

STEEL DELEGATES THROING CONVENTION

Novack, Billings Speak For CRDC In California

SAN FRANCISCO, Calif. — Workers in San Francisco marked May Day week 1944 by attending two labor defense meetings at which Warren K. Billings, famous class war prisoner and co-defendant with Tom Mooney in the famous Mooney-Billings labor case, and George Novack, National Secretary of the Civil Rights Defense Committee were the principal speakers.

Sunday afternoon, April 30, they addressed a memorial meeting in honor of the martyrs of American labor, held under the auspices of the General Defense Committee of the IWW. The speakers reviewed the struggle and sacrifices of the great leaders of American labor who were persecuted and murdered by the boss class: the Haymarket martyrs; Joe Hill, working class poet and organizer Frank Little murdered at Butte, Montana; Wesley Everett murdered at Centralia, Washington; Sacco and Vanzetti; Mooney and Billings.

Warren K. Billings told how the employers of San Francisco in collusion with police and state officials put their frameup machinery in operation against Tom Mooney and himself. "They saw the war coming and, as they always have done under circumstances, they saw their chance to put us in prison because of our labor activities."

KNOW CANNON AND DUNNE

In the audience of 200 workers were several old time Wobblies leaders who had known and worked with James P. Cannon and Vincent Dunne. In introducing George Novack the chairman, Henry E. McGuckin, recalled that Cannon was the first to introduce him to a workers' meeting in Kansas City 34 years ago, in 1910.

In his speech, Novack pointed out that the frameup of the 18 in the Minneapolis Labor Case was a direct continuation of the frameups against the IWW leaders in the first world war.

"The capitalist frameup system has been at work in this country for a long time — and the Minneapolis Labor Case is the latest

New Jersey Strike Teaches Lesson of Government's Role

NEWARK, N. J., May 6 — 1600 workers, members of the UAW-CIO, shut down the six plants of the Breeze Company, for two days last week in protest against the management's deliberate stalling over wage increases. The Breeze workers waited patiently for months for the WLB award, which finally granted them small wage increases. But the Company immediately proceeded to appeal the regional WLB ruling. This deliberate company provocation was answered by a shutdown of the six plants, despite all the efforts of the union leaders to have the men docilely submit to the company's latest stall.

By their action, the Breeze workers indicated that they, like millions of others, are fed up with the no-strike pledge and intend to defend themselves from company attacks. But the Breeze workers struck under the illusion that the government would take over and settle things in their favor. This illusion was soon to be dispelled by the spokesman of the government.

One Army officer correctly explained to the workers, "The Army takes only nominal charge, and the workers still are the employees of the present management."

Under pounding from the military authorities and the flag-waving of their union officials, the men finally returned to work. But the lesson they absorbed as to the role of the government will not soon be forgotten.

example. This frameup of working class leaders must be smashed."

Upon the initiative of the workers present, it was recommended that part of the collection should go to the Pardon and Relief Fund of the CRDC.

The meeting of the CRDC was held on Wednesday, May 3rd, at Red Mens Hall. Clarence Rust, noted labor lawyer and member of the National Committee of CRDC, was the first speaker.

He reviewed the legal aspects of the Case. "This Case is of national importance," Rust said in his closing remarks. "It is most gratifying to see that fact being recognized by unions and other organizations, throughout the country."

The walls of the hall gave detailed evidence of this support. Copies of letters of endorsement by prominent people of the city, resolutions and letters of local unions lined the hall, together with posters of the 18 prisoners. Above them were two large streamers carrying the two main slogans of the Committee—Free the 18 and Repeal the Smith Gag Act.

Ernest Besig, Northern California Director of the American Civil Liberties Union, the next speaker, explained why his committee had backed the Case from the very beginning. "The ACLU opposed the passage of the Smith Gag Act and will continue to fight

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Trotskyism And The European Revolution

By The Editors

It is clear to all political observers that Europe today stands on the verge of great events. The European revolution which was begun by the Italian masses is sure to flame again. All the so-called theories of the skeptics, the turncoats and the renegades are being destroyed by the march of events. Our ideas, our perspectives, our program are standing up to the test of history and are every day finding vindication in the international arena.

What is necessary today for the Trotskyists throughout the world is to solidify their ranks on the tested program and principles of Trotskyism in preparation for the great tasks that loom ahead. The unification of the Workers International League and the Revolutionary Socialist League in England and the successful launching of a unified Trotskyist organization, the Revolutionary Communist Party, on the basis of the program and statutes of the Fourth International, is a sign of the times. It is an indication that the genuine Trotskyists are closing ranks.

The great resurgence of the class struggle that we see taking place in England today is only a small reflection of the gigantic upsurge we will witness on the European continent on the morrow. In the coming resurgence of the revolutionary movement, we can genuinely help the revolutionary workers hew their path to the revolutionary party, we can help them to build a strong Trotskyist organization, only by drawing a sharp line of demarcation between the genuine Trotskyists and the impostors and muddleheads. Nothing could be more fatal for the Trotskyist movement than to permit instinctive sympathy—for any insurgent groups fighting under the difficult conditions which exist in Europe today—to betray us into political conciliationism.

With this perspective in mind, we wish to especially call attention to the Manifesto recently issued by a group in Italy and published in part in the April 8 issue of The Militant for the information of our readers. The Manifesto reveals that its authors attempt to straddle the Trotskyist position on the Soviet Union, the necessity for unconditional defense of the Soviet Union.

Should the Soviet workers support the war against Hitler, in spite of the fact that it is led

by the reactionary Stalinist bureaucracy? The workers of Italy, of Europe, as of the Soviet Union instinctively answered this question in the affirmative. The authors of this Manifesto, who apparently wish to deny such defense, felt the necessity of equivocating. No group can really be Trotskyist if it attempts to straddle the Russian question. The Manifesto does not call for the defense of the Soviet Union. It does not characterize the Soviet Union as a workers' state. Therefore the Manifesto is not an authentic Trotskyist Manifesto.

It is our solemn duty to point out to all revolutionary workers that any groups arising in Europe today which take a false or ambiguous position on the Russian question, which attempt to construct a program and organization apart from the Trotskyist International movement can accomplish nothing more than the creation of new degenerate parties of the POUM variety. Trotsky warned: "Those who cannot defend old positions will never conquer new ones."

The Trotskyists will pay close attention to all the new manifestations in the European labor movement. They will work most energetically to win all leftward-moving groups to the Trotskyist program and banner. As a matter of fact, the Trotskyists have distinguished themselves in the past for their tactical flexibility in working with leftward-moving groups. But tactical flexibility was of aid in the past and can be of aid in the future in the winning of new adherents to the Trotskyist banner only on the premise that the Trotskyists remain organizationally firm and programmatically irreconcilable.

The Trotskyist movement has a finished program, a tested cadre and a firm organization. We can aid the revolutionary workers in solving the herculean tasks they face only by remaining true to our program and banner. Such a principled position will prove a far more effective weapon in the struggle for building strong Trotskyist parties than any expression of sentimental solidarity at the expense of program.

Great developments loom ahead. The Trotskyists, on whose shoulders rest an historic responsibility, must now be prepared, calmly, confidently and firmly to discharge that responsibility.

The 'Little Straitjacket' Formula



Canadian Auto Workers Fight Ford's Union-Busting Drive

WINDSOR, ONTARIO —

Climaxing its months-long campaign of union harassment and provocation, the Ford Motor Company fired a union committeeman and suspended four union stewards. This last union-busting act proved to be the straw that broke the camel's back. 14,000 workers struck to a man on April 20.

The Ford workers were operating under the contract signed two and a half years ago between Local 200 and the Ford Motor Company. The agreement outlines a bargaining procedure which permits the union stewards to take two hours in any day or three hours in two days to bargain on the union grievances. If the stewards needed more time than that provided in the agreement, the union paid them for the extra time spent on settling grievances. The stewards had to notify the foremen whenever they took time off for union business but did not have to obtain permission. This bargaining procedure has been in operation for two and a half years.

Towards the end of March, the company decided to step up its union-busting campaign. Instructions were handed down to all foremen not to permit stewards to take care of union grievances during working hours. The company ruled that if any grievances arose, the stewards could take care of them during their lunch period, which in most cases is 15 to 20 minutes long. The company further ruled that all grievances must first be written out before the men could see their stewards. This company action was a deliberate attempt to destroy the grievance procedure as many of the union men are foreign born and would find it very difficult to write out their grievances.

UNION PROTESTS

The union immediately protested the violation of the contract but the company remained adamant. The union then notified the Wartime Labor Relations Board. The Board ordered the Ford Motor Company to continue the grievance procedure that had been in use for the previous two and a half years, and in the event of complaint on either side, the board would review the complaint within 10 days.

The union accepted the labor board decision. But Mr. Campbell, President of the Ford Motor Company of Canada, contemptuously replied that neither the union nor the board would run the plant. When he climaxed his anti-union campaign by the firings, the men struck.

Campbell thereupon announced that he was cancelling the union

New Stalinist Revelations On Origins Of May Day

Apart from Stalin's order of the Day on May 1, Moscow has released virtually no news concerning the celebration of May Day in the Soviet Union. The Stalinist bureaucracy is now trying to root out every revolutionary tradition. Its efforts in this direction are illustrated in part by the article written in connection with May Day by Ilya Ehrenburg, one of the Kremlin's publicized pen-prostitutes. The theme of this article is that May Day is rooted not in the class struggle at all, but in seasonal changes, to wit, the coming of spring. The text of this new revelation of Stalinism follows:

"From time immemorial man has associated the coming of spring with the idea of the triumph of life. The Greeks created the Eleusinian mysteries: young Persephone held captive by the god of the infernal regions returns to the earth. In spring the early Christians celebrated the triumph of life. Sprouting seed, green shoot and flower-bud inspired man to wage war on darkness."

