

3 Years After Stalin's Murder Of Leon Trotsky

An Editorial

Three years ago on August 21, 1940 Leon Trotsky was murdered by a hireling of Stalin's GPU. Stalin prepared this murder through his Moscow frameup trials which were especially designed to portray Trotsky — Lenin's collaborator, the leader of the October insurrection, co-founder of the Soviet state and organizer of the Red Army — as an enemy of the Soviet Union, a wrecking, saboteur, agent of fascism, etc.

Neither slander, exile, persecution nor the murder of his co-thinkers, secretaries and children could silence this great fighter who stood out as the authentic representative of the revolutionary struggle of the world working class against capitalism.

When the second imperialist war broke out Stalin, then allied with Hitler, became fearful of the catastrophic convulsions and revolutions ahead. The Kremlin gang feared that the masses, in their search for leadership, would turn to the one Marxist leader who had always told them the truth and pointed out the correct road in the struggle for world socialism. In particular Stalin feared that the Soviet workers and soldiers would demand the return of the exiled leader of the Red Army. That is why Stalin, who had already executed the Bolshevik Old Guard, beheaded the Red Army General Staff and decimated the younger generation of communists in the USSR, crowned his crimes by the assassination of Trotsky.

He thereby rendered the greatest service to world imperialism. The capitalist class, fascists and "democrats" alike, feared Trotsky even after he had been deprived of all official posts, even when he lived alone in exile and had but a small following throughout the world. They feared the influence of his ideas and his popularity with the masses even though the revolutionary tide had ebbed, fascism was ascending, and reaction appeared all-powerful. They hounded him from country to country.

During those years of reaction Trotsky conducted the most persevering struggle in defense of revolutionary socialism. To Trotsky and the Russian Left Opposition goes the credit for initiating the program of industrialization and the Five Year Plan which enabled the Soviet Union to resist Hitler's assault. He organized the fight against the Stalinist betrayal of Bolshevism and against the extension of its influence into the world labor movement. He branded every backslider from the revolution and every enemy of the working class. He strove to maintain the continuity of Marxist theory and traditions and methods.

To keep the Bolshevik vanguard from being overwhelmed by world reaction, to preserve the clarity of revolutionary ideas and to build the cadres of the future mass revolutionary parties — these were Trotsky's main aims in his latter years. He carried out these Herculean tasks amidst the most perilous personal circumstances and adverse political conditions. The struggle he led culminated in the creation of the Fourth International, World Party of the Socialist Revolution.

The Fourth International was Trotsky's supreme contribution to the coming world revolution. Trotsky showed how out of this second world war would issue the second wave of proletarian revolutions. The movement he built was the only voice that rose above the clash of the imperialist camps. Like Lenin during the first world war, Trotsky spoke to and for all the oppressed and exploited toilers.

Stalin knew this. The imperialists knew this. What they dreaded, Trotsky heralded and prepared for. On August 25, 1939 Hitler and the French ambassador Coudondre held their last interview before the beginning of hostilities. "Hitler sputters, boasts of the pact which he concluded with Stalin ('a realistic pact') and 'regrets' that German and French blood will be spilled.

"But," Coudondre objects, 'Stalin displayed great double-dealing. The real victor (in case of war) will be Trotsky. Have you thought this over?'"

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Michigan CIO Condemns Kelly Postal Conviction

Calls On Affiliated Locals to Give Defense Committee Full Moral and Financial Support in Efforts to Free Union Leader

The Michigan State CIO, representing 700,000 auto and other industrial workers, has gone on record as "condemning the conviction of Kelly Postal" and has called on its affiliated locals to give "all possible moral and financial aid to the Civil Rights Defense Committee in its campaign to free Kelly Postal." It also voted to send a copy of its resolution to the Governor of Minnesota, who is being petitioned to grant a pardon to Postal, a union leader serving a five year sentence in jail because of his devotion to trade union democracy.

The resolution on Kelly Postal was first introduced at the recent state convention of the CIO and has just been made public by the newly elected State Executive Board. The full

text, as printed in the August 6 issue of the Michigan CIO News, reads as follows:

WHEREAS: Kelly Postal, Secretary-Treasurer of the Minneapolis Teamsters Local 544-CIO, and a militant and honorable member of the trade union movement for thirty years, was convicted of embezzlement in the Hennepin County Court of Minnesota on May 1, 1942, this conviction being affirmed by the Supreme Court of Minnesota on June 18, 1943, and

WHEREAS: The sole charge against Kelly Postal was that as Secretary-Treasurer of his local, he obeyed the unanimous vote of the membership to transfer the funds of the local out of the AFL into the CIO, when Local 544 decided by democratic vote to disaffiliate from the AFL and join the CIO, and

WHEREAS: The funds under question were the property of

Local 544, since all per capita taxes had been paid to the International, and

WHEREAS: Kelly Postal was never accused of misusing these funds personally, the charge of embezzlement being a frameup instigated by Daniel J. Tobin, President of the AFL Teamsters International, in retaliation for the leading role played by Postal in the struggle of Local 544 against the dictatorial policies of Tobin and the International, and

WHEREAS: The conviction of Kelly Postal violates and jeopardizes the democratic rights of trade union members to decide for themselves the disposition of their funds, and endangers trade union democracy fully as much as the numerous anti-labor laws now being rushed through Congress and state legislatures, such as the Smith-Connally Bill, and

WHEREAS: Kelly Postal, though previously acquitted of the same charge, based on the same evidence, is now serving a prison sentence up to five years, and

BE IT FINALLY RESOLVED: That copies of this resolution be sent to the Governor of Minnesota, to Attorney General Biddle, to Philip Murray, President of the CIO, and to the press.

WHEREAS: The Civil Rights Defense Committee, the authorized representative of Kelly Postal's defense, is now formulating plans in its further efforts to free Postal from his prison sentence,

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED THAT: This convention of the Michigan CIO go on record in condemning the conviction of Kelly Postal, and in support of the efforts made in his behalf by the Civil Rights Defense Committee to free him, and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED: To recommend to all local unions affiliated to the Michigan CIO that they give all possible moral and financial aid to the Civil Rights Defense Committee in its campaign to free Kelly Postal and clear him of the unjust charges leveled against him, and

BE IT FINALLY RESOLVED: That copies of this resolution be sent to the Governor of Minnesota, to Attorney General Biddle, to Philip Murray, President of the CIO, and to the press.

No other army could have accomplished the feats of the Red

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ITALIAN MASSES CONTINUE ANTI-WAR DEMONSTRATION

All of Eastern Front Shaken by Red Army Drives

By John G. Wright

The Red Army is scoring one smashing victory after another. It crushed the Nazi summer offensive and then immediately passed to a counter-offensive on a front of several hundred miles. These are in themselves major successes. But the Red Army has achieved far more. Its offensive continues to roll with great power.

By the capture of the key military stronghold of Orel, held by the Germans for more than 22 months, the Red Army now threatens directly not only Bryansk and Smolensk but the Nazi positions along the entire central and northern fronts. By the capture of Belgorod the Soviet troops are now in position to outflank not only Kharkov but also the Donbas area and all of the Ukraine with its vast mineral and agricultural resources.

This is the first time that the Red Army has shown itself capable of taking the offensive in summertime. In fact, this is the first time in the second world war that the German military machine has suffered a series of such crushing blows under conditions in which it has previously demonstrated its overwhelming superiority. It has come as another shock to Berlin. Nor are London and Washington less surprised. The Red Army has shattered military precedents in much the same way that the peace-time Soviet achievements under the Five-Year Plans had surpassed all previous tempos of economic development.

No other army could have accomplished the feats of the Red

Anti-War Demonstration in Milan



The above picture shows a huge anti-war demonstration being held in Plaza Domo in Milan shortly after the fall of Mussolini. The same scene was repeated in most of the other industrial cities of Italy as the masses came out into the streets to voice their demand for peace. In a number of instances the troops disobeyed orders to shoot at demonstrations of this kind because the anti-war demands being raised by the masses voice their own sentiments. (Federated Pictures radiophoto from Switzerland via London.)

AFL Heads Still Back Little Steel Formula

The AFL Executive Council, meeting in Chicago on August 9, issued a statement reiterating its support of Roosevelt's "stabilization program." This declaration, adopted unanimously by the Council members, states in part:

"The Executive Council is convinced that the economic stabilization program has worked thus far in only one direction — and that is to freeze wages. We were promised that the cost of living would be stabilized along with wages. This promise has not been kept. . . . The Executive Council is convinced that pressure for wages will relax as soon as prices are rolled back all along the line. By the same token, unless prices are cut back to September 1942 levels, labor will have no other recourse but to insist upon an up-to-date revision of the Little Steel formula by the War Labor Board."

The very day on which the AFL bureaucrats mouthed these phrases about a price rollback, the government again brazenly declared that it was well satisfied with the present situation. William H. Davis, chairman of the War Labor Board, declared on August 9 in a formal opinion rejecting any wage increase for over one million shipyard workers that the economic stabilization policy has been "remarkably successful." His statement continued: "If we leave out, for the moment, the increase in the price of food, we find that the total increase in the average cost of all other items which go into the cost of living index, remained remarkably stable." Davis admitted that food costs have got out of line, but still, according to him, that was no grounds for discontinuing the Little Steel formula.

