolved the Communist International and said there is no longer any need for a revolutionary international. But the masses haven't forgotten either the tune or the words of The Internationale, and we can assume they haven't forgotten the meaning of it either. They above all will see the need for internationalism when world imperialism attempts to interfere with their own settlement of their problems.

Just as the Italian capitalists depend on world capitalism, so the Italian workers

depend on the world working class. The Italian events won't occur within a hermetically sealed Italy. Revolt in Italy will be accompanied — and already we see signs of it — by even greater explosions in occupied Europe and above all in Germany. In the Allied countries too there will be great sympathy and support for the Italian revolution. In America and Britain there is a stronger and better organized working class than in 1917. The growth of the CIO here and the recently announced reconstitution on a national scale of the revolutionary shop steward system in Britain are signs of that. These workers will not take kindly to acts of hostility against the Italian people who are, as they can plainly see, truly fighting for democracy.

The struggle of the Italian masses is a struggle on behalf of the interests of the workers of the whole world. We can assist them by raising our voices against, and by vigorously resisting, any and all plans hatched in Washington and London to strangle the Italian revolt. In the final analysis the only way to guarantee that there will be no counter-revolutionary intervention such as was directed against the Soviet Union in its early years, is by intensifying our efforts to establish a Workers' and Farmers' Government here. Such a government alone would be interested in extending a helping hand to the Italian revolution. This means building and strengthening the Socialist Workers Party.

We are and must be mindful of the fact that the Italian revolution is still in its first stage and that it is too early to predict the tempo or exact course of events. But that is no reason for closing our eyes to the trend developing. First the heroic resistance of the Soviet masses. Then India. Now Italy. Truly, as Comrade Trotsky told us at the beginning of the war almost four years ago, we have the right of revolutionary optimism. The future belongs to the Socialist United States of the World.

LEON TROTSKY'S

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The Negro Struggle

By David Ransom

Negroes Again Blamed For Detroit Terror

The campaign to pin responsibility upon the Negroes of Detroit for the anti-Negro pogrom of June 21-22 continues unabated. Two weeks ago Mayor Jeffries defended the police from the charge of brutality towards Negroes and denounced the Negroes and their leaders for their unfriendly attitude toward the police department. According to Jeffries, the Negroes were responsible for racial antagonism.

This week special prosecutor William Dowling took up where Jeffries left off by indulging in a wholesale denunciation of the Negro people, the Negro press and Negro organizations. He accused the NAACP of being "the biggest instigator of the recent race riots." Moreover, Dowling said that Negroes were responsible for starting and spreading the riot. Dowling gave vent to these utterly false statements at a meeting where he rejected the Mayor's inter-racial committee's plea to convene a grand jury to investigate the "unexplained deaths."

Dowling's motives in rejecting a grand jury investigation and his tirade against the Negro people were exposed by Walter White, national secretary of the NAACP, who said:

"Dowling's intemperate outburst reveals one of the reasons for the riot — the miserable failure of law enforcement officials to do their job and then attempt to excuse their dereliction by blaming trouble on those who for years have pleaded that the laws be enforced."

The feelings of Detroit's Negroes toward Dowling's utterances were expressed by Rev. Horace White who told the Mayor's inter-racial committee:

"I went down among the Negro people after those stories came out. It was as if a bomb had been dropped. The situation is what it was just before June 21."

Why Flying Squads Were Not Used

The pro-labor sentiment revealed in the *Pittsburgh Courier* poll of Negro opinion two weeks ago warrants the conclusion that the Negro people do not place any responsibility for the epidemic of anti-Negro outburst on the labor movement and that the unions have retained the good will of the Negro people.

But though the unions have not lost ground, they missed an opportunity to win added prestige among Negroes. Had the leaders of the United Auto Workers sent out flying squadrons to defend the Negroes from the assault of the white hoodlums, they would have given a demonstration of solidarity between white workers and the Negro people that means more than a library full of resolutions against Jim Crow.

The failure of the UAW to take such action rests not with the rank and file but with the leadership. This is proved to the hilt by the explanation which UAW President R. J. Thomas gave at a meeting of UAW educational directors in the Detroit area, held on July 11. Thomas declared that he had received many calls on the day of the pogrom urging that he call out the flying squadrons in defense of the Negroes in the affected areas.

He was opposed to this, said Thomas, not because it could not have accomplished the defense, but because the taking of the law in the hands of the flying squadrons would have been termed a "union revolution."

Surely one fact has penetrated even Thomas' skull. Whenever workers organize and act to defend their rights against the abuses of employers, the whole weight of public opinion, which is a fancy name for capitalist opinion, is arrayed against them. Has Thomas forgotten the sit-down strikes of 1937, which were also denounced by the whole capi-

talist press as a "union revolution?"

The employers and the government fear any independent action of the workers as they fear a pogrom. The bosses and the government would like to instill in the workers the slavish idea that only the present ruling class can manage society and solve all the problems which arise. It is to this pressure from the ruling class to which R. J. Thomas and his kind submit.