"Hence arose May Day. Progressive minds associated the will of the peoples for a better world with the spirit of spring. To the frigidity of senile egotism, of gloomy tyranny, they opposed the idea of the brotherhood of nations. Only the purblind will ask whether this is the time to talk of human solidarity, when arms have the floor; whether this is the time to talk of great hope, when spring has laid bare the ruins and graves." (Information Bulletin of Embassy of the USSR in Washington, May 6, vol. IV, No. 54.)

contract and refused to negotiate with the union.

The labor board immediately sent two representatives to get negotiations going again between Local 200 and the Company.

The solidarity of the men in the strike was exceptional. A

huge picket line daily patrolled the plant, not to keep scabs out (there were no scabs) but to demonstrate the solid front and power of the union. All other UAW locals in Windsor rallied behind the Ford strikers. A num-

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Senate Grants Billions To Wall Street; Rejects Demand For Demobilization Pay

By R. Bell

A bill providing for the payment of billions of dollars in cash to war contractors upon the termination of their government contracts, was jammed through the Senate last week in record time. The measure was sponsored by the government's "Post-War Planning Committee" headed by Walter George, poll-tax Senator from Georgia. It provides for the payment of huge sums of money to large war contractors whose contracts are cancelled by the government. Over the protests of organized labor which had strenuously objected to the passage of the bill in its present form, the measure was railroaded through the Senate almost without debate.

"We wish to stress again," the letter continues, "as we have pointed out in our public testimony, that the preponderance of war contractors are in a sufficiently strong position to weather

the period of reconversion to peacetime production. The reserves of American industry have never been as high as they are today. American workers, on the contrary, enjoy no such favorable position. When contracts are terminated, the soldiers of production face bleak prospects."

The letter from the top officials of the AFL and CIO was given scant attention by the Senators, aside from some vague promises that supplementary legislation providing safeguards for discharged servicemen and unemployed workers would be taken up some time in the indefinite future — maybe! The bill to plunder the public treasury for the benefit of Big Business was based on the Baruch-Hancock plan which has previously been endorsed by Roosevelt. The core of the Baruch report was the preservation of the "free enterprise" system. The George-Murray bill adopted by the Senate

should end once for all the farci-

cal controversy over the definition of "free enterprise." Under the rule of monopoly capitalism, "free enterprise" has and will be defined according to the dictionary of Wall Street, and not the meaningless jargon of the Stalinists, liberals and "labor statesmen." "Probably the legislation would have received more careful scrutiny in the Senate," reports the N. Y. "liberal" daily, PM, "except that it was jointly sponsored with George by Senator James E. Murray (D., Mont.), who has been known as a friend of small business and a watchdog for the little man." What is so painful to the liberals and labor fakers is that this "watchdog" didn't just fall asleep as so many other "friends of labor" do when the interests of the workers are involved, he actually turned and bit them! "Murray's action," says PM, "came as a bitter disappointment to labor and

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Murray Tries To Sidetrack Fight For 17c. Hourly Raise

Officers' Report Whitewashes Roosevelt;
Reaffirms Support of Wage Stabilization

BULLETIN

CLEVELAND, O., May 9.—Philip Murray, in a keynote address before the delegates and visitors who jammed the Public Auditorium for the opening of the union's second biennial convention, gave a lengthy reiteration of unconditional support of the no-strike pledge and announced his endorsement of a fourth term for Roosevelt.

Murray made a vigorous defense of the Steel Union's 24-point program, but he failed to project any plan of union action to achieve this program.

The key question of the current wage negotiations now before the WLB, he mentioned only perfunctorily and again, as in the officers' report, he placed all the emphasis on the long-term demand for a guaranteed annual wage.

Murray said that he "never liked the Little Steel formula because it is 'unworkable'", in fact he "detested it since its origin." He "attended its baptism" in June 1942, "participated in its confirmation," and now asserted "with the grace of God I hope to be at its wake." Murray gave no indication however how to put the Little Steel formula in its coffin except through a continuation of the farcical WLB proceedings. Murray's speech indicates that he will seek to turn the steel convention into a political rally for Roosevelt. Hillman is scheduled to address the convention on Wednesday on behalf of the CIO Political Action Committee. The only really spontaneous outburst of applause that Murray received in the course of his speech was when he declared that the union must continue to carry on the fight for better conditions.

By Art Preis

CLEVELAND, Ohio, May 8 — Thousands of delegates and visitors are jamming the over-crowded hotel and restaurant facilities here to attend the CIO United Steel Worker's Second Constitutional Convention, which opens tomorrow at the Public Auditorium for five days of deliberation.

Over 2,300 regular delegates are expected to participate in this largest and most crucial steel labor convention in history. Their decisions on such vital questions as the fight

against the wage-freezing Little Steel formula, the no-strike pledge, the attitude of labor to the War Labor Board, independent labor political action, etc., will be carefully watched by unionists throughout the country.

Two years ago the steel union held its first constitutional convention in the same Public Auditorium where they will now convene again. During the past two years the steel workers have had the opportunity to observe the true effects of Roosevelt's labor policies, the role of his WLB and other agencies for controlling organized labor, and the consequences that have flowed from the servile adherence of Murray and the union leaders to the administration's program.

Dissatisfaction among the ranks of the steel workers has grown acute, particularly during the course of the steel wage negotiations. The steel wage demands have now been stalled through six months of red tape and palaver, and have been hopelessly bogged down in the WLB swamp since February. There are reports that a number of locals have sent resolutions to the convention calling for rescinding the no-strike pledge. But how strong and well-organized the militant opposition to Philip Murray's program of retreat and surrender will be at the convention cannot be gauged in advance. It is certain that Murray will wield a strong hand at the convention and will seek to keep the expression of opposition sentiment at a minimum.

The major points of policy which Murray and his machine aim to hammer out at the convention are indicated in a 77-page official "Report of Officers," which will be publicly

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TRADE UNION NOTES

By Joseph Keller

It took a strike at Montgomery Ward's Chicago plant to force Roosevelt to "seize" the plant because of Sewell L. Avery's refusal to comply with two WLB directives.

The government has still not instituted seizure proceedings against Avery's defiance of the WLB in the case of several other plants. The fact is that Montgomery Ward has successfully defied the WLB ever since last August 20. These are cases, however, about which the administration is keeping strictly mum.

Over eight months ago, the WLB directed Avery's company to negotiate contracts with the unions at his three retail stores in Detroit, Denver and Jamaica, N. Y. Avery has thumbed his nose at these directives with impunity. Similarly, since September 1943, the U. S. Gypsum Company, of which Avery is head, has refused to comply with a WLB order to sign a union contract with a maintenance-membership clause.

Roosevelt has closed his eyes to these instances of defiance by Avery. In none of these cases have the workers gone on strike. It was in Chicago, where the union did go out on strike that Roosevelt finally acted. The WLB might have continued indefinitely its kid glove policy toward Avery if the Chicago union had not staged its walkout. Thus, it was not merely the fact that Avery defied the board, but that this defiance provoked a strike which threatened to expose the whole face of the government's labor relations machinery which impelled Roosevelt to intercede.

Taking their cue from Sewell Avery and backed by the Big Business press and Congressional barrage on the Ward Case, a number of corporations in the past week have flouted WLB directives.

Two leading New York title insurance companies, The Security Title and Guarantee Company of New York and the Kings County Capital Corporation of Brooklyn, simultaneously wired the WLB that they would not comply with a directive of the regional board ordering them to negotiate a contract with Local 96 of the CIO Office Workers union. A third company, The Lawyers Title Corporation agreed to sign a contract only if a clause were inserted that it was signed "under duress," similar to the clause Avery wanted after his first defiance of the WLB in 1942. The Kings County Corporation has refused since July, 1943 to grant a 15 per cent wage increase as ordered by a previous WLB directive.

Wylie Brown, head of the Phelps Dodge Copper Products Corporation, which holds millions in war contracts, told a hearing of a regional WLB on April 26 that he would refuse to comply with the board's order to sign a contract with the CIO United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers.

The government's "seizure" of

the Montgomery Ward Chicago properties hasn't meant that the anti-labor practices have ceased. The union has been compelled to protest against the continuance, after the government presumably "took over," of the same vicious union-busting actions that have prevailed before.

When the union charged last week that the company officials were continuing to dismiss workers for union activities, the company denied the charge saying the firings were for "thievery, dishonesty, refusal to work and unionizing on company time."

The government officials finally put up notices telling the bosses not to fire the workers. A touch of sheer fantasy is introduced by these notices. Here is a case where the all-powerful U. S. Government is supposed to be "running" a plant and has to go around nailing up signs telling the company officials please not to fire the workers. Actually, Under Secretary of Commerce Taylor, who is supposed to be in charge, is reported to be sitting in isolated splendor in Avery's former office while nobody pays any attention to him.

Representatives of Ward Local 20, Retail Clerks' Union, are reported to have had a bitter exchange with Stalinist union officials on the floor of the Chicago CIO Council because of the latter's refusal to support the Ward strike, which even the top CIO officials nationally were compelled to give behind-the-scenes backing.

After Allen Haywood, CIO Director of Organization, had wired the union that the CIO Longshoremen's Union, headed by Stalinist Harry Bridges, would not move Ward goods to or from Chicago at the St. Paul warehouse, which is organized by the ILU, the Stalinists continued to handle such shipments.

Leonard Levy, vice-president of the Retail Clerks' international in charge of the strike, is said to have accused the Stalinists of "scabbing on the strike." The Stalinists touched the bottom of the sewer by asserting that the strike was called by "a certain small group of people" in order to "embarrass our Commander-in-Chief."