According to Davis, food costs rose 21% between January 1941 and May 1942. Actually, as every worker is aware, these figures are far too low. Even pussyfooting Green admitted to the Detroit convention of the Railway Maintenance Men that food prices have risen in the last year between 50 and 200%.

Last month the Mine Workers Journal revealed that administration spokesmen had promised members of Congress that if they would uphold Roosevelt's veto on the Credit Commodity Corporation bill, no additional prices would be rolled back or even subsidized. There is certain-

ly no question but that Roosevelt has kept this promise.

As a matter of fact, every informed person is now aware that the rollback program is nothing but an empty promise intended to hypnotize the workers into humbly accepting wage-freezing while the corporations are making billions out of war profits and skyrocketing war inflation.

Can it be that the AFL bureaucrats are so ignorant that they are not aware of these facts? No, that is not the case. These bureaucrats are as much in need of the rollback farce as Roosevelt himself. The AFL council statement represents but another step in the cowardly sell out program of the labor bureaucracy.

Dunne to Speak At N. Y. Trotsky Memorial Meeting

Vincent R. Dunne, National Labor Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, will be the featured speaker at the Trotsky Memorial meeting to be held by the New York Local of the Socialist Workers Party on Sunday evening, August 22. The meeting will be held in the main ballroom at Irving Plaza, 15th Street and Irving Place.

Comrade Dunne will discuss the life-work and ideas of Trotsky in the light of the tremendous events which have occurred since this martyred leader of the socialist revolutionary movement was murdered by one of Stalin's GPU agents three years ago. He will devote particular attention to the anti-war and anti-capitalist actions of the Italian masses as the most powerful confirmation of the correctness of Trotsky's program and perspectives; and explain the

AMGOT Keeps Fascist Officials In Sicily Posts

By Anthony Massini

There is a marked contrast between the attitude of the Italian masses toward the fascists and the attitude of the Allied leaders toward the fascists.

The Italian masses demonstrated their attitude by huge demonstrations in the streets, by attacks on fascist headquarters and homes of fascist leaders, by strikes in the industrial centers — all of which raised the unequivocal demand: "Drive the fascists out of every post in Italy!"

While promising that the top fascist officials would be punished, the Allied leaders demonstrated their attitude by repudiating any criticism of the close collaborators of the fascists — Badoglio and Victor Emmanuel among others — and by ordering the great majority of the fascists to remain at their posts in Sicily.

It is generally recognized that the policy of the Allied Military Government of Occupied Territories (AMGOT) in Sicily is intended to serve as the pattern for all of Europe. A brief survey of AMGOT's activities in Sicily thus far will indicate what its plans are for the rest of Italy and Germany.

HOW AMGOT WORKS

The first proclamation of the Allied military governor of Sicily, General Alexander, on July 18, a week before the fall of Mussolini, ordered the dissolution of the fascist party, but took a far different approach to most of the fascists:

"All administrative and judicial officials of provinces and communities and all other government and municipal functionaries and employees, and all officers and employees of state, municipal or other public services except such

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significance of the Trotskyist ideas of the revolutionary struggle for socialism with regard to the problems now confronting the American workers.

The meeting is scheduled for 8 P. M.

Badoglio Government Issues New Repressive Regulations

Tries to Rule As Mussolini Did, But Does Not Have Power Or Strength of Fascism

By E. R. Frank

The Badoglio government held an extraordinary cabinet session on August 5, after the Allies had resumed active hostilities and had bombed several cities in northern Italy. When it became clear to the Italian masses that the cabinet had not acceded to their demand for an immediate end to the war, their revolt flared up again in a new series of demonstrations and strikes against the government.

A sign of the ferment within Italy was the adoption by the cabinet meeting of the harshest decrees muzzling the press, ordering the confiscation of all published material "con-

trary to the national interests" and extending censorship to an extent unprecedented even under Mussolini. As a result little news of the latest developments has leaked out of Italy.

But a UP dispatch from Berne reports that on August 6 thousands of industrial workers were still refusing to return to work. "Military police," the dispatch says, "immediately started rounding up these workers, arresting those who refused to return to their war jobs."

And on August 10 the Berne correspondent of the N. Y. Times told of workers demonstrating for peace at the funerals for victims of the recent air raids. MUSSOLINI'S ADVANTAGES

The three-week record of the Badoglio government shows that it is trying to rule the country with the same ruthlessness, ferocity and repression that were employed by its predecessor. Badoglio wants to rule by the same methods as Mussolini. But unfortunately for him conditions have changed.

When it took power, fascism ruled as a brutal dictatorship. But it was a brutal dictatorship with these additional characteristics:

First, it began its rule with a mass following, built up from among the middle classes and the unemployed youth on the basis of a demagogic "anti-capitalist" program. Second, its rise to power

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ROLE OF SOME ITALIAN REFUGEES IN THE U. S.

By John Adamson

The Italian refugees living in this country at the present time — who represent themselves to the American people as direct spokesmen of the Italian people — do not voice the aspirations of the Italian masses any more than the various Italian-American committees, analyzed in last week's *Militant*, whose only aim is to mobilize the six million Italian-Americans behind the Washington-Wall Street war program.

An examination of the opinions and program advanced by several of the leading Italian refugees makes it clear that these people are not the friends of the Italian revolution. On the contrary these refugees are the same type of capitalist and reformist politicians who betrayed the Italian masses at the end of the last war and whose treacherous program and political cowardice paved the way for Mussolini's rise to power.

What is Sforza's program for Italy? "The only way to save Italy is for the Italians to collaborate in the victory of the United Nations." Sforza says that he is in possession of "secret reports" which prove "that the Italian nation is ready to accept this supreme necessity. War against Nazism might soon become as popular in Italy as a crusade in the Twelfth Century."

According to Sforza, the Italian workers have taken to the streets, are calling political strikes, are demonstrating against the war — for what? In order to change war partners.

"It is true," Sforza says in agreement with Roosevelt and

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TRADE UNION NOTES

By Michael Cort

The 11 month old struggle of the railway workers to get a wage increase appeared to be reaching a climax this week when strike ballots were printed but then withheld from distribution pending final negotiations with the operators and the government.

The fifteen non-operating railroad unions had been awarded an 8 cent an hour increase last May from a special committee of arbitrators appointed by President Roosevelt when the negotiations between the unions and the carriers were deadlocked. But even this meagre increase was countermanded by Roosevelt's Director of Economic Stabilization Vinson.

Thus the unions' present struggle is directed against the government in an effort to get what a Roosevelt-appointed board awarded them. Union leaders are now meeting with Vinson and the carriers' representatives in Washington.

Bert M. Jewel, president of the Railway Employees Department of the AFL, explained to the press just before the meeting with Vinson: "Railroad employees have had no wage increases since September, 1941. The unions have no union shop, maintenance of membership or other security provisions in their contracts. Over-time pay starts after 48 hours, rather than after 40 as in every other interstate industry."

The State of Florida is attempting to prevent its workers from leaving the state. On August 5, Otis G. Nations, president of the Citrus and Allied Workers Union, CIO, was thrown in prison for recruiting Florida workers into his union for employment at the Campbell Soup Company's plant in Camden, N. J. Nations was charged with "doing business without a license." The license fees, incidentally, total \$1500.

On August 9 War Labor Board Chairman William Davis said that prices were being held in check and therefore the Board would not grant any wage increases in violation of the Little Steel Formula. He painted a pretty rosy picture of the prosperity of the workers.

Davis should have checked with the government Census Bureau before sounding off, for it has just released figures which show that the average family income in 1939 was \$1,231 while in five southern states the average was \$443.

In 1943 about 16,000,000 American families are known to be attempting to feed, shelter and clothe themselves on less than \$30 per week, according to the Bureau.

The first strike vote under the Smith-Connally anti-strike law was passed decisively last week by workers at the Springfield, Ill., plant of the Allis-Chalmers Manufacturing Company. The vote was precipitated when the National Labor Relations Board

denied UMW District 50's demand for an election to determine the bargaining agent.

The ballot submitted to the workers read, "Do you wish to permit an interruption of war production in wartime as a result of this dispute?"

In spite of the wording of the ballot, intended to bulldoze the workers, the strike vote passed by 1,005 to 836.

Mr. Henry Schweinhaut, ace union-buster in the office of Attorney General Biddle, presented the evidence which secured Federal indictments under the Smith-Connally law against 30 United Mine Workers, officials and members.

This is the same Schweinhaut who convicted 18 members of the Socialist Workers Party and officials of Teamsters Local 544-CIO in Minneapolis last year for "sedition" under the Smith Omnibus Gag Law.

Predictions made at that time that the conviction of the Trotskyists and Teamsters' officials would open the way for further repressions against militant workers, have certainly been proven correct — and by Schweinhaut himself.

Two international unions have launched a campaign against reactionary state labor laws. The Industrial Union of Marine and Shipbuilding Workers of America, CIO, has announced its intention to fight in the courts the Florida statute requiring registration and opening of books of all unions operating in the state. The International Brotherhood of Teamsters, AFL, is financing a court test in Denver this month of Colorado's "Labor Peace Act."

Despite a virtual reign of terror against its workers, Montgomery-Ward has been unable to prevent continued organization of its employees by the CIO Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Employees of America. Latest election victory for the union was at the Trenton retail store last week. Local 108 won an NLRB election by a 2 to 1 vote.