Events demonstrate that the government cannot prevent and control anti-Negro outbursts. But even Thomas admits that flying squadrons can do the job of smashing the anti-Negro mobs. The sound instincts of the rank and file ought to correct the slavishness of the leadership on this life and death question. For should another outbreak occur in Detroit and find the UAW standing idly by irreparable damage to the reputation of the union and the labor movement may be done among Negroes.

Blame Negroes

It is no surprise to learn that the Stalinists have joined the chorus of those who place part of the blame for the anti-Negro violence upon the Negroes themselves. The Stalinists also blame the Negro people for the existence of Jim Crow conditions. Ben Davis, Jr., writing in the *Daily Worker* of July 18, makes the following statement in the course of an attack on the recent Chicago convention of the March-On-Washington Movement:

"... The resolution adopted on the anti-Negro outbreaks said, 'the blame must be put where it belongs, that is, at the door of the present government itself.' It is true that the Administration has not been sufficiently consistent in giving effect to the President's anti-Jim Crow orders, but labor in particular, and other patriotic Americans, including Negroes, have not rallied sufficiently to strengthen the President's hand."

It is needless to quote Roosevelt's statements that morale in the armed forces would be impaired if segregation of Negroes were ended. It is needless to cite Roosevelt's silence on important anti-Jim Crow legislation. For part of the support given by the Stalinists to Roosevelt consists in covering up Roosevelt's anti-labor and anti-Negro record. At first the Stalinists were blaming Hitler for the Detroit pogrom; now they blame as well ... the Negroes.

Pioneer Paragraphs

THE PROGRAM OF TRANSITIONAL DEMANDS IN FASCIST COUNTRIES

By Leon Trotsky

The class antagonisms which brought about the victory of fascism, continuing their work under fascism, too, are gradually undermining it. The masses are more dissatisfied than ever. Hundreds and thousands of self-sacrificing workers, in spite of everything, continue to carry on revolutionary mole-work. A new generation, which has not directly experienced the shattering of old traditions and high hopes, has come to the fore. Irresistibly, the molecular preparation for the proletarian revolution proceeds beneath the heavy totalitarian tombstone. But for concealed energy to flare into open revolt, it is necessary that the vanguard of the proletariat find new perspectives, a new program and a new unblemished banner.

Herein lies the chief handicap. It is extremely difficult for workers in fascist countries to make a choice of a new program. A program is verified by experience. And it is precisely experience in mass movements which is lacking in countries of totalitarian despotism. It is very likely that a genuine proletarian success in one of the "democratic" countries will be necessary to give impetus to the revolutionary movement on fascist territory. A similar effect is possible by means of a financial or military catastrophe. At present, it is imperative that primarily propagandistic, preparatory work be carried on which will yield large scale results only in the future. One thing can be stated with conviction even at this point: once it breaks through, the revolutionary wave in fascist countries will immediately take on a grandiose sweep and under no circumstances will stop short at the experiment of resuscitating some sort of Weimar corpse.

It is from this point onward that an uncompromising divergence begins between the Fourth International and the old parties, which outlive their bankruptcy. The emigre "People's Front" is the most malignant and perfidious variety of all possible People's Fronts. Essen-

Stalinists Prefer Badoglio To A Socialist Revolution

By John G. Wright

In the few days following Mussolini's downfall, the Stalinists have hastened to demonstrate that they are among the most perfidious and vicious enemies of the insurgent Italian masses. The Italian events have provided these agents of the Kremlin with the first major opportunity to prove that the dissolution of the Communist International was no empty gesture on Stalin's part. They have not only dropped all pretense of fighting for socialism, but have pushed into the background even talk of the immediate application of the "four freedoms" so far as Italy is concerned.

"Unconditional surrender" is plank No. 1 in the Stalinist program for the Italian people. As James S. Allen blandly explains: "The immediate task of Anglo-American policy is to obtain the unconditional surrender of Italy." (*Daily Worker*, July 29). Everything else must be subordinated to this aim. And to achieve it the Stalinists are prepared in advance to back without reservation any and all deals that Washington and London can make with the Italian ruling class.

GAG AT NOTHING

A few liberals began to gag at the prospect of a possible deal with Badoglio, but not the Stalinists. They will not only swallow everything but are ready to ram it down the throats of those more squeamish than themselves. The editorial line of the Stalinists is: "We should have no compunction about dealing with Badoglio." (*Daily Worker*, July 29.)

This line apparently came as a surprise even to a veteran Stalinist hack. For on August 1 their columnist who signs himself "Veteran Commander" turned thumbs down on Badoglio, and added: "It would seem to us that our military and political effort should not be directed toward preserving that moribund little King and his batman Marshal Badoglio."

"Veteran Commander" then proceeded to crown this heresy with a speculation that the insurgent masses of Italy and Germany could not possibly be shackled by any such setup even with Allied backing. He wrote: "Neither the Badoglios, nor the Brauchitsches, even if supported by Madame Amstel, will be able to stop them." (*Daily Worker*, August 1.)