Sewell L. Avery was re-elected to the Board of Directors of the U. S. Steel Corporation at its annual stockholders' meeting in Hoboken, N. J., last week. A resolution was also adopted stating that the coupon-clippers of the world's greatest steel corporation are "proud" to number the open shopper Avery among their board directors.

This demonstrative action shows what kind of opposition Philip Murray is trying to knock down with statistics in the drawdown palaver that is now taking place between the CIO steelworkers and the steel companies before the WLB. While Murray postures before the WLB steel plant hearings, U. S. Steel moguls have given a real indication of what they think of the WLB and its hearings by their reelection of Avery.

Branches Reach Half-Way Mark In 'Militant' Subscription Campaign

We have fulfilled 48% of our quota for 3,000 new readers to The Militant in the three-month Subscription Campaign. This record achievement of 1,451 new readers in five weeks was accomplished in real Bolshevik fashion. As the comrades gain experience in introducing our paper to new readers, as they obtain subscriptions in ever increasing numbers, they are inspired to greater efforts. Last week the branches averaged 70 subscriptions a day. This week they averaged 81! Having already fulfilled their quotas, three branches are now trying to double and even triple their quotas.

OUTSTANDING ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE WEEK

Buffalo not only moved into first place on the scoreboard, but hit 212% and has now ordered 100 more subscription cards.

Philadelphia jumped from 77% to 120%.

New York for the second week in succession sent in the greatest number of subs, with a total of 167 for the week.

Of the 41 subs credited to Members-at-Large and Friends, 31 of them were obtained by one friend in New York.

FROM OUR MAIL BAG

Reading: "Due to the national importance of the Militant Subscription Drive, the Reading Branch challenges two other branches with the same quota. Let's go, Toledo and Philadelphia, and let's see which branch has the most subs by June 30! The Reading Branch is raring to go and neither asks nor grants any excuses."

West Side Branch (New York Local) wired Minneapolis and Chicago: "West Side Branch challenges you to a three-cornered race for subscriptions."

New York: "New York Local like most of the branches' spent several weeks in April organizing the Subscription Campaign and gaining some practical experience to polish up our methods of obtaining subs. In the last week of April the campaign took a big spurt and we are now shifting into second gear. The branch totals for the month were:

Branch	Quota	Subs	Percent
Brooklyn	100	101	101.
West Side	175	165	90.
Queens	50	45	90.
East Side	175	78	44.
Totals	500	389	76.

"No party campaign in recent years has generated such initiative, enthusiasm and socialist competition in the New York membership as the Militant Subscription Campaign. The Militant is now reaching regularly sections of New York City and hundreds of workers for the first time. The Militant Sub Drive is for us a party-building campaign."

Philadelphia: "Please send us 25 more sub blanks immediately. We are literally overwhelmed by demand. A specially fruitful source of subs is among fellow workers in shops. So far we got subs in a textile mill, in the ILGWU, and in a shipyard."

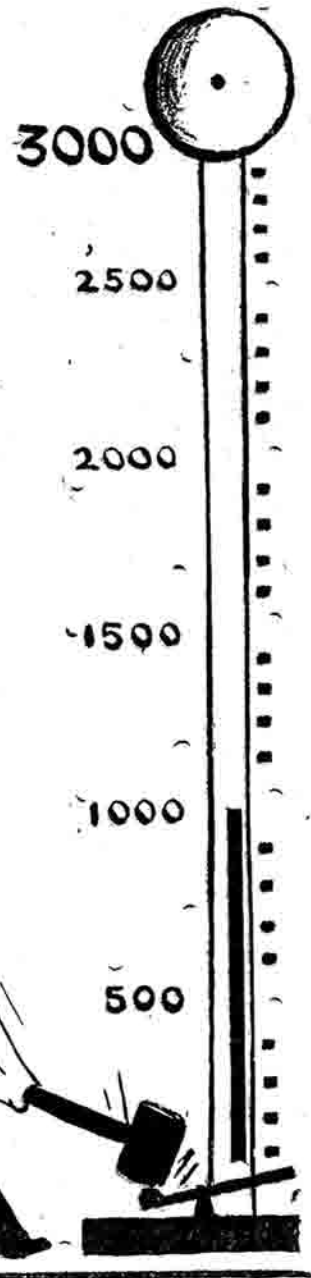
Buffalo: "If you will notice, many of the subscribers are women. To us the most remarkable thing discovered during the campaign is the change in the attitude of women generally. Three or four years ago we met with apathy among housewives everywhere. Today, not only the women working in defense plants, but those at home scrubbing and cooking listen to us eagerly and many want to read The Militant."

Los Angeles, Seattle, Bayonne, San Francisco, Toledo, Detroit and Newark report encouraging success. Lack of space prevents our printing their letters this week.

The branches can be proud of their achievement in reaching the half-way mark of the campaign ahead of schedule. But it's the second half that counts! Let's go ahead to reach our goal of 3,000 new readers before June 30.

SCOREBOARD

	Quota	Subs	Percent
Buffalo	50	106	212.
Reading	30	38	123.
Philadelphia	30	36	120.
New York	500	442	88.
Seattle	150	126	84.
Detroit	300	244	82.
Allentown	15	12	80.
Toledo	30	21	70.
Boston	100	54	54.
Milwaukee	15	8	53.
San Francisco	150	66	44.
New Haven	25	10	40.
Newark	80	30	38.
Minneapolis	200	60	30.
Los Angeles	400	113	28.
Cleveland	50	11	22.
Bayonne	50	10	20.
Chicago	200	26	13.
Flint	15	2	13.
Members-at-Large	355	41	11.
and Friends	50	4	8.
St. Paul	50	3	6.
Akron	40	2	5.
Pittsburgh	10	0	0.
Quakertown	10	0	0.
Rochester	15	0	0.
St. Louis	20	0	0.
Texas	10	0	0.
TOTALS	3,000	1,451	48.



Labor Party Opponents Whine That "Now Is Not The Time"

By C. Thomas

The union militants in the Michigan labor movement took a long step toward the building of an Independent Labor Party when they launched the Michigan Commonwealth Federation. Since the formal organization of the MCF the top labor bureaucrats have combined with the Stalinists in attempting to crush the promising young movement. So discredited, however, are the two major capitalist parties in Michigan, and so strong is the sentiment for building labor's own political party, that the opponents of the MCF find themselves obliged to defend the official CIO policy of political company unionism before the forum of working class opinion. Which is all to the good and in the best democratic tradition of the CIO movement in Michigan.

An important debate took place in Detroit recently, sponsored by the West Side Tool and Die Council on the question: "Is This The Time To Organize A New Party?" The debate was held in the headquarters auditorium of the UAW Ford Local 600, the largest local of the auto workers union. Tucker P. Smith, Michigan CIO vice-president and publicity director of the Michigan Commonwealth Federation took the affirmative; August Scholle, head of the regional CIO Political Action Committee, the negative. The essence of Scholle's argument was that while he had ALWAYS been in favor of labor's independent political action, "now is not the time," to organize an independent labor party.

NOW IS NOT THE TIME

It has become the custom, for even the deadliest enemies of independent political action, to insist that they have always been for it "in principle" but — "Now is not the time." Even the malodorous Stalinists, piously beat their breasts, protesting that they are "not opposed in principle to a Third Party," but not now — for Teheran's sake NOT NOW! In their own way, such protestations provide unmistakable evidence of the revulsion in the ranks to the discredited policy of giving political support to the spurious "friends of labor" be they Democrats or Republicans. There is nothing new about the plea that "now is not the time." The labor fakers have used it for years to postpone to the indefinite future every movement for an independent labor party.

Approximately 10 years ago, at the 1935 AFL convention, a resolution was introduced calling for formation of an independent labor party, which had the support of a considerable section of the labor movement. The labor bureaucrats in control of the AFL were not opposed to independent political action "in principle" — oh, no! — they were opposed because: "The time is not ripe." It was, you see, purely a "practical" matter as it is with Hillman's labor politicians and the Stalinists today. In replying to this "practical" argument, Francis Gorman, then head of the Textile Workers Union said: "You may say: 'The time is not ripe. We are not yet strong enough for a Labor Party.' In answer to you I would like to quote again from Patrick Henry, who on the eve of the American Revolution, when faced with the same answer, said:

PATRICK HENRY

"They tell us, sir, that we are weak; unable to cope with so formidable an adversary. But when shall we be stronger? Will it be next week or next year? Will it be when we are totally disarmed, and when a British guard shall be stationed in every house? Shall we gather strength by irresolution and inaction? Shall we acquire the means of effectual resistance by lying supinely on our backs and hugging the delusive phantom of hope until our enemies shall have bound us hand and foot?"

If now is not the time for the working class to organize its own political party, when shall it be? Those who are the most vehement in their insistence that "now is not the time," are the very ones who have disarmed the unions with their no-strike pledge. By what means then, are the workers as a class to defend their standard of living, their democratic rights, their class interests, against the insatiable greed and rapacity of the employing class? What instrument, what methods, what means is the working class to employ to resist the growing arrogance and repressions of

the capitalist rulers of this country?

THE PROGRAM

The interests of the working class cannot be formulated otherwise than in the shape of a program; the program cannot be advanced otherwise than by creating the instrument for carrying the program into action, the political party. If it means anything at all, "now is not the time" means that now is not the time for labor to advance its own program but to submit to the program of Big Business which dominates and controls both the Democratic and Republican parties. That this conclusion is by no means far-fetched was made abundantly clear by Mr. Nat Ganley, notorious Stalinist in the auto workers union. Writing in the Daily Worker, April 30, Ganley takes Tucker P. Smith to task for trying "to put over an anti-Roosevelt maneuver" at the recent Wayne County CIO Political Action Conference. "Knowing that the President was not yet ready to support the demand for a guaranteed annual wage," says Ganley, "he (Tucker P. Smith) proposed that only candidates supporting the guaranteed annual wage be endorsed."