The overworked clerks and stockboys will now ask that the company share a little of the \$26,000,000 net profit which was reported at the last stockholders' meeting.

The only kind of hotel and restaurant arrangements which the UAW-CIO convention committee could secure in St. Louis were strictly Jim Crow.

"The UAW-CIO makes no compromise with racial intolerance," said President R. J. Thomas, "and when we found that hotels and restaurants in St. Louis insisted upon creating a color line which would bar some of our delegates, we decided to move the convention from that city."

The UAW will hold its convention in Buffalo on Sept. 29.

Meaning Of The Italian Events

By Felix Morrow

On Sunday June 13 — just six weeks before Mussolini's dismissal — the Pope made one of his rare speeches to an audience. He addressed 26,000 workers from Rome and other cities of Italy, who had been gathered together in the Vatican Palace. His subject was revolution. The substance of it, as summarized by the June 18 British Tribune, was as follows:

"He said that he had to raise his voice against the false prophets of social prosperity who... would have us believe that salvation must come from a revolution which shall overturn the social order. And then the Pope proceeded to tell his audience that there is no hope for them in revolution, that they would be enchained if they overthrown their present regime..."

If the Pope felt it necessary to drop his mask of political impartiality and tell Italian workers not to join in revolution, we can be sure that he felt impelled to do so by unmistakable signs of revolutionary ferment in the masses of Italy. Whether there were positive signs of that revolutionary development at that time we have no way of knowing at present. There have been reports — more accurately, rumors — that strikes and demonstrations preceded the fall of Mussolini.

Morale of the Masses

What we do know beyond doubt, and which alone would have been sufficient to frighten the Pope into making his speech, was that the Italian soldiers, already at the time of the North African fighting, showed that they had no desire to fight for the fascist regime. The attitude of the soldiers, in turn — that is true of any army — was a reflection of the attitude of the Italian masses

as a whole. This collapse of Italian morale was an expression of the attitude of the masses quite different in form from strikes and demonstrations. But for those who know how to read the signs of the class struggle, this collapse of morale was a harbinger of revolutionary ACTION to come.

The Pope's openly expressed fears of the danger of revolution in Italy was taken by the Laborites of the British Tribune, from which I have cited the Pope's speech, to mean that he "in effect proposed to [the Italian workers] that they should remain loyal to the Fascist masters." That, however, is not correct. It has been apparent for some time that the Italian capitalist class, including the royal House of Savoy and the army officer caste, in the event of final defeat, were ready to throw Mussolini and the fascist bureaucracy overboard, both in order to secure better peace terms from the Allies and to offer a sop to the masses of Italy.

Meanwhile the Allied leaders have made clear they are prepared to go more than half-way to reach an agreement on this basis with the Italian ruling class. Churchill has spoken of Italy's being put into the war by "only one man," Mussolini. In the United States, all attempts of Italian anti-fascists to speak against the King, the army generals and the church hierarchy as the pillars of the fascist regime have been vetoed by the OWI. Revolutionary activity within Italy has been discouraged; as Gaetano Salvemini, the Italian liberal historian, made public six months ago: "The State Department and the OWI not only are giving no encouragement to any groups [in Italy] which might organize resistance, but are actually doing everything in their power to discourage such action." (Nazioni Unite, Feb. 4.)

Fascists Are Retained By AMGOT In Sicily

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officials and political leaders are removed by me are required to continue in performance of their duties subject to my direction."

How this policy operates was described in a dispatch last week by Herbert L. Matthews, American correspondent in Sicily. The head of the AMGOT forces arriving in Palermo, Matthews reports, "had first to hunt around for enough officials to get things going for it is the object of the AMGOT not so much to run things itself but to have the administration continued by Italians under its direction. He found, for instance, that the vice mayor and vice prefect, who had remained behind, were active fascists with undesirable records. They were forced to resign, and then were arrested. However, others, like the assistant prefect and the second vice mayor, were civil servants, and they were set to work." (N. Y. Times, Aug. 2.)

GREAT "LENIENCY" Every important official without exception was a fascist and appointed by the fascists. The policy of AMGOT is to remove the most discredited and hated fascists, but to maintain the others. As Matthews explains: "All along the line the records of the men at the top are being checked. In time every post will be combed. There must be a great degree of leniency, because every post, however insignificant, had been filled under Premier Mussolini, by a fascist. To eliminate all the fascists would completely paralyze every function of government."

"The real anti-fascists here do not like that so much. Apparently they had expected the whole fascist setup to be swept away, but that is impossible and will be so throughout Italy."

"Fascism is being wiped out, but if every fascist were removed at the same time, complete chaos and paralysis would follow immediately..."

"Naturally the primary consideration was the swift restoration of law and order. That could be accomplished only with the help of the Italian police. In general, the top men have fled or been eliminated, but the rank and file have stuck to their jobs..."

No wonder that the real anti-fascists "do not like that so much." They see the fascist party regime and control removed, but at the same time they see the AMGOT leaders "hunting around" for the same fascist officials and police who oppressed the masses under Mussolini and ordering them to "continue in performance of their duties."

"UNEASINESS GROWS" While allowing this kind of "leniency" toward the fascists, the AMGOT officials are quite firm in preventing "chaos and anarchy" — the Roosevelt-Churchill designation for the right of the masses to rule themselves. Gaetano Salvemini, writing in the August 7 Nation, greets with unqualified approval the AMGOT announcement that "within the limits of military necessity a free press and free speech is to be promulgated."

But, he adds, "uneasiness grows when the Italians are warned that 'no political activity of any kind will be allowed.' How can free

speech and a free press exist if no political activity OF ANY KIND is allowed?"

The Allied leaders promise of course that after the war is over — not the war in Italy alone, nor even in Europe, and no telling how long after — the Italian people will have the right to choose a democratic government. But when that distant day finally dawns, the situation may be quite different from what it is today, when the capitalist ruling class is still completely discredited in the eyes of the masses.

When that day comes, the fascist officials who have to be "hunted" now, may have had the opportunity through their administrative power to bolster their political position, while the masses, denied the right of political organization, may be cowed and dispersed. Under such conditions fascism might be gone, but elections could result in the establishment of a government fully as reactionary as Mussolini's, and run by the same ruling class minus a few leaders.

CLOSE PARALLEL One thing begins to see an instructive parallel between the policy followed by the reactionary Badoglio government on the mainland of Italy and the one followed by the Allies in Sicily.

After the masses had conducted huge protest demonstrations, Badoglio also ordered the dissolution of the fascist party, the arrest of the leading fascist party members, the retention of other fascists at their former posts. He too prohibited political organization and activity; he too promised elections four months after the cessation of hostilities. It is quite natural that the Allied leaders have shown a willingness to deal with Badoglio if only he will give the order to cease firing; both the Allies and Badoglio seem to have the same general plans for Italy.

LIBERALS BEWILDERED The AMGOT policy is justified on the basis of military expediency, on the ground that it saves time and lives. However, the liberals, who also want to win the war as soon and as cheaply as possible, are greatly disturbed.

They notice that the expediency policy invariably is carried out in such a way as to encourage the reactionaries and discourage the masses. They ask at what point this policy will stop, and they get no answer. They wonder whether for example the Allies are prepared, in the same way that

Darlan was dealt with, to deal with Goering after Hitler is kicked out. They cannot help noticing that while the fighting is over in North Africa, the rule of reactionary generals remains and the North African masses are as far from democracy as they ever were.

There is plainly some contradiction here, they assert with indignation. Why is it, they ask plaintively, that we are fighting a war for freedom and not bringing freedom to anyone in the process? And they answer themselves: We've got a good program but we aren't carrying it out right. Every couple of weeks they ask Roosevelt to reassure them that things will turn out all right; Roosevelt then makes some vague promises, and they answer: "We take you at your word," but the next week they're worrying again.

The liberals are fond of lecturing the Marxists on the connection between means and ends, but they stubbornly refuse to admit the connection between the means and ends of the Allied war program. For them the promises about freedom are the reality and the concrete acts contradicting those promises are a terrible dream or inexplicable blunder. When the promises and acts collide in complete opposition, they can only shake their heads and pretend not to understand how it happened and look around for some subordinate of Roosevelt whom they can blame as scapegoat.

A CONSISTENT LINE

But what else can you expect from incurably blind, muddle-headed and chicken-hearted people? Anyone with a grain of sense or honesty can see that AMGOT and similar policies are not accidentally arrived at; that they are not the result of aberrations but of a carefully worked out plan; that from the viewpoint of the Allied leaders these policies are logical and consistent means for achieving the major ends of their war program.

The reactionary nature of imperialism war cannot be altered by shouting anti-imperialist slogans or writing editorials about the war for freedom. Capitalism in its epoch of decline and decay cannot bring real freedom either at home or abroad. Many people are learning these facts for the first time from AMGOT, the Darlan deal, etc. As the war continues they will learn much more.

Thus the "democratic" powers long ago joined the King and the Italian army generals in a united front to prevent the Italian revolution.

Nor could any one pretend that this policy was the result of military expediency, for revolution — as the revolutionary demonstrations of the week following Mussolini's dismissal showed — was a most efficacious way of paralyzing the Italian and Nazi armies in Italy.