He was called publicly to order by the horrified editors and sternly admonished henceforth to make "a thorough reading of the *Daily Worker*." (*Daily Worker*, August 3.)

FEAR SOCIALISM

The capitalist rulers are in mortal fear of a social revolution

in Italy. This is expressed in the capitalist papers by all the talk about the danger of "leftist revolution," of "chaos and anarchy." But the Stalinists assure them that military occupation will solve everything. "Civil war can be avoided if Badoglio makes peace and opens the doors of Italy to the Allied armies..." (James S. Allen, *Daily Worker*, July 31.)

These so-called "Communists" do not blush to avow themselves for what they are: bitter enemies of the socialist struggle not only in Italy but everywhere else. The only newspaper in New York which failed to carry reports of Italian workers demonstrating in Milan and other cities in favor of a Socialist Republic was the *Daily Worker*.

The Stalinists have been violently attacking the Pecora-Antonini-Pope "American Committee for Italian Democracy." There are no political differences between this gang of scoundrels and the Stalinists. In fact there is basic agreement.

On July 28, the *Daily Worker* acknowledged this editorially by stating that the "chief planks" of the Pecora-Antonini-Pope Committee "coincide with the sentiments of the broad mass of Italian-Americans."

The sole issue in dispute is the anti-Stalinist bias of this Committee. Antonini-Pope still pretends that the Stalinists are "Bolsheviks," i.e., followers of Lenin, genuine Marxist revolutionists. This the Stalinists loudly and correctly deny. In self-defense, the *Daily Worker* proclaimed on August 3:

"The fact is, nobody is calling for a Communist revolution in Italy, neither the Communist Party in Italy nor Communists anywhere else."

It is the only truth that the Stalinists have uttered in connection with the Italian events.

It Is Time to Build An Independent Labor Party

THE ITALIAN-AMERICAN AGENTS OF WALL ST.

(Continued from page 1)

its leading committee. The first purpose of the Pecora-Pope Committee is "To increase even more... the contribution of 5,000,000 Italian-Americans to the war effort... To cooperate with the American war and relief agencies... during the allied occupation." After mouthing spurious democratic phrases and talking about the "Four Freedoms," they come to the heart of the matter with the plank "that the demands for unconditional surrender made by the United Nations be accepted by Italy."

The Pecora-Antonini-Pope Committee has one virtue. It makes no bones about the fact that it is the agent of the American war machine; that its purpose is to mobilize the Italian-American population to better facilitate Roosevelt's program of Italian occupation, of making deals with the Italian capitalists and the monarchy and of suppressing the Italian revolution.

"We don't want Italy to go from a fascist to a communist type of dictatorship," the committee announced.

"LABOR COUNCIL"

Another Italian-American organization is the "Italian-American Labor-Council." It is an organization made up of Italian-American trade unionists under the leadership of trade union bureaucrats of Italian extraction.

There is a split at the present time in the Council leadership. Three of the leading officers, Joseph Catalonotti, Secretary of the Council and Vice-President of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, CIO, George Baldanzi, Director of the Council and Executive Vice-President of the Textile Workers Union, CIO, and August Bellanca, Council Director and an official of the ACW, have condemned the Chairman of the Council, Luigi Antonini, for associating himself with the Pecora-Pope committee.

Why? Do these officials object to the program of supporting the American capitalism or Roosevelt's foreign policy, the OWI propaganda, the Anglo occupation plans? Are they proponents of a free, socialist Italy? Nothing of the kind. They have no difference with Antonini on program or aims or policy. More slavish adherents to Roosevelt, more cynical betrayers of the Italian workers and their struggle for freedom cannot be found. These high officials of the Italian-American Council are simply a little more squeamish than Antonini, that is all.

They are embarrassed to be personally associated with such notorious supporters and agents among themselves and denouncing each other. But the important fact stands out that at the present time they all have an identical political program. They are all slavish supporters of the Wall Street-Washington war program. They all have one identical aim: to mobilize the Italian American population behind the war program. They are all traitors to the cause of Italian liberty and independence. They are all agents, official or unofficial, of the American capitalist class, which aims to prevent the Italian masses from settling their own destiny.

Why I Resigned From The Communist Party

By DAVE JEFFRIES

I left the Communist Party and the Young Communist League six weeks ago because I could no longer retain the slightest faith in the policy followed by them. The lack of any revolutionary policy or perspective, the support of the Imperialist war, the strikebreaking policy of the Communist Party, made it impossible for me to remain any longer in its ranks, especially after the complete bankruptcy of their position was made clear to me by the events and by the study of a real Marxist analysis of the world situation. I then decided to join the Socialist Workers Party.

The correctness of my decision has already been clearly confirmed. The first flames of the socialist revolution have burst forth in Italy, and the entire European revolution, only a month ago seemingly so far off, is now on the order of the day. The Stalinist policy, by its dissolution of the Comintern and its anti-revolutionary, pro-imperialist propaganda, is revealing completely its reactionary character.