The guaranteed annual wage is one of the demands of the Steel Workers Union. Conforming as it does to the interests of the working class as a whole, it would find a prominent place on the political platform of a labor party. But Ganley and the Hillman-Murray-Thomas crowd consider it "disruption" to establish as a condition for the endorsement of a capitalist candidate, that he pledge himself to the support of this working class demand — or any working class demand for that matter.

How could it be otherwise? The workers have nothing to say about the program and policies of the

Democratic or Republican parties and exercise no control over its candidates. Both the major parties take their orders from Big Business. The parties control the candidates. As far as the workers are concerned the names of the candidates might just as well be tweedle-dee and tweedle-dum as Roosevelt and Dewey — or anyone else selected by the political bosses.

LABOR MISLEADERS

The labor misleaders who occupy the highest positions in the CIO have perpetrated a monstrous hoax on their membership. The CIO Political Action Committee was established for the express purpose of heading off any movement of the workers toward formulating their own program, organizing their own party, and running their own candidates. The impression was falsely created that only those candidates who endorsed the political program of the CIO would be supported. All such pretensions now are dropped. In fact, anyone who has the temerity to suggest that a political candidate, supported by labor, should first be compelled to endorse a labor program, is stigmatized as a "disrupter." Such has been the evolution of Hillman's Political Action Committee.

Independent political action is no longer a matter of choice but of necessity. The preservation of the unions, the defense of the social gains made by labor in decades of struggle, requires that the workers break decisively with the policy of political "company unionism" and organize their own Independent Labor Party. And right now is not a moment too soon to begin the unpostponable task of laying the foundation of a political structure which will raise the American working class to its full stature in the economic and political life of society.

Delegates Throng Steel Convention

(Continued from page 1)

released tomorrow. This report throughout bears the style and language of Murray himself.

The introduction of the report gives the general perspective of the leadership and its program for the period ahead. Significantly, the first programmatic point is support for Roosevelt's "national wage stabilization" program, that is, the very basis for the wage freeze.

WAGE QUESTION

Nowhere in the entire report is the specific demand for the 17 cents an hour wage increase mentioned! In passing, the introduction refers only "to our demands for a general wage increase," and then goes on to lay great emphasis on the union's demand for a guaranteed weekly and annual wage. The impression is given that Murray is attempting to play down the question of the immediate wage increase, which involves a powerful frontal attack on the Little Steel formula and the whole wage freezing policy of Roosevelt.

The two specific proposals made are for greater concentration on work through the CIO Political Action Committee, obviously in support of Roosevelt, and rigid adherence to the no-strike pledge.

The whole report is angled to conceal Roosevelt's responsibility for the wage-freezing policy and the continuance of the Little Steel formula. While giving a detailed account of the conduct of the "wage stabilization" policy in the past two years, the report makes two important omissions. It deliberately avoids reference to Roosevelt's April 1943 "hold the line" order, which directed the WLB to freeze wages, and his recent renewal of that order in the very midst of the WLB steel wage hearings.

WHITEWASH ROOSEVELT

Thus, the report complains that the WLB isn't carrying out the President's program, although it fails to state why Roosevelt himself hasn't brought the matter to the attention of the WLB. "As our convention meets this year, our union is again before the War Labor Board in an historic proceeding. This time again we are still asking the National War Labor Board to give full and proper effect to the President's program." This admission of the two year role of the WLB in preventing labor from getting its just wage demands, does not prevent Murray from insisting later in the report that the working men must still support the WLB

that it is Roosevelt who is openly spearheading the drive for conscript labor. The report speaks merely of the "agitation of certain groups" who are "more interested in applying compulsory controls to labor than they are in effective utilization of our manpower resources." The "certain groups" are none other than Roosevelt and his Army and Navy spokesmen.

The programmatic portion of the report discloses that Murray has nothing to offer the steel workers by way of an independent, effective program to smash the Little Steel formula and beat back the anti-labor offensive.

ORGANIZATION REPORT

The organizational portions of the report do provide an impressive picture of the great potential power and resources in this second largest union in America.

The latest figures of the steel international show an enrolled membership of 949,938, which includes 201,605 members in the armed forces. In the past two years, the union has won 462 NLRB elections and card-checks out of 535 disputed collective bargaining representation cases. Since 1940 the number of women workers under the jurisdiction of the union has increased from 20,000 to 80,000. Women have been elected presidents of 32 locals, and hold 446 other officers posts. The number of Negro members has increased from 35,000 in 1940 to 70,000 in 1943, and they too are taking an increasingly important part in the affairs of the union. Since 1942, the number of Canadian locals has increased from 24 to 88.

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The work of our cartoonist continues to evoke considerable favorable comment. Our agent in Los Angeles writes: "Again the other day I heard two people discussing the effect the cartoons have had in livening up the front page of the paper. It really does have a good effect and the cartoons have been pretty good."

One of our Los Angeles readers states: "You know, those cartoons by Gray really put a 'punch' to the front page. Not only are the ideas clever, but they are artistically done. The 'Book-Burning in Minneapolis' is my choice for the Academy Award—when we get an academy."

The following comment was received from one of our friends in Minnesota: "We saw cartoon on Italy. Bravo!"

Our agent in Seattle states in her latest report that they find this column very helpful: "The 'Militant Army' is very good. It keeps us in touch with other parts of the country and is a good vehicle for forwarding new ideas to other branches."

crease: "Please increase our Militant bundle order by 40%. The wider distribution and sub campaign makes this necessary. The paper is well received also by people who have never seen it before."

The back issues of The Militant are becoming increasingly valuable as shown by the information sent us by our Minneapolis agent: "I went over to the University of Minnesota today. They got a number of our papers as well as some pamphlets and documents (but The Militant was what they were interested in) and paid \$75 for the lot. I am beginning to really believe that our publications are collectors' items!"

Grace Carlson in one of her recent letters, wrote: "I would certainly like to see and feel the 6-pager and so I shall in another 42 weeks and 4 days! The rest of the press activity also sounds very encouraging."

Texas: "The letter from the Steel Worker in the April 8 issue of The Militant interested me very much, as I am very much involved at the present time in a steel local."

New York City: "I want to congratulate you on your strong individualistic policy. You do not bandy words or make idle chatter. I'm strongly for you."

Washington Trial Of The Fascists

An Editorial

The Department of Justice is prosecuting today a motley crew of small time would-be Fascist fuhrers in the current trial held in Washington. The 30-odd defendants are a prize assortment of human scum: purveyors of race bigotry, anti-Semites, labor-baiters and thrown in for good measure, several adherents of the German-American Bund. The public show trial of this riff-raff has already been hailed by the muddleheaded liberals as well as the Stalinist finks, as an authentic fight against Fascism.

Elsewhere on this page we reprint sections from the brilliant writings of Leon Trotsky on Fascism, what it is and how to fight it. Suffice it to say here, that the present show trial of the Roosevelt administration, far from constituting a fight against Fascism, is merely empty, theatrical bombast. Its only effect can be to divert attention from the real nature of Fascism and the genuine struggle against it.

How pathetic is the stand of the liberals. These hopeless confusionists repeat word for word the arguments of their counterparts in Germany and Italy after the last World War.

To really struggle against the organizers of Fascism, that is, those who finance it, control it and set the Fascist movement into motion, one would have to struggle against the Fords, the duPonts, the Girdlers and Averages; to render really powerless these forces, one must destroy the capitalist system which gives them strength. At a certain stage, when they feel their control, their privileges and rule menaced, when they fear for the capitalist system, these are the men who will attempt to set into motion the despairing middle classes against the labor movement in order to impose on the American people a bloody Fascist dictatorship.

We saw a preview on a minor scale of what Fascism really is and how and by whom it is organized during the Little Steel Strike in 1937.

We saw vigilante gangs made up of pool room toughs and the scum of the cities organized throughout Ohio, Pennsylvania and lower Michigan. Under spurious programs, clothed with the authority of the law or tolerated by the police, they went out clubs in hand to smash the labor movement and guarantee the autocratic rule of the steel corporations. Who were the real organizers of these Fascist-like vigilante gangs? The small fry leaders in Massillon, Canton or Kent? No, the leaders were the heads of the Republic and Bethlehem Steel Corporations and behind them Wall Street bankers. What would you say of a campaign to bring to justice the perpetrators of these crimes, if the local toughie of Kent, Ohio was brought to trial but Girdler's name was not even mentioned. Such a trial is called a whitewash.

People who advocate reliance on the capitalist government to eradicate the menace of Fascism, whether because of ignorance, confusion or deliberate betrayal, only play into the hands of the Fascists. That is exactly how the liberals and reformists of Italy helped Mussolini in his fight for power. They relied on the democratic capitalist politicians, Giolitti and Facta and finally even on King Victor Emmanuel to stop Fascism. But at the critical moment, when the decisive section of the Italian capitalist class threw its weight behind the Fascist movement, the King invited the Fascists to take power. The same process occurred ten years later in Germany. The liberals and reformists, who banked on President Hindenburg to stop the Fascist drive for power, only disarmed the workers and discovered at the moment of supreme crisis, when the German monopolists decided to throw their weight behind the Nazis, that it was Hindenburg himself who invited Hitler to take over the Chancellorship.

It is well to recall that trials similar to the present one in Washington were conducted many

times in Germany, in the years prior to Hitler's advent to power. With what results? The laws and decrees, passed ostensibly to curb the Fascists, were invariably used by the capitalist governments to hound and harass the labor movement, to weaken it and deprive it of its fighting powers.