Not military considerations but political principle — the principle that at all costs the capitalist class of England and the United States must help their class brothers in Italy to remain in power — motivated the Allied policy. As Gaetano Salvemini put it: "the royal House of Savoy, the army and the Pope are being kept on ice by Mr. Churchill and President Roosevelt as the legitimate authorities entitled to speak for Italy..." (Nazioni Unite, December 31, 1942.)

United Front Against Revolt

This united front across the battlefronts was to be consummated between Roosevelt-Churchill and the King and Badoglio whenever the latter concluded that Italy's chance for victory or a stalemate in the war was gone. At that point the Italian ruling class would drop its fascist servants, put on "democratic" forms, and turn its attention, with the most complete aid of the "democracies," to the attempt to crush the inevitable revolutionary rise of the Italian proletariat.

I think we can give the Italian capitalist class credit for understanding that there were grave dangers connected with this plan. Mussolini's dismissal, instead of being considered a concession by the masses, might very likely be considered by them as a confession of weakness of the regime, and would encourage the masses to rise to seize political power and avenge themselves against all those, not only the fascist party dignitaries, but also the royal house, the army generals and the capitalists, who had been responsible for Mussolini's 21-year rule. This was a danger for the capitalists. But still greater was the danger that if the capitalists clung to Mussolini to the last, they would go down with him.

To dismiss Mussolini would mean to leave the way open to return to a form of government which the masses might be led to think was their own government, that is, the "democratic" form of government in which parliamentary majorities appear to rule the country. This is always the last resort of the capitalist class in the flood tide of revolution: to hide behind the back of "Socialist" and "Labor" parties, which run the cabinet but, in the last analysis, run it for the capitalists whose ownership of the means of production make them the real rulers of the country.

The essential point to understand is this: in order to have room to maneuver in face of the rising tide of the masses, the Italian capitalist class would have to get rid of Mussolini and the fascist party. Not because the capitalists had any illusions that the masses don't understand that the King, the army generals and the big capitalists worked hand in glove with Mussolini all these years. It is not a case merely of offering Mussolini and the other fascist party leaders as a scapegoat to the masses in order that they might feel more friendly to the King, the army generals and the capitalists. Rather it is a case of getting ready to drop the totalitarian system of government, once the masses are rising in revolutionary wrath, and hide behind a "democratic" front.

Hopes of Ruling Class

In short, as defeat loomed and the revolutionary temper of the masses rose, a conflict of interests developed between Mussolini and the ruling class. Mussolini could hope to survive, both politically and physically, only by military victory or a stalemate. The ruling class, on the other hand, could hope to survive even in defeat, with the help of their "democratic" enemies, who would join with them against the Italian revolution.

It was not only the Italian ruling class who thus needed to get rid of Mussolini. Likewise the "democracies" required it. Having utilized the deep anti-fascist sentiments of the workers of England and the United States for carrying on

the war, the least Churchill and Roosevelt could get by with is the disappearance of the fascist party and its head. For only with such disappearance could the "democratic" rulers hope to conceal from the American and British workers the fact that the class really responsible for Mussolini's rule would then be receiving the help of the "democracies" against the Italian workers.

All that we have said of the relations between Mussolini and the Italian ruling class is likewise true of the relations between Hitler and the German capitalist class, which will likewise receive the aid of the "democracies" against the German workers.

This plan required a certain timetable. The Italian capitalist class did not want to dismiss Mussolini at any arbitrary moment. It had to be the right moment. The use of the dismissal in order to get ready for peace with the Allies would be frustrated if the Nazi armies were able to stay in Italy and make it a battleground between the Allies and the Nazis.

Hitler and Mussolini were to be the goats, but they had no intention of submitting to the sacrifice. It is my personal opinion that their Verona meeting was designed to intervene to prevent the King-Badoglio scheme of making peace with the Allies. At Verona Hitler and Mussolini adopted a plan of military strategy which, if carried out, would have irrevocably tied to the fate of Germany the fate of the Italian royal house and its associates.

Reported Military Plan

This military plan is reported to have provided for the abandonment of southern Italy and the setting up of a strong defensive line along the Po in northern Italy. Had the King and Badoglio agreed to this, the inevitable next step, once the Po line became untenable under Allied offensive, would have been evacuation of northern Italy also. Thus the King and his associates would have ended by finding themselves a government-in-exile in Germany, their only hope of returning to rule Italy being the extremely unlikely possibility of the Nazis reversing the tide and winning the war.

The King and the army generals rejected this proposal and, their hand thus forced before they were ready, had to dismiss Mussolini who would have tried to carry out Hitler's plan.

It is my opinion, therefore, that this dismissal did not come as and when they had planned. Instead, they had to improvise from day to day. Only thus, can we understand the otherwise astonishing way in which they handled the situation. They still did not know whether they might or might not be forced to fight on for a long period at the side of the Nazis. Hence to dress up the dismissal as a blow against fascism would undoubtedly enrage Hitler and embarrass continued collaboration with him if that proved necessary.

What These Events Show

So the dismissal of Mussolini took the form of a mere change of cabinets, with Cavaliere Benito Mussolini tendering his resignation and Cavaliere Badoglio replacing him. The communique announcing this was followed by short manifestoes by the King and Badoglio which said not one word against fascism, the fascist party or Mussolini.

Thus the Italian ruling class lost its one opportunity to dress up the dismissal as a sop to the masses. It appeared to the masses nakedly as a mere shift within the ruling gang.

Internationally, it was an invaluable proof to the working class that fascism is a mere instrumentality of the capitalist class, utilized under certain historical conditions, and then under others dismissed like a worn-out servant. If one and the same capitalist class can at one time use fascism, at another time democracy, in what sense then can anyone pretend that this war between capitalist powers is a fight between fascism and democracy? We can be sure that this all-important lesson in the capitalist nature of fascism and democracy will play a great role in the education of the working class.

(The concluding section of this article will be printed next week.—Ed.)

What They Used To Say About Mussolini

By DAVE JEFFRIES

In 1922 when Mussolini came to power he was welcomed enthusiastically by King Victor Emmanuel with the words: "I feel that I can hardly congratulate you, as you have a stiff, arduous task before you, but I congratulate the country for having you as minister." (N. Y. Times, Nov. 1, 1922.)

Victor Emmanuel's were not the only congratulations that Mussolini received upon ascending to power. Charles Evans Hughes then American Secretary of State, sent the following message to the fascist leader at that time:

"I take pleasure in felicitating you upon the confidence reposed in you by his Majesty, the King. I shall be glad to cooperate with you in preserving the cordial relations existing between Italy and the United States." (N. Y. Times, Nov. 4.)

If it should be thought that this was merely a matter of form, let us take notice of the absence, during the October Revolution, of any message congratulating Lenin on the confidence reposed in him by the Russian masses.

Nor should it be thought that this "confidence" in Mussolini by the U. S. Government ended shortly after he came to power. During the crisis preceding the Italian invasion of Ethiopia in

1935, when it was plain that Mussolini was preparing to launch an assault upon the African country, President Roosevelt refused an Ethiopian request to invoke the Kellogg-Briand Pact against Italy, replying in the following words: "... The United States government would be loathe to believe that either Italy or Ethiopia would resort to other than pacific means." (N. Y. Times, July 6, 1935.)

But the classic word on fascism was uttered by none other than Winston Churchill after his visit to Mussolini in 1927. In a statement to the press he said:

"If I had been an Italian I am sure I would have been wholeheartedly from start to finish with Fascism's triumphant struggle against the bestial appetites and passions of Leninism."

Referring to Mussolini, Churchill said, "I could not help being charmed by his gentle, simple bearing and his calm detached poise despite so many burdens and dangers. Anyone could see that he thought of nothing but the lasting good of the Italian people, and that no lesser interest was of the slightest concern to him." (N. Y. Times, Jan. 21, 1927.)

These are the people who now claim to be anti-fascists!

N. Y. SWP Holds Meeting On Italy

NEW YORK, Aug. 10 — The events in Italy were the subject of analysis last Sunday night at a Socialist Workers Party meeting addressed by Felix Morrow, editor of Fourth International, the Trotskyist monthly theoretical magazine. An interested audience of more than 125 attended the meeting which was held in the Hall of the New York School of Social Science, 116 University Place.

The speaker pointed out how graphically the Trotskyist thesis of the capitalist character of fascism was revealed by the events which preceded and followed the downfall of Mussolini and Italian fascism.

After analyzing the role of the Badoglio government, Comrade Morrow then discussed the policies of the Stalinists and the bloc of five parties in Italy. Quoting in detail from the documents of these organizations, he exposed the treacherous role of these people who are seeking to divert and shackle the revolutionary movement of the Italian masses. He concluded by showing how only the program of socialism would give peace, bread and liberty to the Italian people.

The audience donated liberally to further the work of the Socialist Workers Party. The sum of \$53 was raised at the meeting.

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The Negro Struggle

By Albert Parker

The Militant is glad to report that Albert Parker, who has been unavoidably occupied with other matters for the past few months, will be able beginning this week to resume his regular contributions to "The Negro Struggle" and other columns of this paper.—Ed.

Who Was to Blame for Harlem Outbreak?