In Italy the masses are carrying red flags, singing The Internationale and shouting socialist slogans — and where is the Com-

munist Party during all this? It is distributing Joint Manifestos with the Action Party, the Socialist Party, the Liberal Reconstruction Party, and the Christian Democratic Party, calling for "peace and liberty." Not a word about socialism, not a whisper against the capitalists! It is obvious that the Stalinists are simply a tail to the kite of Washington and London and are taking the same road as the Social Democrats did during and after the last war; they are out to strangle the revolution.

The Italian events have revealed the social revolution seething within fascist-dominated Europe. It is already reported that workers in occupied Europe and in Germany are stirring. The spread of the Italian revolution is the best and only real defense of the Soviet Union. It will create a genuine second front — a class front — in Hitler's rear and thereby blow up Nazism and safeguard and extend the conquests of the October revolution.

The revolution is here, a living, breathing thing, and he who remains a supporter of imperialism during a revolutionary crisis deserves nothing but the most scathing condemnation.

Comrades in the Communist Party and the Young Communist League! It is time to leave your organizations, which are neither socialist nor revolutionary, and join a real revolutionary party, the Socialist Workers Party! This is the only party that carries on the tradition of Marx and Lenin, the traditions of revolutionary socialism! Join us and fight for a Socialist United States of the World!

Road To Peace For Italy Is Through A Workers' Govt.

By M. Morrison

Mussolini's downfall came as a result, in the last analysis, of the opposition of the masses. Whether he was ousted by some group of generals or whether he retired by agreement is immaterial. There are reports of demonstrations and strikes even before Mussolini was removed. At any rate, what is important is that his removal, as could be expected, snapped the chain by which the masses were held in subjection and the industrial workers were set into motion, promising great and glorious results for the future of the working masses everywhere.

It is certain that the older workers, who constituted the backbone of the revolutionary movement at the time when fascism took power, are the moving spirits in the strikes and demonstrations now taking place in Italy, especially in the industrial sections. In their hands largely lies the fate of the Italian workers and peasants for the immediate future.

Above everything else the Italian masses want peace. But peace is not something that can be obtained simply by wanting it. It can be achieved only by fighting for it. The revolutionary Italian workers, leading the masses, must think the problem of peace through to the end and present a program on that point which is clear and convincing.

It is necessary to understand the fundamental proposition that only a workers' government can and will struggle for peace and independence.

On Italian soil there is a considerable German army. Only if military considerations dictate the advisability of removing this army from Italy will that be done. It would be foolish to base oneself on such an assumption. It must be assumed that Hitler will not voluntarily withdraw the German army from all of Italy and permit an Italian government to make peace with the Allies. On the other hand, it is most improbable that any Italian government continuing the war on the side of Hitler can last for any length of time. To keep Italy in the war, even formally, it would be necessary for Hitler to occupy it completely and set up a quisling government.

But the German army is not the only one which the Italian revolutionary workers must take into consideration. England and the United States are attacking Italy with powerful forces and demanding unconditional surrender. It must be understood that what the capitalist democracies want is not simply that Italy should get out of the war but that it should become a base of operations for them against Germany. Eisenhower's terms actually go beyond that for he practically demands that the Italians expel the Germans from Italy.

An Italian government acceptable to the capitalist democracies is one that will continue the war on their side. Even with the powerful inducement which the Allies have in the form of food, it is doubtful that the Italian masses will willingly accept a government continuing the war as an instrument of the capitalist democracies. If the Allies cannot get a government to involve Italy in the war on their side, they will occupy it and establish military control or, at best, they will be satisfied with a government that will permit it to use Italy as a base of operations, in the same way that Hitler is satisfied with the Vichy government. In either case Italy will be ruled by the Allies.

From the point of view of deceiving the masses, the greatest danger comes from that group which calls itself the "Popular Front," composed of Stalinists, reformist socialists, Catholics and liberals. This combination, with the Stalinists undoubtedly playing the initiating and leading role, will do its utmost to bring Italy into the war on the side of the Allies. It is talking only of peace now because to mention continuing the war on the side of the Allies would immediately antagonize the masses. Badoglio asserted that the war will continue and he is compelled to introduce martial law.

The peace of the "Popular Front" can be only a peace of subjection to the capitalist democracies. An editorial in the *Daily Worker* of July 29 puts it very crassly when it says that "at the present juncture, the only legitimate function of an Italian regime with which the Allies deal is to surrender, and to arrange the details." The miserable Stalinists do not even care with whom the Allies deal. It is certain that any regime in which they have any role will surrender Italy completely to the capitalist democracies.

The conclusion is inescapable. A capitalist government will bring peace to Italy only by complete submission to either the Allies or Hitler. A government of workers and peasants, representing the interests of the Italian masses can and will struggle for peace and independence. The revolutionary Italian workers must carry on their propaganda in such a way as to make this crystal-clear to the masses.