In the present trial, although the government has stated that it intends to prove direct complicity between the defendants and the Nazis, it has brought to trial the 30 defendants under the notorious Smith "Gag" Act—the vicious anti-democratic law, condemned by the whole labor movement, under which 18 Trotskyists and trade union leaders have already been framed and are serving prison sentences. Thus in the very course of its theatrical fight against the Fascists, the government is already seeking to disarm the opposition of the labor movement to the Smith "Gag" Act—a law which has been used against labor once and will, if allowed to stand, be used against the labor movement, again and again.

"Under conditions of a capitalist regime," once wrote Trotsky, "all curtailment of political rights and freedoms, no matter against whom they may originally be directed, in the end inevitably fall with all their weight on the working class—especially on its most advanced elements. Such is the historic law. The workers themselves must learn to distinguish their enemies from their friends."

The working class will not permit itself to be lulled into a false feeling of security by the theatrical fireworks in Washington. No! Taking the lessons of Italy and Germany to heart, they will conclude that only the working class, relying on its own organizations and strength and equipped with a fighting program, can rally the overwhelming majority of the people under its banner, and can destroy the Fascist menace in the course of its struggle for Socialism.

1939 Anti-Fascist Demonstration



One of the scenes during the huge anti-fascist demonstration in Madison Square Garden, New York City, led and organized by the Socialist Workers Party on February 20, 1939 when the German-American Bund tried to stage a mass mobilization of the Nazi-Fascist forces.

In the picture LaGuardia's police are shown protecting the Fascist meeting, trying to herd the demonstrators into a side street. Several workers were injured when the cops rode their horses into the crowd.

The Stalinists tried to smother the demonstration by silence (six months later Stalin was to sign his pact with Hitler). Neither the Socialist Party of Norman Thomas nor the Social Democratic Federation took cognizance of the call for the demonstration, let alone endorse it. The city authorities utilized the radio in order to "advise" the workers to stay away.

Nevertheless, 50,000 workers answered the call of the Trotskyists and demonstrated how to really fight Fascism.

What Is Fascism And How To Organize The Struggle Against It

In the course of his speaking junket on the west coast in February 1944, Vice-President Wallace denounced the "Wall Street stooges" who "believe that Wall Street comes first and the country second." He then hurled the accusation that American Fascists "at this very moment" were "desperately striving" to control the delegates to the coming Democratic and Republican Party conventions.

The N. Y. Times, watchdog for the American plutocracy, immediately jumped to attention and sharply called Wallace to account. It demanded to know "Who are the American Fascists? If they exist, Mr. Wallace should present us with their names and with concrete evidence against them. . . . Fascism grows as a mass movement that establishes its own private armies. Where, except perhaps among a handful of isolated crackpots and illiterate wearers of colored shirts, does Wallace find any of these opinions and actions in America today?"

Wallace, of course, is either unable or unwilling to meet this challenge. In a long article, printed in the April 9 issue of the N. Y. Times Magazine, he flounders and threshes about, tilts at windmills, talks of "fascist temperament" and attempts to reduce the problem of fascism to the psychological plane.

"If we define an American Fascist as one who in case of conflict puts money and power ahead of human beings, then there are undoubtedly several million Fascists in the United States," he says. Wallace thereupon proceeds to the discovery that Fascism "may be encountered in Wall Street, Main Street or Tobacco Road."

All these generalities take us no closer to a solution of the problem than we were before. Wallace will not or cannot get down to brass tacks on the question of Fascism. This is hardly surprising. To really explain Fascism, Wallace would have to explain that Fascism arises out of the capitalist system itself and is, in the period of crisis, backed by all the leading capitalists.

It is true that Fascism is a mass movement and does establish its own private armies. It is also true that no such mass movement exists as yet in the U. S. We are still in the period of relative stability of the capitalist government in this country. We see today merely the incipient tendencies of Fascism.

The whole basis of Fascism arises out of the decomposition and decay of capitalism. In a period of social crisis, where millions are

unemployed and hungry, great sections of the population seek a leadership which will show them a way out of the blind alley of capitalism. All the normal, middle-of-the-road parties of capitalism tend to disintegrate. The workers' parties which stand on the program of the abolition of capitalism and espouse a socialist program experience a stormy growth.

The capitalists attempt to utilize the very misery of the masses and their revolutionary aspirations for a decisive change, to create a mass movement of the middle classes, and employ it as a praetorian-guard to crush the rising labor movement and to impose a new bloody dictatorship over the people.

The Fascist movements of Italy and Germany gained mass support by demagogically adopting whole sections of the Socialist program. They proceeded to organize into private armies the unemployed youth, the despairing war veterans, etc. and used them as a battering ram against the labor movement. Fascism is thus primarily a middle class movement in its composition. It is however deliberately organized, financed and controlled by the big capitalists.

It is not this or that "bad" capitalist who turns to Fascism. In the period of great social crisis when the capitalist class can no longer rule under traditional, semi-democratic forms, the decisive section of the capitalist class throws its weight behind the Fascist movement and lifts up its "man on horseback," in a desperate attempt to save its rule. So it was in Italy in 1922. So it was in Germany in 1933. The United States will face the same danger in the future, when this country is confronted with the unsolvable social crisis of capitalism.

[The following excerpts from the writings of Leon Trotsky answer with the greatest precision the question "What Is Fascism" and how to fight it. Particularly important is that section of Trotsky's writings, where on the basis of a lifetime study of this problem, Trotsky came to the conclusion that Fascism cannot become a sweeping mass movement unless the revolutionary socialist party betrays the masses or proves incapable of leading them forward to the struggle for Socialism. It is today more urgent for worker-militants to study these important writings than ever before.—ed.]

By Leon Trotsky

What is Fascism? The name originated in Italy. Were all the forms of counter-revolutionary dictatorship Fascist or not? That is to say, prior to the advent of Fascism in Italy.

The former dictatorship in Spain of Primo de Rivera, 1923-1930 is called a Fascist dictatorship by the Comintern. Is this correct or not? We believe that it is incorrect.

The Fascist movement in Italy was a spontaneous movement of large masses, with new leaders from the rank and file. It is a Plebian movement in origin, directed and financed by big capitalist powers. It issued forth from the petty bourgeoisie, the slum proletariat and even to a certain extent, from the proletarian masses; Mussolini, a former socialist, is a "self-made" man arising from this movement.

Primo de Rivera was an aristocrat. He occupied a high military and bureaucratic post and was chief governor of Catalonia. He accomplished his overthrow with the aid of state and military forces. The dictatorships of Spain and Italy are two totally different forms of dictatorship. It is necessary to distinguish between them. Mussolini had difficulty in reconciling many old military institutions with the Fascist militia. This problem did not exist for Primo de Rivera.

The movement in Germany is analogous mostly to the Italian. It is a mass movement, with its leaders employing a great deal of socialist demagoguery. This is necessary for the creation of the mass movement.

The genuine basis (for Fascism) is the petty bourgeoisie. In Italy it has a very large base — the petty bourgeoisie of the towns and cities, and the peasantry. In Germany, likewise, there is a large basis for Fascism . . .

(Extracts from a letter to an English Comrade. November 15, 1931).

The Turn To Fascism

At the moment that the "normal" police and military resources of the bourgeois dictatorship, together with their parliamentary screens, no longer suffice to hold society in a state of equilibrium — the turn of the Fascist regime arrives. Through the Fascist agency, capitalism sets in motion the masses of the crazed petty bourgeoisie, and bands of the de-classed and demoralized lumpen-

proletariat; all the countless human beings whom finance capital itself has brought to desperation and frenzy. From Fascism the bourgeoisie demands a thorough job; once it has resorted to methods of civil war, it insists on having peace for a period of years. And the Fascist agency by utilizing the petty bourgeoisie as a battering ram, by overwhelming all obstacles in its path, does a thorough job. After Fascism is victorious, finance capital gathers into its hands, as in a vise of steel, directly and immediately, all the organs and institutions of sovereignty, the executive, administrative and educational powers of the state: the entire state apparatus together with the army, the municipalities, the universities, the schools, the press, the trade unions, and the co-operatives. When a state turns Fascist, it doesn't mean only that the forms and methods of government are changed in accordance with the patterns set by Mussolini — the changes in this sphere ultimately play a minor role — but it means, first of all for the most part, that the workers organizations are annihilated; that the proletariat is reduced to an amorphous state; and that a system of administration is created which penetrates deeply into the masses and which serves to frustrate the independent crystallization of the proletariat. Therein precisely is the gist of Fascism. . .

Italian Fascism was the immediate outgrowth of the betrayal by the reformists of the uprising of the Italian proletariat. From the time the war ended, there was an upward trend in the revolutionary movement in Italy, and in September 1920, it resulted in the seizure of factories and industries by the workers. The dictatorship of the proletariat was an actual fact; all that was lacking was to organize it, and to draw from it all the necessary conclusions. The social democracy took fright, and sprang back. After its bold and heroic exertions, the proletariat was left facing the void. The disruption of the revolutionary movement became the most important factor in the growth of Fascism. In September, the revolutionary advance came to a standstill; and November already witnessed the first major demonstration of the Fascists (the seizure of Bologna).

True, the proletariat, even after the September catastrophe, was capable of waging defensive battles. But the social democracy was concerned with only one thing: to withdraw the workers from under the fire at the cost of one concession after another. The social democracy hoped that the docile conduct of the workers would

restore the "public opinion" of the bourgeoisie against the Fascists. Moreover, the reformists even banked strongly upon the help of King Victor Emmanuel. To the last hour, they restrained the workers with might and main from giving battle to Mussolini's bands. It availed them nothing. The crown along with the upper crust of the bourgeoisie swung over to the side of Fascism. Convinced, at the last moment, that Fascism was not to be checked by obedience, the social democrats issued a call to the workers for a general strike. But their proclamation suffered a fiasco. The reformists had dampened the powder so long, in their fear lest it should explode, that when they finally with a trembling hand did apply a burning fuse to it, the powder did not catch.