There was remarkable unanimity of opinion among the well-known Negro leaders and in the Negro press during and after the August 1-2 outbreak in Harlem. Practically every one of them—whether conservative, liberal, Stalinist or "radical"—joined in calling for the restoration of "law and order" as the most important need of the Negro masses and in denouncing thousands of Harlemites as hoodlums, vandals, irresponsible elements, etc.

The Pittsburgh Courier headlines screamed: "Disgraceful Scenes Enacted As Hoodlum Elements Loot Stores." The Chicago Defender expressed its disapproval by refusing to print a single picture relating to the affair. The Daily Worker echoed the capitalist press by calling it a "shameful act." A. Philip Randolph, who delights in referring to himself as a militant and dynamic leader, voiced "great sorrow and distress" and delivered a short lecture to the masses on the need for observing the law.

Virtually all the Negro papers hailed the behavior of the New York police—the same police whose brutality to Negroes was one of the chief causes of the outbreak. They seem highly elated and relieved that "only" six died, most of them at the hands of the police.

These Negro leaders and editorial writers knew, as most of them have since half-admitted, that the Harlem outbreak was fundamentally a protest and demonstration against the oppressive Jim Crow conditions to which the Negro people are subjected in even the "most liberal city in the country." It was not a planned and organized protest; its participants did not understand the program for abolishing Jim Crow; under such conditions the demonstrators could not do more than show their deep dissatisfaction and their strong impulse to resist the Jim Crow attacks on their rights and conditions.

These Negro leaders and writers know as well as The Militant does that the responsibility for what happened in Harlem lies not on the Negro masses, but on the capitalist system which breeds discrimination and segregation, on the White House and Congress and the bureaucracy of the armed forces which inspire and set a reactionary example for the most backward elements of the white population, and on the propaganda and educational machinery of the

national which upholds and spreads the ideas of "white supremacy." But none of these leaders used the same vituperative language against the real culprits that they used against the desperate and harried victims of the Jim Crow system.

Fundamentally, we repeat, it was a demonstration against Jim Crowism. But it was more than that. It was also a demonstration against the official Negro leaders. It was also a protest against the program of these leaders, a vote of no-confidence in their policies and methods.

How have these leaders reacted to the present crisis in the struggle for equality? At best they offer a program for fighting defensive, rear-guard actions. At worst, they counsel patience, "tolerance," the subordination of the Negro people's interests to the needs of "national unity," and the postponement of the anti-Jim Crow fight to some future date after the end of the war. In no case do these leaders present a bold, realizable program; all they can inspire is defeatism and despair.

As a result the masses do not have a program. They see no way out of the crisis. Their conditions, the increase of reaction, the growing gap between the democratic slogans of the war and freezing of the second-class citizenship status of the Negro—all these convince the Negro masses that now is the time for struggle. They see the need to fight, they WANT to fight—but they don't see how.

What can result from such a situation but blind, chaotic, bitter, misdirected, and hopelessly futile outbursts of the kind witnessed in Harlem? Only the most naive optimism will believe that the same thing won't happen again, on an even greater scale, in Harlem and elsewhere.

And the blame for it rests in part on those people who present themselves as the leaders of the Negro masses but who have led them only into a blind alley. No wonder that these people, recognizing their own responsibility, were so violent and unrestrained in their denunciations of the masses.

As for us, who recognize the real causes of the Harlem outbreak and the real forces to be censured for it, we see in these developments the need to intensify our efforts to win the Negro people over to the program of revolutionary socialism.

Pioneer Paragraphs

RESISTANCE OF THE MASSES SPELLS DOOM OF FASCISTS

By James P. Cannon

Hitler has conquered all of Europe and transformed it into a horrible concentration camp under Nazi domination. He has proclaimed a new order of permanent oppression and denigration of the peoples of Europe. Some see in these stupendous military victories of Hitler and his military conquest of the continent of Europe only cause for despair. They think that perhaps Hitler's victories are definitive, that Europe is thrown back for decades, or even for centuries, and they envisage Europe beginning again on all fours to crawl forward along the historic path through the medium of national wars. Others, despairing of the force of the people, of the proletariat of Europe, despairing of the one idea, the one program that will spell Hitler's doom, look to the Anglo-American imperialist bandits to liberate Europe from Hitler and transform it into a colony of Anglo-American imperialism.

Both of these perspectives, in our opinion, are utterly fantastic, utterly removed from the reality of things. And unfortunately the

"To the Memory of the Old Man"

by JAMES P. CANNON
Text of the Trotsky Memorial Speech delivered in New York on August 28, 1940.

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Italian Workers Continue Anti-War Demonstrations

(Continued from page 1)

occurred at the very period of the greatest bewilderment, disorientation, confusion and exhaustion of the working class arising from the failure of the workers' parties to take power and solve the crisis of capitalist society.

Under these conditions it was possible for Mussolini not only to want but to carry through a reign of terror against the working class and their organizations.

IMPORTANT DIFFERENCES

The Badoglio government represents the same capitalist class as did Mussolini. The aims of the capitalists are basically the same today as they were two months or two years ago. The Badoglio government furthermore, is made up of people who were part and parcel of the fascist regime. But there is a great difference between the two governments: the old relationship of forces that obtained in the heyday of the Mussolini government is irrevocably gone.

When Mussolini came to power, he not only had the support of the ruling class but he also had a mass following among sections of the middle class and the youth. When Badoglio was appointed, he had no support outside of the small group that makes up the ruling class—the bankers and industrialists, the big landowners, the top military caste, the church hierarchy.

Over 20 years have passed since the "march on Rome." The working class has had a chance to heal many of its wounds, to recover its strength. When Mussolini came to power, the workers were demoralized and stunned. When Badoglio took over the government, the workers were beginning to move and rise again; already they have demonstrated tremendous striking power and vitality. Political parties, illegalized by the fascists, are being reconstituted again. The Italian working class is entering political activity in its highest and most active form.

LESS RESOURCES

The Badoglio government and the capitalist class it represents would like to continue ruling Italy with the same methods employed by Mussolini, but they do not have the same resources and advantages that the fascist regime had. Badoglio can still pass fascist-like edicts outlawing strikes, suppressing newspapers and ordering the soldiers to shoot down the demonstrating workers, but he does not have the power to enforce these decrees that Mussolini had when his rule began.

In spite of Badoglio's bluster and threats, the peace demonstrations go on, the fraternization between workers and soldiers continues. In fact, from the very first day of its existence this government has been forced to retreat before the pressure of the masses. During the first week after the removal of Mussolini it had to dissolve the fascist party and promise to release political prisoners and hold post-war elections. Since then renewed attempts to appease the masses and halt the peace demonstrations have included the promise to hold an inquiry into the fortunes amassed by the leading fascists; the announcement that all salaried fascist functionaries were being dismissed and that fascist party funds would be confiscated by the state; the report of the arrest of 25 prominent fascists, charged with profiteering under the old regime.

But these sops thrown to the masses have not allayed the popular opposition. They only demonstrate more clearly the crisis of the regime. Its desperation and impotence can be more fully appreciated by the August

9 dispatch to the N. Y. Times that Badoglio has been forced to enlist the aid of a number of former syndicalists, reported to be exhorting the workers to end the strike movement and support the Badoglio government on the ground that "Rome is now doing everything possible to give you that peace for which we all pine."

CANNOT BRING PEACE

But the Badoglio government cannot give the people freedom; it cannot give the people bread; and above all it cannot give them peace. It is true that the government no longer speaks about continuing the war until victory. Its desires are much more modest now. It only wants to continue the war "until such time as a more intelligent appreciation of the Italian situation will have dispelled preconceived ideas." In plain English, the government wants to hold out in the hope that it can secure more favorable terms for surrender.

But surrender to the Allies by Badoglio or his successor, when it finally comes, cannot and will not bring peace to the Italian masses. The only thing the Allies and the German imperialists can and will do is to use Italy as a battleground of the war.

WORKERS' REPUBLIC

Only a Workers' and Peasants' Republic which has swept the whole capitalist class out of control and power can truly express the will of the people, can truly struggle for and win peace. How will a Workers' and Peasants' Republic win peace? Can such a government conjure the German and Anglo-American armies out of existence? No. But a Workers' and Peasants' Republic, set up on the basis of workers', soldiers', and peasants' councils, can direct a powerful revolutionary appeal to the workers and the soldiers of the opposing armies of both sides. It can inspire and organize its workers for heroic resistance to drive out all invaders.

Just as was the case with the appeal of the Russian Soviets from 1917 to 1920 so the appeal of a revolutionary Italian government would not go unheeded today.

Red Army Drives Shake All Of Eastern Front

(Continued from page 1)

Army. One of the most monstrous lies of the war is the one spread by the Kremlin and picked up eagerly by the "democracies," namely, the lie that the power of Soviet resistance is due to the resurgence of Russian nationalism. "Holy Russia" never knew anything but defeats each time it confronted a more advanced adversary. Since the middle of the nineteenth century all the victories of Czarism were scored only against more backward countries and peoples.

The Red Army's power flows from an entirely different source — the conquests of the October revolution which Stalinism succeeded in undermining but not in destroying. The colossal resources lodged in the first workers' state founded by Lenin and Trotsky in 1917 have proved far greater than any one could have imagined.