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The Stalinists, reformist Socialists and liberals will pooh-pooh the idea of a workers' government as something impossible and adventurous at the present moment. They will point to Hitler's army in Italy and ask how a socialist Italy will get rid of that army. That problem of course will confront any government of Italy, whether it be socialist or capitalist. The difference is that in a struggle against Hitler's forces in Italy a workers' government will have infinitely greater resources.

What other government can instill a new spirit into the Italian masses weary of fighting and defeats? Only if the Italian masses feel that they are fighting for a great ideal and not for the victory of American and British capitalism will they find new spiritual power enabling them to continue the struggle. Only a revolutionary government of Italy can make a powerful appeal to the masses of Europe and especially to the German masses.

Undoubtedly the latter have been affected by the fall of Mussolini. They too must be thinking that the fall of the fascist dictator of Italy is but a precursor to Hitler's downfall. The effect on the German masses of a socialist government in Italy would be incalculable, and might well be the spark setting fire to German fascism. The German masses will be shown a way out other than through submission to British and American capitalism.

It will be said that the Allies now pounding on Italy's door will not permit a Soviet Italy. Quite true. But in this case also the Italian masses will not only offer resistance to British and American capitalism; they will appeal to the British and American workers to stop their governments from interfering with a socialist regime in Italy.

No one underestimates the difficulties which the Italian masses must face in any attempt to take power. The Stalinists and reformists will utilize these difficulties to persuade the masses to go over to the camp of British and American capitalism. The revolutionary workers of Italy will call upon the masses to exert greater efforts to overcome the difficulties. And relying on their own strength and on the aid of the workers of the world, they can do so.

Difficult or not, there is only one road which will enable the masses of Italy to achieve peace and independence. And that is the road of a workers' and peasants' government of Italy as the initial stage of a Socialist United States of Europe.

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By DANIEL GUERIN

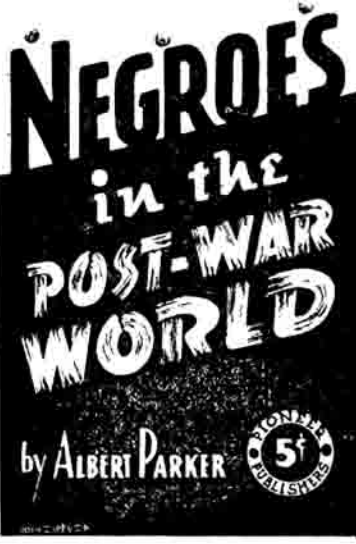
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New York 3, N. Y.



THE MILITANT

Published in the interests of the
Working People

VOL. VII—No. 32 Saturday, August 7, 1943

Published Weekly by
THE MILITANT PUBLISHING ASS'N
at 116 University Place, New York, 3, N. Y.
Telephone: ALgonquin 4-8547
Editor: GEORGE BREITMAN

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

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

Application for entry as second-class matter is pending.



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

— LEON TROTSKY

JOIN US IN FIGHTING FOR:

1. Military training of workers, financed by the government, but under control of the trade unions. Special officers' training camps, financed by the government but controlled by the trade unions, to train workers to become officers.
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.

Harlem--A Protest Against Jim Crow

"This is not another Detroit! This is not a 'race riot.'" Thus Mayor LaGuardia, the liberals, Stalinists and "respectable" Negro leaders hastened to assure the world that the August 1-2 outbreak in Harlem, deplorable as it was, could have been much worse.

It is true that there were marked differences between the events in Harlem this week and the tragedy in Detroit last June. In Detroit organized bands of hoodlums and advocates of "white supremacy" intervened in a minor clash to aggravate the situation and terrorize the whole Negro population; such bands were absent from the Harlem outbreak. In Harlem a large section of the Negro people gave a demonstration of their dissatisfaction with the conditions under which they live; the only whites to molest the Negroes were the police, with the result that whites were able to walk freely through the streets at the height of the demonstration, and the affair never took on a Negro-versus-white complexion.

Nevertheless, the underlying cause of the Harlem events was the same as the underlying cause of the Detroit events — the maintenance of the Jim Crow system, which assumes the most oppressive form in times of social crisis such as we are now passing through.

The capitalist, Stalinist and liberal press congratulates LaGuardia on restoring "order" and on handling the situation so that greater harm did not result. But what now? Does anyone seriously believe that this has solved the situation? The underlying causes of the outbreak remains; the authorities have not proposed and will not propose any measures to eliminate these causes. This week Jim Crowism took five lives and inflicted injuries on hundreds. What is to prevent it from taking a toll ten times greater next week? What is to prevent it from developing into the form and on the scope of the Detroit anti-Negro terror?

The Militant does not denounce the masses of Harlem who felt constrained in their desperation to demonstrate against Jim Crow in the manner which they did. We recognize it to be an expression of their discontent, of their desire to conduct a militant struggle against their Jim Crow conditions. We understand that it happened the way it did because they are lacking the program and leadership able to direct their struggle into fruitful channels and against the real enemy — the capitalist system which promotes and upholds Jim Crow. Until the Negro people forge a program and

leadership — which they will find only through an alliance with the militant labor movement — there will always remain the social conditions breeding Harlems and Detroits.