Two years after its inception, Fascism was in power. It entrenched itself thanks to the fact that the first period of its overlordship coincided with a favorable economic conjuncture, which followed the depression of 1921-1922. The Fascists crushed the retreating proletariat by the onrushing forces of the petty bourgeoisie. But this was not achieved at a single blow. Even after he assumed power, Mussolini proceeded on his course with due caution: he lacked as yet ready-made models. During the first two years, not even the constitution was altered. The Fascist government took on the character of a coalition. In the meantime the Fascist bands were busy at work with clubs, knives and pistols. Only thus was the Fascist government created slowly, which meant the complete strangulation of all independent mass organizations.

Mussolini attained this at the cost of bureaucratizing the Fascist party itself. After utilizing the forces of the petty bourgeoisie, Fascism strangled it within the vise of the bourgeois state. He couldn't have done otherwise, for the disillusionment of the masses he had united was precipitating itself into the most immediate danger ahead. Fascism, become bureaucratic, approaches very closely to other forms of military and police dictatorship. It no longer possesses its former social support. The chief reserve of Fascism — the petty bourgeoisie — has been depleted. Only historical inertia enables the Fascist government to keep the proletariat in a state of dispersion and helplessness.

(From What Next? — By Leon Trotsky, September 1932).

Fascism Is The Final Link

Both theoretical analysis as well as the rich historical experience of the last quarter of a century have demonstrated with equal force that Fascism is each time the final link of a specific political cycle composed of the following: the gravest crisis of capitalist society; the growth of the radicalization of the working class; the growth of sympathy toward the working class and a yearning for a change on the part of the rural and urban petty bourgeoisie; the extreme confusion of the big bourgeoisie; its cowardly and treacherous maneuvers aimed at avoiding the revolutionary climax; the exhaustion of the proletariat, growing confusion and indifference; the aggravation of the social crisis; the despair of the petty-bourgeoisie, its yearning for change, the collective neurosis of the petty bourgeoisie, its readiness to believe in miracles; its readiness for violent measures; the growth of hostility towards the proletariat which has deceived its expectations. These are the premises for a swift formation of a fascist party and its victory.

It is quite self-evident that the radicalization of the working class in the United States has passed only through its initial phases, almost exclusively in the sphere of the trade-union movement (the CIO). The pre-war period, and then the war itself may temporarily interrupt this process of radicalization, especially if a considerable number of workers are absorbed into war industry. But this interruption of the process of radicalization cannot be of a long duration. The second stage of radicalization will assume a more sharply expressive character. The problem of forming an independent labor party will be put on the order of the day. Our transitional demands will gain great popularity.

(From Leon Trotsky's Last Article, published in Fourth International, October 1940).

Is Fascism Inevitable?

In every discussion of political topics the question invariably flares up: Shall we succeed in creating a strong party for the moment when the crisis comes? Might not fascism anticipate us? Isn't a fascist stage of development inevitable? The successes of fascism easily make people lose all perspective, lead them to forget the actual conditions which made the strengthening and the victory of fascism possible. Yet a clear understanding of these conditions is of especial importance to the workers of the United States. WE

MAY SET IT DOWN AS AN HISTORICAL LAW: FASCISM WAS ABLE TO CONQUER ONLY IN THOSE COUNTRIES WHERE THE CONSERVATIVE LABOR PARTIES PREVENTED THE PROLETARIAT FROM UTILIZING THE REVOLUTIONARY SITUATION AND SEIZING POWER. In Germany two revolutionary situations were involved: 1918-1919 and 1923-1924. Even in 1929 a direct struggle for power on the part of the proletariat was still possible. In all these three cases the social democracy and the Comintern criminally and viciously disrupted the conquest of power and thereby placed society in an impasse. Only under these conditions and in this situation did the stormy rise of Fascism and its gaining of power prove possible.

(From Leon Trotsky's Last Article, published in Fourth International, October 1940).

Backwardness Is Only Relative

The backwardness of the United States working class is only a relative term. In many very important respects it is the most progressive working class of the world; technically and in its standard of living.

We can look forward now to a change in the economic situation of the United States — a very brusque change, and then when the war comes, to the misery which will follow. Even now, under the program of militarization, with millions upon millions thrown into the war machine, the rapid lowering of the standard of living for the working class will produce a very rapid change of mind in the American workers.

The American worker is very combative — as we have seen during the strikes. They have had the most rebellious strikes in the world. What the American worker misses is a spirit of generalization, or analysis, of his class position in society as a whole. This lack of social thinking has its origin in the country's whole history. Now, the war will teach the American workers social thinking.

About fascism. In all the countries where fascism became victorious, we had before the growth of fascism and its victory, a wave of radicalism of the masses; of the workers and the poorer peasants and farmers, and of the petty bourgeoisie class. In Italy, after the war and before 1922, we had a revolutionary wave of tremendous dimensions; the state was paralyzed, the police did not exist, the trade unions could do anything they wanted — but there was no party capable of taking the power. As a reaction came fascism.

In Germany the same. We had a revolutionary situation in 1918; the bourgeoisie class did not even ask to participate in the power. The Social Democrats paralyzed the revolution. Then the workers tried again in 1922-23-24. This was the time of the bankruptcy of the Communist party—all of which we have gone into before. Then in 1929-30-31 the German workers began again a new revolutionary wave. There was a tremendous power in the Communists and in the trade unions, but then came the famous policy (on the part of the Stalinist movement) of Social Fascism, a policy invented to paralyze the working class. Only after these three tremendous waves, did fascism become a big movement. There are no exceptions to this rule — fascism comes only when the working class shows complete incapacity to take into its own hands the fate of society.

In the United States you will have the same thing. Already there are fascist elements, and they have of course the examples of Italy and Germany. They will therefore work in a more rapid tempo. But you also have the examples of other countries. The next historic wave in the United States will be a wave of radicalism of the masses; not fascism. Of course the war can hinder the radicalization for some time but then it will give to the radicalization a more tremendous tempo and swing.

We must not identify war dictatorship — the dictatorship of the military machine, of the staff, of finance capital — with a fascist dictatorship. For the latter there is first necessary a feeling of desperation of large masses of the people. When the revolutionary parties betray them, when the vanguard of workers shows its incapacity to lead the people to victory — then the farmers, the small business men, the unemployed, the soldiers, etc. become capable of supporting a fascist movement, but only then.

A military dictatorship is purely a bureaucratic institution, reinforced by the military machine and based upon the disorientation of the people and their submission to it. After some time their feelings can change and they can become rebellious against the dictatorship.

(From "Some Questions on American Problems," by Leon Trotsky, Fourth International, October, 1490).

Greek Navy Men Mutiny Against Exiled Monarch

By Ralph Graham

Following the pattern set in Italy, where the reactionary police-military dictatorship of Badoglio is being foisted upon an unwilling people, the Allies have shown that they aim to ram a similar regime down the throats of the Greek masses when the Nazi armies are driven from Greek soil.

The Greeks don't want the exiled government of King George any more than the Italians are prepared to tolerate the government of King Victor Emmanuel. Partisan groups fighting in Greece have repudiated the reactionary monarch who brought the butcher Metaxas to power a few years ago. The fight against the arch reactionary Greek government-in-exile came to a head recently when units of the Greek navy in the Mediterranean mutinied against the King's government and protested the support given this government by the Allies.

"Loyal" Greek units led by monarchist officers and supported by the British navy quelled the revolt and killed a number of rebels. Premier Sophocles Venizelos resigned after holding office only two weeks and a new premier, the social-democrat George Papandreu, was called in by the King to head the Greek government-in-exile.

Churchill then issued a peremptory statement pledging "all support" to the Greek king and the new government and declaring that "no one has the constitutional right to stand between him (the king) and his duty." It is enough that Churchill and Roosevelt want the monarch and his shadow government, which enjoys not a shred of authority among the Greek masses. The people simply do not count. Imperialist "democracy" and "liberation," Washington-London model, are on the march again.

Allied support of the discredited and repudiated king and his government is drawing ironic comment even from sections of the capitalist press, and from liberal commentators who never cease being pained by the failure of Roosevelt and Churchill to square their deeds with their words. Last week, the London correspondent of the New York Times wrote:

"As the prospect of liberation brightens and external pressure is removed, the temptation to engage in civil strife increases, and the exiled governments that were welcomed so eagerly in 1940 and 1941 are beginning now to prove something of a problem, although few would be so impolite as to put it quite that way. Now the Greeks are proving difficult. Their trouble is the same one that besets other exiled governments in one form or another—that ideas and movements have been brewing at home under the German occupation that tend to make the exiled government somewhat anachronistic."

In plain English, the Greeks have made it unmistakably plain that once Hitler's armies have been driven from their country they have no intention of submitting to a reactionary police-military dictatorship crowned by the old monarchy. This leaves the King and his government in Cairo high and dry. The Allied capitalists and their Greek satellites are their only support. Churchill and Roosevelt are backing this paper mache regime of the monarchy because they intend, as in Italy, to use it as the spearhead of reaction, a bulwark against popular revolution, a weapon for frustrating the will of the masses.

The New York Post's liberal columnist, Samuel Grafton, writes peevishly: "Oh, fudge, now we have to go through the whole business again, this time with the Greeks." He points out that while the Greek guerrillas are doing the actual fighting against the Nazi forces of occupation, their self-proclaimed "liberators"

in Cairo, London and Washington are busy on schemes for the enslavement of the Greek masses.