Fifteen years of planned economy, carried out under conditions of declining world economy and under the rapacious, wasteful and treacherous Stalinist bureaucracy, proved sufficient to transform one of the most backward European countries into a power able to withstand and match the military might of imperialist Germany, the most advanced country in Europe, backed by the resources

ITALIAN STALINISTS PLAY A COMPLETELY REACTIONARY ROLE

By PHILIP BLAKE

How strong Stalinism is within Italy, how much of a part it has played in the events since Mussolini's downfall, remains still to be seen. But it is already clear from the American Daily Worker that the Italian Stalinists played a completely reactionary role in the present revolutionary situation.

The Stalinists here claim that the Italian Communist Party is engaged in a bloc with other parties called the Italian National Front. The Daily Worker says that this bloc was formed late last year and that it includes the Socialist, Action, Liberal Reconstruction and Christian Democratic parties plus a number of members of the "Fascist opposition." Vanni B. Montana, secretary of the Italian Socialist Federation in the U. S., denies that the Stalinists are part of this bloc. The Daily Worker makes constant reference to the broadcasts of illegal Italian radio, Milano Liberta, asserting that it speaks for the five-party bloc. Whether this is true or not, we cannot say; but we do know that it speaks for the Stalinists.

"GREET" BADOGGIO

The day after Badoglio was appointed, Milano Liberta was heard in Berne analyzing the fall of Mussolini and explaining what the masses had to be on guard against. It began by whitewashing the capitalist class which had brought fascism to power, by placing the blame for all the suffering of the Italian masses on Mussolini and the fascist party alone.

"The man responsible for all the misfortunes of our country and for all our calamities, the man who drew us into the war and who is responsible for the defeat,

hunger and ruin of our country, has now been removed from the government. . .

"Then give free expression to your jubilation throughout the country, from border to border. As a mark of triumph unfurl the national flags. . ."

No one can accuse the Stalinists of raising the red flag in Italy. Like Badoglio, they were quite satisfied with the national flag.

The broadcast went on to greet the masses for their opposition to Mussolini, and the officers and soldiers who had refused to continue the war, and:

"We greet all those who, understanding the will of the nation, helped ban the tyrant by action from the top."

This was nothing more or less than a bid to Badoglio and King Victor Emmanuel and an attempt to convince the masses that these collaborators of Mussolini were also "anti-fascists."

"Our country," the broadcast continued, "is menaced by great danger from two directions"—on one side by Germany, on the other by the fascist hierarchy who will want to force Italy to remain in the war on Germany's side. Not a word about the danger facing the Italian revolt from the Allied leaders who abhor revolution as they do the plague.

THE "NEW" LINE

And that was the Stalinist line for the first week after Mussolini's fall. Their primary demand was peace; their method of getting it was to woo, flatter and whitewash Badoglio. But when it became clear to them, as it did to the Allied leaders, that Badoglio was taking his time in suing for peace, when the masses were already raising the demand for the overthrow of Badoglio, then finally on August 2, Milano Liberta broke down and said:

"The whole nation must once again rise and demand the resignation of the Badoglio government and the abdication of the king. The people must demand the formation of a provisional national government of peace which would energetically remove all obstacles to the termination of the war, break with Germany and conclude peace with the Allies."

"Hitherto we refrained from addressing such words to the people, hoping that the Badoglio government would not dare to defy the will so clearly expressed by the army and nation. We must wait no more!" (Daily Worker, August 6.)

AGAINST SOCIALISM

What kind of government in Italy are the Stalinists prepared to support? They do not go into details. All they ask is that it sue for peace—and that it NOT be a workers' government. This latter provision is one of the few points on which the Stalinists are both explicit and emphatic.

The broadcaster on Milano Liberta announced on August 6 that there was growing interest in the present position of the Communist Party and that the station had asked for and received a statement from a C. P. leader. The Stalinist's answer said in part:

"It is stupid and incorrect to identify this movement which struck the latest blow at fascism as a Communist movement. It is a national movement. . . If anyone seriously believes that the Communists are fighting for a socialist revolution today, then he should be locked in a cage. . ." (Daily Worker, August 7.)

To solve their problems, the Italian masses will have to overcome the opposition of the Stalinists as well as of Italian and world capitalism.

Each blow struck by the Red Army against the imperialists forms an integral part of the unfolding socialist revolution. From the victories of the Soviet Union the masses in occupied Europe and above all in Germany gain new inspiration and confidence, a new hope and a new will to struggle.

The military victories of the Soviet Union are greatly speeding up the catastrophic events that impend in Europe, of which the downfall of Mussolini and Italian fascism comprise only the beginning. These revolutionary events in turn will act to revive the Bolshevik traditions and program among the Soviet masses.

Problem Of The Building The Marxist Party In Italy

By M. Morrison

A tense revolutionary situation exists in Italy. All of the factors necessary for a successful attempt on the part of the workers to take governmental power into their own hands, proclaim a socialist Italy and thus initiate a new movement towards the world revolution, are present. Except one—the most important single factor—a revolutionary party composed of workers basing themselves on the program of revolutionary Marxism. The problem of problems for the workers of Italy is to create such a party in the shortest possible time.

It is not excluded that the workers take power in Italy without the formal leadership of a revolutionary party. There are enough revolutionary workers in Italy, sufficiently educated in the principles of revolutionary Marxism and steeped in the tradition of the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia, to lead the masses in the creation of workers' peasants' and soldiers' councils and have those councils assume governmental power. But without a revolutionary party these councils would come under the control of the Stalinists and reformists and this would mean not only a cessation in the progress of the revolution but an inevitable retrogression to capitalist power.

What are the possibilities for the creation of a revolutionary Marxist party in Italy?

Fascism has physically exterminated thousands of revolutionary workers, those who constituted the elite of the Italian revolutionary movement. But many thousands escaped the clutches of Mussolini's blackshirts and have been quietly biding their time for just such a situation as the present one. A great many revolutionists have already been released from prison and many more will get their freedom as the mass movement against the present regime develops. Quite a few revolutionary Marxists will return from exile.

It is true that the workers who played a role in the revolutionary Marxist movement before Mussolini took power are almost all at least forty years of age and, as an average age, that is way too old for an active and effective revolutionary party. Undoubtedly many of these older workers have become tired; but a sufficient number have retained their revolutionary spirit and can form the essential cadres for the creation of a revolutionary party. We must recognize that a revolutionary situation brings back the revolutionary spirit to many a worker who left the revolutionary movement for one reason or another.

Since the old revolutionary workers were for the most part members or sympathizers of the Communist Party of Italy at the time Mussolini came to power, the question arises whether they will not all flock to the Stalinists and thus prevent the formation of a strong revolutionary party in the near future. We must assume, I think, that the majority of these old revolutionary workers have not been able to keep abreast of all developments within the communist movement since the fascist dictatorship compelled them to go underground. Undoubtedly the Stalinists will take advantage of this fact and try to get the old Communist Party members and sympathizers to rally around their party.

But we must remember that the Communist Party members of 1922 spoke a different language from that which the Stalinists speak at the present time. The overwhelming probability is that many of those who were in the ranks or sympathizers of the Communist Party of Italy in 1922 could not possibly stomach the present Stalinist line.

I do not mean to infer that the Italian revolutionary workers are better Marxists than the workers of other countries and that therefore they would reject the present line of the Stalinists, whereas the revolutionary workers of other countries accepted the Stalinist line and remained loyal to the Stalinist parties. I simply mean that the revolutionists of 1922 could not all of a sudden be made to accept Stalinist politics. It must be remembered that the thousands of revolutionary workers who remained loyal to Stalinism in spite of its distortion of Marxism accepted Stalinist politics in degrees and by stages. They were not asked to become defenders of imperialist countries all at once; they were not asked to give up the struggle for socialism in capitalist countries because they were military allies of the Soviet Union until many years had elapsed after Stalin usurped the power of the Communist International.

The difference between the present Stalinist line and the political line of the communists of 1922 is so great that it is impossible to think that the old revolutionary workers of Italy would not reject the Stalinists with disgust and loathing. And it can be said also that very few of the old revolutionary workers in other countries remain in the ranks of the Stalinists. Those who do remain have become part of the bureaucracy. Not even the prestige of having the Soviet Union behind them could gain the adherence of the old Italian revolutionary workers for the Stalinists except for a short period.

The revolutionary party that is to be built has a tremendous advantage over the Stalinists in that they who must begin building it speak a language that is understood by the old revolutionary workers. They speak the language of Lenin and Trotsky.

To be effective, a revolutionary party must have the intelligent, fighting, self-sacrificing working class youth. The great mass of this youth of Italy is in the army and a substantial number are in the factories. This youth has not had the benefit of any Marxist education. To which party will the mass of young workers turn?

We must assume that fascism has generated democratic-capitalist illusions among the masses. In comparison with the fascist regime the democratic-capitalist one must appear as a veritable heaven. Especially is this true with the youth that has had no experience with any democratic, capitalist state. Freedom of press, speech, assembly and elections are powerful attractions and their limitations in a democratic-capitalist society can be known only to those who live in such a society. The reformist socialists and Stalinists, harping upon these freedoms, and supported by the capitalist democracies, start with an advantage over the revolutionary Marxists.