The Real Defense Of The Soviet Union

The Italian workers, by refusing to support the imperialist war and by continuing the class struggle, have taken giant strides on the road of their own emancipation and have at the same time struck a mighty blow in defense of the Soviet Union.

It is clear that the USSR has benefitted the most from the breach in the Axis. Consider, for example, the single fact that the Kremlin has been literally crawling on its knees for more than two years begging in vain for the "second front." A genuine second front has now been opened up in Hitler's rear by the insurgent masses of Italy. With a correct revolutionary leadership it could spread and engulf the Hitler regime more swiftly than the advance of any armies.

We Trotskyists have maintained from the beginning that only this revolutionary front can really safeguard the USSR and lead to victory.

The Kremlin has done exactly nothing to speed up revolutionary developments in Italy. It has not even proclaimed a wretched program for a capitalist "Free Italy" as was done in the case of Germany a few days ago. Instead, the Kremlin has thus far announced only that it is in accord with the "program" enunciated by London and Washington which offers the Italian people military occupation and military rule by the AMGOT, whose purpose is not to spur revolutionary developments in Hitler's rear but on the contrary to attempt to smother them.

Just as the USSR profits the most from what has happened in Italy and the further spread and development of the revolution there, so it will in the final analysis suffer the heaviest blows from any retardation of the mass movement of liberation both in Italy and elsewhere.

The Italian events, still in their formative stage, have already thrown into glaring relief the treachery and bankruptcy of those misleaders of labor, in particular Stalin and his agents, who have sought to focus the attention of the workers solely upon developments on the military arena. The very first open explosions of the class struggle in Italy have pushed political and social problems to the foreground. They have brought with them verification that the Trotskyist policy for the defense of the USSR is the only correct and realistic policy.

The Liberals And Italian Fascism

The liberal press is full of admonitions that the fall of the Mussolini government does not yet mean the end of fascism because fascism has deep roots among the people and can be destroyed only over a long period of time, etc.

Here, as in all other questions, the liberals and social-democrats are unable to think a single thing through to the end. All they can do is to contribute confusion.

Fascism, when it came to power in Italy and in Germany, was a mass movement. It succeeded in building a mass movement because the working class parties were bankrupt. The fascists were able to win over great numbers of people from the ranks of the middle class, the unemployed youth and even the most demoralized sections of the working class by demagogically advancing an "anti-capitalist" program. The fascists promised to usher in a national revolution in the interests of the common people.

Once in power, fascism crushed the labor movement, destroyed the unions and political organizations. It junked its "anti-capitalist" program. It ruled society by means of repression and terror. It ruled, not in the interests of the common people, not even in the interests of its mass of middle class followers, but solely in the interests of the bankers, the giant industrialists, and landowners who had originally financed it, supported it, and placed it in power.

Fascism lost its support and disillusioned its followers with every passing day of its rule. The people began deserting its banner. After twenty years, Italian fascism lost every vestige of support among the broad masses of the population. Fascism turned into nothing more than a form of military-police dictatorship ruling by naked force alone. Its only remaining support came from the bankers, the industrialists, the landowners, the exploiters.

Has fascism then been destroyed in Italy? Of course! In the last years, only the husk of fascism remained. With the fall of Mussolini, and the revolutionary outbursts on the part of the Italian workers, the husk itself has been removed.

In the scientific sense of the word, the Badoglio government is obviously not a fascist regime, but a police dictatorship. The liberals however contribute nothing but confusion on this question, as on all others.

These liberals are experts in spreading confusion. Before fascism came into power, the liberals of all countries were busy proclaiming: It can't happen here! After fascism came into power they muddled up the waters over the nature of fascism and how to fight it. Now this same crew — who until recently were lecturing us that fascism was a new society similar to the Soviet state — is at it again.

The middle-headed liberals are the last people in the world from whom the American working class can learn anything about how to fight fascism in the United States or abroad.

Role Of The British Shop Stewards System

By William F. Ward

While the Italian workers are revolting against the war, engaging in general strikes, forming workers' committees, the British workers have revived the Shop Stewards committees and again taken up the militant methods of struggle which they adopted during the first world war. News of the first national gathering of the Shop Stewards delegates was reported in the July 24 issue of The Militant.

The original Shop Stewards movement arose out of rank-and-file opposition to the high cost of living, wage-freezing, profiteering, repressive labor policies of the capitalist government and the betrayals of the trade union bureaucracy which marked the first World War no less than the second. The initiative for their creation came from the Clyde Workers' Committee organized during the first big wartime strikes of the Clyde machinists and South Wales miners in 1915.