There are numerous similarities between the situation in Greece and Yugoslavia. The EAM and its military-guerrilla arm (the ELAS) is the most popular and powerful movement of opposition to the Nazis. Like the movement of Tito in Yugoslavia it is strongly influenced if not completely by the Stalinists, who take their orders from and receive the open support of the Stalin regime in Moscow. The EAM is bitterly fighting against a bourgeois-landlord grouping led by the monarchist General Zervas, who supports the exiled government of King George. The Zervas group is apparently similar in its composition and aims to the Mikhailovitch organization in Yugoslavia. Its avowed purpose is to see that when the Nazis are driven out of Greece the old rule of the capitalists and the landlords shall be preserved.

The Zervas group is the only guerrilla organization which is officially linked to the exiled monarchist regime. But the EAM leadership, despite the noise and clamor of its opposition to the exiled government of King George is negotiating and trying to conclude a deal with the capitalist-landlord cliques of Greece.

It is of course not surprising, that the greatest number of the Greek partisans adhere to the EAM and ELAS. The masses join with and fight under the banner of the organization which has, or appears to have, the most radical program. Moreover, the Stalinists are able to gain a mass following because the exploited masses still see in them representatives of the great tradition of the October Revolution which liberated Russia from the rule of the capitalists and landlords.

REVOLUTIONARY SENTIMENTS

The authority of EAM, like that of Tito's organization in Yugoslavia, reflects the revolutionary sentiments of the masses, their will not only to drive out the Nazi oppressors but to make a clean sweep of the hated system of capitalist exploitation.

But the Stalinists, counter-revolutionary to the core, will work to prevent any such development in the interests of their Kremlin masters. They are preparing to duplicate the treachery which they perpetrated in Italy, where they have joined with Badoglio and the King in an attempt to strangle the Italian revolution. At the appropriate moment they will join hands with the forces of Greek reaction for the same counter-revolutionary purpose.

On guard against the Stalinist betrayers! This must be the watchword of the Greek workers and peasants. With the example of Italy before them, they should lose no time in purging their ranks of the venal, counter-revolutionary agents of the Kremlin, dangerous enemies of the workers in all lands. The struggle for freedom, the struggle for a peaceful and prosperous future, requires the building of a revolutionary party which will unite and lead the masses in the struggle for socialism.

British 1926 Strike Scene



This picture, taken in London during the general strike of 1926, shows British mounted police attempting to break up picket lines. All the forces of the capitalist class and the Tory government were mobilized to defeat the magnificent struggle of the British workers. Despite tremendous backing from organized labor all over the world, the strike was defeated through a stab in the back by the reactionary leaders of the trade unions and the Labor Party, who called off the struggle when victory was in sight.

Michigan Democrats Snare UAW Leaders

[The following article appeared in the April 27 issue of The Searchlight, official publication of Chevrolet Local 659, UAW-CIO, Flint, Michigan.]

By Ernest A. Priour

Company Union politicians of the UAW and CIO have "Taken" the Democratic Party of Michigan—in reverse, the way any fish "catches" an angler.

Actually the Michigan Democratic machine hauled in a batch of our so-called leaders hook, line and sinker, at the April 14 state Democratic convention in Detroit. We have yet to hear of real labor gains.

The only firm decisions were: Roosevelt for a fourth term and opposition to the Michigan Commonwealth Federation, the new worker-farmer party. There was no such attack on Republicans or corporations; no condemnation of corruption, either within the Democratic Party or in war profiteering. Real indignation was reserved for rank and file progressives trying to build labor's own party, with labor's own program and labor's own candidates. This the company unionists can really view with alarm.

Our international officers and state CIO heads lent their ponderous weight to the doddering old machine, corrupt and scandalized by recent indictments of a whole bloc of Democratic legislators. Not a word about the indictments.

CIO MEMBERS

Out of 27 Genesee County delegates there were 21 CIO members or CIO endorsed old Democrats. The local boys boasted of 29 out of 45 delegates from the Sixth Congressional District. There must also have been quite a mess of them from Wayne County and a few other areas.

That's real support for the Democratic machine.

But we're still waiting for even a claim that labor gained.

Candidates were the same or the same sort; possibly a banker-liquor commissioner for governor, Roosevelt for a fourth term but maybe not Wallace again in the vice-presidency.

Resolutions were good, bad and indifferent, but what's the difference as long as the trend of the machine is the same. The party is still just one end of the political chain with which the corporations keep us bound and gagged.

Richard T. Frankenstein, international UAW board member, was keynote speaker. Combining his attack on the Michigan Commonwealth Federation with a pitiful plea for some consideration from the "captive" democrats, he tried to use the third party movement as a threat.

FRANKENSTEIN SPEECH

According to the Detroit Times Frankenstein said that the rank

and file labor party movement "should be regarded by the administration as a natural consequence of the swing away from liberalism." Then he begged, "...we feel that the party should offer us something worth fighting for."

Of course it didn't.

But wait. The next act will be the national convention in Chicago, July 19. Some of the same "union leaders" will be there to be taken again and further clarify the plot. Then the month-long campaign, the primaries, the November elections and then—the deluge of slave labor laws and oppression, by Democrats and Republicans alike.

Then the Michigan Commonwealth Federation will have a new meaning to millions of the common people.

Trotsky's Book On Stalin Buried by State Dept. Order

Frank C. Hanighen, feature writer for La Follette's Progressive, writes in the May 1 issue:

"Helen Lombard, who conducts a Washington column, distributed by the Bell Syndicate, and occasionally published by the Washington Evening Star, reveals a chapter of book suppression in this country, quite unknown to the mass of the intelligentsia. The book suppressed is Stalin, An Appraisal of The Man and His Influence, by the late Leon Trotsky. It was printed by its publishers, Harper and Brothers, but withdrawn by them prior to public sale late in 1941. The publishers gave as the reason for withdrawal 'a concern for the work's adverse effect on international relations,' says Mrs. Lombard, and the Library of Congress, in compliance with the publisher's request, withdrew from public circulation the two copyright copies which had been deposited with it."

"But the Library of Congress is even chary of letting it go freely and without strings into the hands of members of Congress. 'When the book is delivered in compliance with a Congressional demand,' says Mrs. Lombard, 'the letter that accompanies it requests that it be returned to a particular official of the library and states that the State Department is interested in the matter. 'One member of Congress was asked not to let the book get out of his hands nor to permit it to be examined by any other person. . . . State Department officials have made informal suggestions that any quotation from the book would be harmful to Soviet-American relations. . . .'"

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Great British General Strike Recalled By Recent Walkouts Of The Coal Miners

By James Cowan

An American correspondent of the capitalist press who toured the coal fields of South Wales during the recent strike of coal miners said he found an atmosphere and a mood among the workers which was strongly reminiscent of the British general strike of 1926.

Mass moods reflect the political consciousness of the workers, and if the spirit of 1926 has been revived under the conditions of the second imperialist world war, this is a fact of the greatest political significance in the British working-class movement. It is particularly valuable today

to recall the salient facts of the general strike of the British working class 18 years ago.

Britain was in the trough of economic crisis which set in shortly after the first imperialist slaughter. The European continent had been impoverished by the war and the whole world market disorganized. Britain had lost her trade supremacy. Hardest hit was Britain's coal industry which, among other things, was feeling the effects of German reparations in the form of coal deliveries. The coal mine owners wanted to reduce the miners' wages and lengthen working hours in order to maintain profits at the customary level.

Between 1914 and 1924, the owners had made total profits of about \$2,000,000,000 on a capital of approximately \$675,000,000. The wages of the miners, however, according to a report of the Coal Commission in 1925, averaged only \$12.12 per week for the whole country and in some districts were as low as \$9.90.

REFUSE WAGE CUT

The miners refused to accept any reduction of these already inadequate pittance. If the mines could not be operated under private ownership so as to afford a living wage to the men who did the work, then they should be nationalized, the miners declared. Stanley Baldwin, the British prime minister, and himself a wealthy capitalist replied that "all wages must come down." All the British workers, including the miners, interpreted this as a declaration of war on their already miserably low living standards.

The British capitalists were not ready for a showdown fight with the workers in 1925. They realized, however, that if they attacked the miners' wages, they would have to face just such a struggle for the entire trade union movement had declared its solidarity with the miners. Needing time to prepare, the Baldwin government granted a subsidy to the mine owners, allowing wages to remain unchanged until April 30, 1926. When the subsidy expired, the coal owners denounced their contracts with the miners' union and posted wage reduction notices at the pit-heads. The wage reductions, plus an increase in working hours from seven to eight per day, were to take effect immediately.

The miners did not hesitate. On May 1, pits throughout the length and breadth of the country were idle. The same day, a conference of trade union executives met in London and formally approved a proposal of the General Council of the Trades Union

for a revolutionary change of the government. The British Labor bureaucracy feared the specter of the workers' revolution. They were as panic-stricken by the strike as the Tories.

After numerous backstairs conferences with Baldwin, Churchill and other Tory officials, the labor bureaucrats of the General Council of the Trades Union Congress on May 12 called off the strike unconditionally without consulting the rank-and-file. The striking workers, who stood solidly on their refusal to accept any wage-cuts or lengthening of hours, were stunned. They could scarcely believe it had happened. It was this act of treachery that broke the strike. The workers could not build up a new leadership right in the midst of the struggle. Gradually they drifted back to work. The union officials thereupon signed new wage agreements which accepted the wage slashes demanded by the employers. The miners held out a while longer. Then it was all over. The British workers were not defeated in battle. They were stabbed in the back by their own leaders.

The General Strike of 1926 was not worthy, not alone for the fact that it was a mighty demonstration of the power of the British workers, but also because it evoked demonstrations of international working-class solidarity on a scale which had never been seen before.

In the van of this demonstration of solidarity with the striking British workers stood the proletariat of the Soviet Union. The Soviet workers had not forgotten that only six years before, in 1920, the British working-class had acted swiftly and vigorously to blow up the plans of the British imperialists for armed intervention against the workers' state. "We will pay back our debt a hundred fold," the Leninist Council of Trade Unions declared. And they did.