However, the advantage is far from being an insuperable one. The revolutionary Marxists will of course also support most vigorously the struggle for all the freedoms mentioned above. To a certain extent the revolutionists are aided by the fact that the youth under the fascist regime were told some truths about the capitalist democracies. Above all it is the fact that a revolutionary situation exists in Italy that works to the advantage of the revolutionary Marxists. In such a situation the minds of the workers are alert and can more easily distinguish the true from the false. Under the circumstances in which the Italian masses and themselves the revolutionary Marxists will have a very attentive audience.

The building of a revolutionary party, the chief task of the revolutionary Marxists of Italy, must be undertaken at once and with the greatest energy. With the old revolutionary workers and the Trotskyist emigres as the nucleus, the creation of a party of the Fourth International is a task which under the present circumstances in Italy can be accomplished in a very short period.

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

— LEON TROTSKY

JOIN US IN FIGHTING FOR:

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

3 Years After The Murder Of Trotsky

(Continued from page 1)

Trotsky commented as follows on this astonishing dialogue:

"I know, der Fuehrer responds, 'but why did France and England give Poland complete freedom of action?'"

"The proletariat has a young and still weak revolutionary leadership. But the leadership of the bourgeoisie rots on its feet. At the very outset of the war which they could not avert, these gentlemen are convinced in advance of the collapse of their regime. This fact alone must be for us the source of invincible revolutionary optimism!"

Three years have elapsed since Stalin murdered Trotsky. Coulondre's Third French Republic has been destroyed. Italian Fascism has collapsed. Mussolini's fall has shaken Hitler's Third Reich to the depths. The sparks of revolution are being blown throughout Europe.

In his last great political document, "The Manifesto of the Fourth International on the Imperialist War and the Proletarian Revolution," Trotsky addressed himself "to the working men and women, the soldiers and sailors, the ruined peasants and the enslaved colonial peoples." He told them that "the chief cause of war as well as of all other social evils — unemployment, the high cost of living, fascism, colonial oppression — is the private ownership of the means of production together with the bourgeois state which rests on this foundation."

He pointed out that: "By its very creation of enormous difficulties and dangers for the imperialist metropolitan centers, the war opens up wide possibilities for the oppressed peoples. The rumbling of cannon in Europe heralds the approaching hour of their liberation." The six-year struggle of the Chinese people against Japan and the rising of the Indian masses against Great Britain portend the downfall of imperialism in Asia.

Against the petty-bourgeois deserters, Trotsky insisted upon the defense of the USSR against imperialist attack, predicting that "Stalin's friendship with Hitler will not endure. . . for any length of time." Against Stalin's method of alliances with one or another camp of imperialism, Trotsky taught that "The Fourth International can defend the USSR only by methods of revolutionary class struggle." The morale of the Soviet people, the recovery of the Red Armies from devastating defeats and now their tremendous victories testify to the unbounded vitality of the October Revolution. The action of the Italian masses in overthrowing

fascism gives a sample of the revolutionary vigor and spirit of the European working class.

"Peace will not be concluded by those forces now waging the war. The workers and soldiers will dictate their own program of peace!" The anti-war demonstrations and strikes of Italian workers and soldiers are verifying this in real life.

"By testing everything that exists and discarding everything rotten, war represents a mortal danger to the outlived Internationals," wrote Trotsky. The revolutionary struggles ushered in by the resistance of the Soviet masses and the revolt of the Italian workers will inevitably sweep away Stalinism and Social-Democracy.

But the Fourth International lives, struggles, grows in the midst of the war. "The Fourth International builds its policy not on the military fortunes of the capitalist states but on the transformation of the imperialist war into a war of the workers against the capitalists, on the overthrow of the ruling classes in all countries, on the world socialist revolution." The revolting workers of Italy, even if not as yet under the banner of Trotskyism, are beginning to realize in action this program which seemed so "unrealistic" to near-sighted politicians.

The events which are today confounding the calculations and upsetting the plans of the warring imperialists vindicate Trotsky's predictions, program and perspectives. As yet we have witnessed only the earliest phases of the revolutionary developments which will emanate from the war. Coming events will still further expose the internal weaknesses of the imperialist system and the utter rottenness and perfidy of Stalinism and Social-Democracy. They will fully disclose the colossal power and revolutionary potentialities of the insurgent masses.

This new revolutionary tide will sweep everything before it. It will lift the Fourth International to the heights.

The coming revolution will restore to his rightful place the unsullied figure of Leon Trotsky, warrior-leader of the world revolution, hero-martyr of the struggle for socialism, founder of the Fourth International.

An Answer To The Smith-Connally Act

Wall Street's henchmen in Congress thought they had the labor movement on the run when they passed the Smith-Connally Bill. Some of the corporations, tasting blood, immediately proceeded to defy the War Labor Board in order to break down its policy of granting "maintenance of membership." They all thought the campaign to house-break the labor movement was well on the way to successful conclusion.

But *Business Week*, a magazine that is to be found in every corporation office, felt it necessary to caution its subscribers that the Smith-Connally Act might turn out to be a double-edged sword. *Business Week* is afraid that labor at the present time "cannot be pushed down from its present high ground."

That *Business Week* is not altogether wrong is shown by the action of the Allis-Chalmers workers of Springfield, Ill., who are now legally entitled to strike under the same repressive machinery established by the Smith-Connally "slave labor" law itself.

This strike vote is all the more remarkable in that the workers were subjected to a heavy barrage of anti-strike propaganda from both the Stalinist and CIO bureaucrats. In addition, the strike ballots issued to the workers by the National Labor Relations Board read: "Do you wish to permit an interruption of war production in wartime as a result of this dispute?" The great majority of the workers voted Yes.

This strike vote of the Allis-Chalmers workers serves to remind us once again that the American labor movement, 13 million strong, is still undefeated. This giant of a labor movement may be in retreat, he may be without adequate leadership and program, but he is still a giant. The retreats of the union movement are not due to lack of solidarity in the ranks, or any lack of ability or desire to fight, but because of the top bureaucracy of the labor movement has gone over lock, stock and barrel to the war machine and has been freely giving away labor's hard won rights.

It is therefore not surprising that it was Philip Murray who squawked loudest against the ruling of Attorney General Biddle that any group of workers could demand a strike vote under the Smith-Connally Act. It is obvious that these labor fakers are as much afraid of strikes as the billion-dollar corporations themselves. These labor fakers not only continue to support Roosevelt regardless of what anti-labor crimes he commits; they literally cling to him, as protection against their own membership. A year ago, the mention of Roosevelt's name was sufficient to hold the union ranks in check. But, unfortunately for Murray and Green, those days are long past. That is why the top leaders of the United Auto Workers spent almost an hour last week begging Roosevelt to personally address their coming convention at Buffalo on September 29. The labor bureaucrats are beginning to tremble before the wrath and the rising militancy of the rank and file. They hope to stave off the inevitable revolt against them, they hope to keep labor subservient a little longer, by trotting out on the stage the magic personality himself.

The American workers are learning every day. They are making greater strides in their political education today than even in the feverish days that marked the rise of the CIO. Once the American workers build a leadership that adequately expresses their aspirations and aims, they will astonish and inspire the whole world again — as they did in 1936-37 — by their overwhelming strength, their militancy, their aggressiveness in action, their fighting power. Speed the day.

Role Of Some Italian Refugees In The U. S.

(Continued from page 1)

Churchill, "that order and tranquility are essential elements for a quicker allied victory." But he hastens to assure them that his program is the best one to achieve both these aims. "The best way to achieve them is an immediate campaign in Italy for joining the United States and Great Britain in a final battle against Nazism."

Sforza warns Roosevelt and Churchill that Badoglio cannot successfully carry out this program for the capitalists of Wall and Lombard Streets. "Such a campaign can be led only by Italians whose past is clean. . . like my friends of the Action Party. . ."

How does Sforza propose to line up the Italian people behind the war program of the allies? Sforza thinks he has just the right combination that will trick the Italian masses into support of Anglo-American capitalism. Put on trial, Sforza says, "the corrupt and rich leaders of fascism, like Grandi Federzoni, Volpi, Ciano. . . If complex and generous agrarian reforms are seriously promised, and if a new government comes into power"—no doubt headed by Sforza and his friends of the Action Party—then, he is positive, the Italian masses will consent to become cannon-fodder again.

Sforza's main objection to the present military-monarchical Badoglio dictatorship is its foreign policy. That is why he is able to suggest that Badoglio, who has been "a close collaborator of mine in important international treaties" might possibly remain in the proposed new government as commander-in-chief of the army. According to Sforza, the chief trouble with Badoglio is that "he lacks the moral authority and the historical imagination which are needed in Italy today."

Badoglio's foreign minister, Guariglia, who was Mussolini's ambassador to France, is described by Sforza as "a decent fellow; personally, I remember that he

was one of my best collaborators when I was foreign minister."

Sforza's program is all too revealing. He wants to betray the Italian people to Anglo-American capitalism. He wants to ensnare the Italian people with a few meaningless and false promises about post-war agrarian reforms in order to keep them plunged into the maelstrom of the second world war. Thus Sforza hopes to save at least a part of the Italian empire, to preserve at least a part of the power and privileges of the Italian capitalists.

Such are the opinions, such are the aims of this foremost Italian "democrat" in exile. This program is so vile and treacherous and cynical that even George de Santillana, a pro-allied fellow Italian refugee, is doubtful that it can be realized. He writes skeptically: "I do not see how the trick can work that easily. And, anyway, it would be a trick."