The immediate occasion for the revolt of the rank and file in 1915 was the passage of the Munitions Act which aimed to undermine union security conditions much as the Smith-Connelly Act aims to cripple American unions. The workers' protest was directed not only against the employers who inspired the Munitions Act and the government which imposed it but also against the union bureaucrats who had allied themselves with the capitalist regime against their own members. In its initial manifesto the Clyde Workers Committee branded their official support of the Munitions Act as "an act of treachery to the working class."

REVOLUTIONARY OBJECTIVES

This committee which represented the mass of workers in the highly industrial area around Glasgow, proclaimed the following revolutionary objectives: "to obtain an ever-increasing control over work-shop conditions, to regulate the terms upon which workers shall be employed, and to organize the workers upon a class basis and to maintain the class struggle, until the overthrow of the wage system, the freedom of the workers, and the establishment of industrial democracy have been attained." This program evoked sympathetic response from the coal miners, transport workers and other sections of the British labor movement.

Several months after the outbreak of the Russian revolution in February 1917, a second series of strikes blazed up in the Clyde district, in London and other key munitions centers. The new strike wave produced the first cracks in the coalition of the Labor Party with the government. Henderson had to resign from the coalition cabinet. The Labor Party accepted an invitation from the Soviets (then led by the Russian Mensheviks) to an international socialist peace conference at Stockholm.

The conquest of power by the Russian workers in the Bolshevik revolution of October 1917 inspired their English class brothers with tremendous revolutionary ardor. In January, 1918 a monster demonstration closed down the entire Clydeside. The Shop Stewards and Workers' Committees were the center of this surging proletarian mass movement. The growing unrest of the workers was paralleled by ferment in the armed forces. Even the police threatened to strike in August.

COALITION BROKEN

The Labor Party was completely torn out of the steel manacles of the coalition and called for a General Election by decision of an emergency conference of the Labor Party which took place three days after the Armistice. This seething among the masses reached the point of explosion when the Clydeside Shop Stewards and Workers Committees led a strike for the forty-hour week from January 27 to February 11, 1919. During the demonstrations at Glasgow the red flag was unfurled from the municipal flagstaff and bloody battles ensued between the strikers and police. The authorities, fearing an armed uprising, dispatched young troops into the Clyde who arrested the strike leaders. This strike was finally defeated by the repression of the government and the sabotage of the trade union bureaucrats who prohibited the workers in other trades and districts from supporting the Clyde workers. Great economic struggles continued through the whole of 1919, led by the miners, the Lancashire cotton weavers, the railway men, etc.

These sweeping economic struggles were interwoven with big political advances by the working class. The Labor Party scored sensational successes in the November, 1919 elections which paved the way for the first Labor Government in 1922.

The Shop Stewards movement rose to its greatest heights in mobilizing the English workers to defend the young Soviet Republic against the interventionist attempts of British imperialism. Since 1917 the workers had watched with growing mistrust and indignation the efforts of the British government to crush the first workers' state. The June 1919 Labor Party Conference voted by 1,853,000 to 935,000 to demand an immediate end to intervention and empowered its executive "to enforce these demands by the unreserved use of their political and industrial power."

BRITISH WORKERS ACT

The first important action was taken by the workers after the Polish army invaded the Soviet Union in 1920 at the instigation of and with the backing of the French and British imperialists. On the day King George V congratulated Pilsudski on the cap-

ture of Kiev, the dockers working on a London freighter, the *Jolly George*, refused to load munitions for Poland. A week later the Dockers' Union barred the loading of any munitions for use against the Soviets.

When the tide turned and the Red Army surged to the gates of Warsaw, Lord Curzon threatened war against the Soviet state if the Red Army did not halt its advance. The workers rose up to a man against Curzon. Hundreds of demonstrations were held on August 8 by local Labor Parties and Trade Union Councils. Next day, the Labor Party and union heads warned the government that "the whole industrial power of the organized workers would be used to defeat this war." They notified the executives of all affiliated organizations "to hold themselves ready to proceed immediately to London for a National Conference," advised them "to instruct their members to down tools on instruction," and constituted a representative Council of Action with full powers to carry out these decisions.

INTERVENTION STOPPED

This united and militant Council of Action which met four days later was powerful enough to make the British government back down. There was no war with the Soviets, thanks to the 350 Councils of Action which had sprung up in every important industrial center. That is how the British workers stopped intervention against the Russian revolution in 1920. This is the only way the working class will stop the projected intervention of the imperialists against the Italian revolution today.

Lenin stated at that time: "The whole of the English bourgeois press wrote that the Councils of Action were Soviets. And it was right. They were not called Soviets but in actual fact they were such."

This was the mighty movement which had in five years grown out of the Shop Steward Committee of the Clyde. This movement had its defects. Its leadership was far too syndicalist in its outlook and policies. It lacked the program of a revolutionary Marxist party. These factors helped prevent the movement from developing its full revolutionary implications.

But this does not detract from the imperishable place of honor the Shop Stewards movement and Councils of Action occupy in English and international working class history. Their revolutionary traditions animate the new Shop Stewards movement which has surged up amongst the English workers in response to the similar conditions and problems of World War II. There is every reason to hope that, given correct Marxist leadership, the Shop Stewards movement will drive ahead to its goal and fulfill the promise of its predecessor.

Davies Convicts Himself As Frameup Artist

Since the release of the whitewash film, "Mission To Moscow," many people and publications have exposed and denounced its falsifications.

Now, in an article published in the August 1 N. Y. Times, ex-Ambassador Davies reveals himself publicly as a liar, a perjurer and a frame-up artist. In the Davies-Warner Brothers movie production Trotsky is portrayed as a Nazi and Japanese agent, a wrecker, saboteur, a traitor and enemy of the Soviet Union. Davies completely whitewashes the infamous Moscow Trials which was based upon these lies.

In his Times article Davies gives a more accurate and drastically different account of Trotskyism. He writes that under Lenin the Comintern was created and "confirmed the Trotsky program of world revolution, and Soviet aid to class war outside of Russia, as necessary to successfully maintain a Communist state in a single country (the Soviet Union)." He goes on to say that, after Lenin's death and Stalin's victory over Trotsky, the Comintern changed its original policies which Trotsky continued to advocate in exile.

In "Mission To Moscow" Davies helped portray Trotsky as a betrayer of the Soviet Union who has gone over to fascism. In the Times article he admits that Trotsky remained faithful to Lenin's program of world revolution while Stalin betrayed it. Out of his own mouth Davies convicts himself as a liar.

In his film Davies whitewashed Stalin's crimes against the working class in the Moscow Trials as a diplomatic favor. In his explanation of Stalin's dissolution of the Comintern he is trying to cement the Roosevelt-Stalin alliance. Whether he lies or tells a few truths, this gentleman pursues the aim of convincing his fellow-capitalists that Stalin has abandoned Bolshevism and is a reliable ally of the capitalist counter-revolution against the insurgent masses of Italy, Germany and the rest of the world.

Roosevelt Proposes Some "Truly Stiff Taxes"

In his July 28 radio address Roosevelt made glowing promises to the people and to the soldiers about his post-war plans. He also announced the end of rationing on coffee. "Your government is drawing up other serious, constructive plans for certain immediate forward moves," he said.

Three days later the President concretized some of these plans. He demanded a "truly stiff program of additional taxes, savings, or both." He reported that Congressional war-appropriations for 1944 since January totaled \$99,533,000,000. "The largest single item of expenditure for other than direct war purposes," the President advised, "is interest on the public debt." Next June, the public debt will exceed 200 billion. The annual interest on the debt will be approximately 4 billion. This sum of money is larger than the cost of the entire federal government in 1933.

Senator George, chairman of the Senate Finance Committee, warned that further drastic income taxes "would be overwhelming for those taxpayers with low or moderate fixed incomes." George is worried about the ruinous consequences of "truly stiff" taxes upon the middle-classes. He is afraid lest the pauperized middle-classes become disillusioned with capitalism and make common cause with the workers, who are being ground down to starvation levels.

Frozen wages are being further slashed by skyrocketing prices and heavier taxes. Roosevelt has not rolled back prices. Now he proposes to roll up taxes. Fake promises of postwar security can't hide these grim realities from the workers. They face ever-lower standards of living unless they can successfully challenge Roosevelt's wage-freezing program. That is why the most advanced sections of organized labor are demanding a rising scale of wages to meet the rising cost of living and the increased taxes.

N. J. Labor Fakers Flout Rank and File Decision

The leaders of both major wings of the Democratic Party in New Jersey — Boss Frank Hague and Governor Charles Edison — have rallied around Vincent J. Murphy, secretary of the State Federation of labor and Mayor of Newark, as the Democratic candidate for the 1943 gubernatorial election. Supporting Murphy in addition are the Stalinists and the trade union bureaucrats.

No one is surprised by the fact that Hague and Edison have subordinated their squabbles and in effect kissed and made up, nor that the strikebreaking Stalinists continue to uphold company unionism in politics. But many workers in New Jersey will be angered by the brazenness with which their union leaders have flouted the wishes of their organizations.

Less than three months ago the delegates of the American Labor League met in Trenton and let it be known in no uncertain terms that they were fed up with their leaders' stalling on the formation of an independent labor party. They took such a determined stand on the issue that the leaders were forced to appoint a committee to conduct a labor party organizing campaign. Now, without even consulting their members, these leaders have committed themselves to support of Hague's candidate.

This bureaucratic procedure strengthens the Democratic Party and weakens the movement for a labor party. But it will not destroy the growing sentiment for independent political action. The advanced workers don't want a labor front for Hague; they showed by remaining away from the polls last year that they don't want any part of the Democratic Party, even when it is supported by the labor fakers. They want a party of their own, and they will be satisfied with nothing less.

Labor party sentiment in New Jersey is so strong that even Hague and Edison are forced to endorse a so-called labor representative. This at the same time provides a gauge to the treachery of the Stalinists and the labor fakers.

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