STURZO'S STAND

Another Italian refugee with a big name is Don Luigi Sturzo, founder of one of the Italian democratic capitalist parties. This is the same gentleman who assured the workers in 1927 that fascism was impossible in Germany, England or France. Sturzo does not even go as far as Count Sforza in his criticism of Badoglio or the King. He merely expresses the hope that they will accede to the Allied demand for "unconditional surrender." He is sure that allied occupation is "the beginning of liberation from the internal fascist tyranny."

Sturzo also speaks well of Badoglio's foreign minister, Guariglia. He describes him as a "very good choice" and points out that Guariglia had a long background as a diplomat. Sturzo does not mention that part of the background was gained in assisting Mussolini and Hitler to put over the Munich deal in 1938.

A "SOCIALIST"

Another leading Italian refugee is Vanni Montana, Secretary of the Italian Socialist Federation. Unlike Sforza and Sturzo, who

do not claim to be anything more than capitalist "democrats," Montana calls himself a socialist and writes "I think I express the views of the leadership of the underground Socialist Party."

This "socialist" writes that the United Nations should not be "foolish enough to renounce their demand for unconditional surrender." He also holds that the "United Nations should come out with a declaration that they are not against a republic if the Italian people want it. . . That more or less they will give the Italian people what they want—if it is a republic, particularly." Holding these opinions, it is consistent for Montana to write: "I agree with Sforza."

Montana is a pro-allied, pro-war, yellow "socialist" of the worst type. He thinks the job of the Italian masses is not to fight for socialism, but to reestablish a capitalist democratic republic—the same kind of republic that paved the way for Mussolini and the fascist regime, after the last world war. He has no faith however, that the Italian masses, by their efforts, can achieve even this program. That is why he relies not on them, but on Roosevelt and Churchill.

TOOLS AND TRAITORS

These Italian refugees just described, who demand that Italy join the Anglo-American war alliance, who support the Roosevelt-Churchill demand for "unconditional surrender," who favor AMCOT's occupation plans, obviously do not represent the wishes or the needs of the Italian masses who are demonstrating in huge strikes and parades for an end to the slaughter and the war.

These refugees hope to return to Italy under the protection of Anglo-American bayonets and set up a government under the supervision and authority of AMCOT. They are conscious or unconscious tools of Anglo-American capitalism. These refugees are not leaders of the Italian revolutionary struggle. They are traitors to that struggle.

Trotsky Memorial Issue Of F. I. Is Now On Sale

The Trotsky Memorial August issue of the monthly magazine, Fourth International, features an editorial on "Italy: The First Phase of the Revolution," reviewing the events of the first week after Mussolini's fall and showing that these events confirm the Trotskyist analysis of the capitalist nature of fascism.

Also featured is "Campaign For A Labor Party!" by James P. Cannon, National Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, including an outline and a speech made last November on the prospects for the formation of an independent labor party in this country and the tasks of the Marxists in the light of these prospects.

"The Court Verdict on the Assassination of Leon Trotsky" by Walter O'Rourke is an analysis of the recent Mexican court decision imposing the maximum sentence on the GPU killer, "Frank Jacson."

"A Report on the Communist International" is the text of a speech by Leon Trotsky at the end of 1922, examining the prospects for world revolution and the weaknesses of the Com-

munist Parties. This article is printed in English here for the first time.

Other articles in the August issue of the F. I. include:

"The CIO's Answer To The Anti-Labor Drive" by Felix Morrow, a review of the July meeting of the CIO Executive Board and the program it adopted there. This article should be of interest to all union militants eager to combat the rising cost of living and create an independent labor party.

"The Roosevelt Regime In Crisis" by William F. Warde, a discussion of the class forces and recent struggles undermining the position of the administration.

"A Manual of Party Organization" by E. R. Frank is an enlightening review of Pioneer Publishers' new book, "The Struggle For A Proletarian Party" by James P. Cannon.

"International Notes" this month reports good news about the activities of Fourth Internationalists in Britain and Cuba, where healthy and substantial progress is being made in the mass movement, and in Mexico, where the Trotskyist paper is now

appearing regularly as a printed four pager.

Order your copy of the F. I. from Business Manager, 116 University Pl., New York 3, N. Y. Individual copies are 20 cents, a yearly subscription is \$2.

Cost of Guerin's Book On Fascism

Through a clerical error Daniel Guerin's excellent book, "Fascism and Big Business," was advertised at the price of 50 cents in the last two issues of this paper.

Pioneer Publishers, who issued "Fascism and Big Business," has asked The Militant to explain that the price of this 339-page volume is actually 75 cents. However, Pioneer will fill at the price advertised all orders from readers of this paper received prior to August 14.

Even at 75 cents, Guerin's book is a real buy for all who want to understand the nature of fascism as an instrument of capitalism. It is the best Marxist book on the question. Order from Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Pl., New York 3, N. Y.

WPB Tries to Put Over Aircraft Speedup Plan

The War Production Board is trying to put over the "incentive plan" in the West Coast aircraft plants. Charles E. Wilson, WPB executive vice-chairman, is going to the West Coast on August 14 to see if he can sell the workers this bill of goods.

The bosses are all strong for this plan. Why not? It gives them more profits and helps break down union conditions. The government wants the incentive plan in order to stop demands for wage increases and to speed up production.

The aircraft workers have plenty of cause for dissatisfaction. They are already badly overworked. In addition, the West Coast aircraft workers receive far lower wages than the midwest workers receive for similar work.

Six months ago the WLB turned down their modest demand for a ten cent hourly wage increase. Since then discontent has been steadily growing. Now the answer of the government and the bosses is the attempt to institute a more ferocious speed-up system.

Outside of the manufacturers, the main proponents of this employer-sponsored profit and speedup plan are the Stalinist finks. A Daily Worker editorial for August 10 hails the aircraft proposal.

A large proportion if not majority of the workers in the West Coast aircraft industry belongs to the CIO United Automobile Workers. The UAW has repeatedly voted against the incentive speedup plan. As a matter of fact, no local of this union is allowed to accept this plan unless it receives special permission from the International.

The UAW, if it adheres to its policy, will tell both the War Production dollar-a-year men as well as the Stalinist finks where to get off.

Coeducation in USSR Abolished by Stalin

Stalin has abolished co-education in all Soviet schools. In this way he has destroyed another of the few surviving gains of the revolution and dealt a blow to the position of women in the Soviet Union. Girls and boys are to receive different as well as separate training. According to the Stalinist credo, the main duty of womanhood lies in bringing up children. Women's position in society is thus restricted primarily to the nursery and its attendant obligations. This is the "educational" theory of the Prussian junkers and their Nazi satellites.

This latest reactionary move is especially significant in connection with a whole series of measures in the recent months designed to foster and trench a new military caste in the country.

Schools are of added importance to the Kremlin in view of a previous decree which prohibited any further appointments of Red Army officers from the ranks and which limits all future appointments, as was the case under Czarism, to those who have passed certain "school requirements."

That this "military" aspect is foremost in the Kremlin's mind is revealed by the following significant remarks cabled from Moscow in connection with the decree abolishing co-education:

"The man must be a soldier. A boy must be prepared for service in the Red Army while he is still in school. He receives special physical and purely military training for a stern soldier's life." (N. Y. Times, August 5.)

Stalin needs a counter-weight to that section of the Red officers' corps who have in recent months risen from the ranks, and whose ties with the masses are still fresh and strong.

Before the Nazi invasion Soviet schools were turned into institutions accessible primarily to those able to pay tuitions, i.e., the sons and daughters of the bureaucrats. By its latest measure the Kremlin tightens still further its control over the selection and appointment of officers, acquires additional levers for tying the officers more closely to the regime and for creating as great a gulf as possible between the officers, the rank and file of the army and the masses in the country as a whole. At the same time, the schools are to be turned into institutions inculcating the ideology of the new military caste.

The War Has Doubled Big Business Profits

Workers whose incomes are being slashed by soaring prices and stiffer taxes will be interested in the current National City Bank report that corporation income this year, after taxes, runs about 14% higher than last year. The bank's survey covered 340 companies, including most of the big industrial corporations.

Randolph Paul, general counsel of the U. S. Treasury Department, has presented an even more candid picture of war profiteering. Paul estimates corporate profits, before taxes, for 1943 at \$26,200,000,000, which is four times the 1939 profits. Even after taxes, 1943 profits are more than double those of 1939.

These super-profits are sweated out of the workers in two ways. First, by the speedup in the plants. Second, through the lush government contracts which are paid for by taxing the people. Present taxes on corporations do not begin to touch the reported profits of the corporations, let alone their concealed income.

Roosevelt insists that new taxes must be imposed which "really hurt." Assuredly, the only ones that have not been hurt to date by taxes are the big corporations. Cold figures prove that Roosevelt's "equality of sacrifice" translates itself into ever-deeper cuts in the workers' living standards and record-breaking profits for Big Business.

NEW YORK

TROTSKY MEMORIAL MEETING

Speaker:

V. R. DUNNE

National Labor Secretary, SWP

SUNDAY, AUGUST 22, 8 P. M.

AT IRVING PLAZA

15th Street and Irving Place

Auspices: Local New York, Socialist Workers Party