The Central Council of Russian Trade Unions decided upon a general levy of a quarter of a day's pay. Even before this decision was taken, however, collections were being taken up in all

the principal industrial centers, while demonstrations of solidarity with the British strikers were taking place all over the land. Soviet miners resolved to contribute as much as two days' wages. Leningrad metal workers decided to work 2 hrs. overtime for several days and send the extra money to their British comrades. Theaters gave benefit performances. Soviet newspapers opened special funds. The Soviet cooperatives sent a large contribution.

Soviet seamen, dockers and transport workers established a complete boycott of British ships in Soviet ports. All Soviet ships bound for England were instructed to join the strike as soon as they entered a British port and to permit loading or unloading of their cargoes only with the consent of the British General Council. The Red International of Labor Unions and the Communist International, at that time not yet completely dominated by Stalin, proclaimed their solidarity with the British workers and organized what assistance they could.

Trade Unions in America, throughout Europe, in Asia, in Africa and in the Antipodes acted in solidarity. The workers in colonial India moved to prevent the bunkering of British ships. The Federation of Trade Unions in Japan telegraphed their solidarity and collected funds for strike relief. Korean workers did the same. In Australia, miners, railwaymen and other transport workers declared an embargo against coal for Britain.

Nothing like this had ever been seen in the whole history of working-class struggle. Here, indeed, was living testimony to the international character of the class struggle, evidence of the solidarity of the workers of all lands. If today the memory of the British General Strike hangs over Britain's coal fields, it may well be taken as a portent of the approaching revolutionary storm. In 1926, the British workers tested their massive power and had a brief vision of victory over their exploiters. Next time they will win.

Farm Capitalists Lead Persecution Of Nisei

By C. Roberts

The Nisei Japanese-Americans are one of the casualties of the second world war. Uprooted as a result of the war, they face the task of attempting to reintegrate themselves amid all sorts of opposition and hostility. The main concentration of the Japanese in American economic life was in the agricultural field, in the so-called "stooping" types of truck farming, which requires back-breaking hard labor in the fields. They also engaged in peddling fruit, vegetables and flowers in competition with white merchants.

Frederick Wakeman

Frederick Wakeman, a big advertising man, author of the recent novel "Shore Leave," was a lieutenant in the U. S. Navy. He was discharged last June for medical reasons after a year of active duty in the South Pacific. He gave the following interview to a PM reporter, quoted in PM of April 9:

"I don't think the average guy in service does much thinking about political things. He's so removed. He does not have the feeling that the war is a crusade between right and wrong. Remember, he's essentially drafted against his will. He feels that no good will come out of this war."

"It isn't like the first World War, when the one-syllable ideas were drummed into us. All you get now are tenuous, complicated, laborious explanations that this is one world, thanks to the airplane. The fighting man hears a lot of this stuff, and it's just stuff to him."

"The enemies being built up in this war will pay off probably in another war. I don't see how England and America, for example, can adopt a policy of no bloodshed and the Russians one of unlimited bloodshed, without having things come to a crashing point. Look at the casualty lists. I'm trying now to think as a Russian—those so-and-so's made the war, and we've lost 15,000,000 men! There—there's one of the seeds of disunity after the war."

Asked what might be done to narrow the gulf between the servicemen and civilian, Wakeman said, not too enthusiastically, "By the right kind of propaganda. I suppose you might make them understand that they're all in the same boat. . . first, make it simple, second, say it often. But the fighting guy is a special kind of guy. Not the guy in Camp Dix, but the fighting guy. He thinks he's special to the point where he wants special favors. . . ."

"I am not optimistic about what's going to happen after the war. Our only hope lies in economic conditions which will permit these guys to be somebodies. If they're dissatisfied, if they're thrown into the apple-peddling stage, they're going to throw their weight around. If the returning soldier becomes a nobody, he's going to be a sucker for all kinds of intolerances."

"You feel the undercurrents now. People in New York don't like refugees. People in Chicago don't like Jews. Give the rabble rousers a chance to play on these latent feelings, together with eight to ten million voters made to feel like nobodies, and you can have a helluva thing."

The PM reporter asked if Wakeman couldn't suggest something that might be done to prevent the fighting men from feeling like nobodies, to make them feel that they are fighting for something worthwhile.

"I don't know how to do it," he replied. "All I know is how people react under certain conditions."

It is the white agricultural capitalists who are in the leadership of the movement opposing the return of the internees.

A few months after Pearl Harbor the army carried through an exclusion order, for "military reasons." All persons of Japanese birth or descent were ordered out of the coastal areas. The evacuees were forced to liquidate their holdings. Property had to be sold or leased at sacrifice rates. This also applied to automobiles and other personal belongings. The present California law prohibits ownership of land by foreign born Japanese and those ineligible for citizenship. Many alien Japanese owned property through the medium of second parties. These aliens were particularly hard hit. The same process took place in the fishing industry in which liquidation was carried out under the eyes of military and naval authorities.

RELOCATION CENTERS

112,000 evacuees were shipped to Utah, Colorado and adjoining states to relocation centers. These centers were set up army style, with long rows of barracks, communal messrooms, etc. The foreign born Japanese or those suspected of maintaining loyalty to Japan were sent to centers which were actually prison camps, with barred wire restrictions and army guards. In the internment camps the internees work at gardening and other handwork industries at very low wages.

Most of them want to leave the camps—but for this they must have the permission of the War Relocation Authority. To get permission they must satisfy the authorities on two points. First, of their loyalty to the United States (which rests mainly upon the judgment of the authorities) and second, on "proof of sufficient economic resources or money earning ability to guarantee that they will not become a public charge." Only those with bank accounts or those with jobs obtained through one of the government employment boards can leave the camps. About 20,000 have been able to fulfill these requirements. They have for the most part settled on the eastern slopes of the Rockies engaging in the one major industry open to them, farming. The other 90,000 are destined to remain in confinement for the duration. . . .

Discriminatory practices before the war kept even the educated Japanese-Americans from work in industry or the more skilled trades. This was the main reason

for their concentration in farming and fishing. With the war shortage of skilled and professional men, those Nisei with previous training have been able to obtain jobs that would release them from the camps—but this applied to the exceptional few.

DARK PROSPECT

The immediate prospect for the Japanese-Americans is a dark one. Everywhere they turn, they face prejudice and opposition. This prejudice has increased with the war and is now being exploited to prevent reintegration of this dispossessed people. A move is now on foot in California to extend the property ownership restriction laws to "persons of Japanese ancestry or who owe any foreign allegiance." In Utah, where most of the freed internees are concentrated, similar moves are under way. The Nisei are faced with the same problems of discrimination as other minority groups but in aggravated form. Their few numbers and the effectiveness of the war propaganda that the Japanese are "not human" renders them particularly vulnerable to persecution.

Organization of a sort has been the result of confinement in the camps. The internees exercise a small measure of self government which is devoted mainly to obtaining a few improvements in their conditions. The internees in Tulelake struck briefly last year because of bad food and the severe restrictions imposed upon them by the camp authorities. At Granada, Colorado, the occupants presented a list of eleven demands to the War Relocation Authority. Some of the points were—equal opportunity for service in the army without discrimination or segregation, the right to travel anywhere in the country without restriction, equal citizenship and voting rights with all other Americans, adequate resettlement procedures after the war and army pay rates for internees.

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The Negro Struggle

By Charles Jackson

Government Policy On Racial Equality

The House Military Affairs subcommittee, headed by Rep. Carl T. Duntree, North Carolina Democrat, makes the accusation that the pamphlet "Races of Man-kind" is spreading "communist propaganda." The committee bases its charge on the fact that the pamphlet explodes the myth that one group of people is automatically superior in ability over another group simply because of skin color or other racial characteristics. The pamphlet proves that the opportunities for development of the mind, the condition of health and home surroundings, etc. are, in reality, the important factors that mold a "superior" person. These factors, of course, are all manifestations of the person's economic status. For example, the pamphlet shows that a poor Southern rural white may prove "inferior" in intelligence tests to a Northern Negro raised in a large city under better economic conditions.

55,000 copies of this pamphlet were purchased for an army orientation course. The distribution of the pamphlet, however, was abruptly stopped by the reactionary officers' caste on the ground that the pamphlet was "too controversial." The House Military Affairs subcommittee objects to this scientific book being read by soldiers. They brand it as "communist."

In this instance, the destiny of capitalism and racial hatreds are exposed to be solidly bound to each other. First, it is interesting to observe that this pamphlet, written by scientists, after demonstrating the foolishness of the "white supremacy" fable, comes to the conclusion that the way to defeat the forces that foster such a policy is to tone down any active fight on American capitalism (with its policy of segregation in the Army, Navy and the industries) and to unite with the same capitalists to beat Hitler, the advocate of "Aryan" superiority.

If the authors of this pamphlet knew as much about social forces as they do about anthropology, they would realize that when the German workers overthrow Hitler

they will also throw out the window his "master race" ideology which represents in their minds an integral part of the rotten fascist regime which has brought them nothing but slavery, suffering and death.

The significant point however is this: the Military Affairs subcommittee, representing American capitalism, (which is surely interested in winning this war in order to exploit a larger slice of the world's resources and labor) lashes out with familiar red-baiting tactics at a pamphlet that teaches racial equality despite the fact that this pamphlet urges support of the war.

This can mean only one thing — that American capitalism is making known to all liberals, pussy-footers and other people of "good-will" the fact that it does not want the myth of white supremacy exploded by scientific truths.

The red-baiting tactics of the committee plainly imply that all who preach racial equality are automatically "communists" in the sense that they are opposed to "our form of government." In effect, the Congressional lackeys of Big Business declare that they do not intend to tolerate any dulling of the edge of the vicious weapon of race prejudice even though American capitalism is engaged at the present time in a life and death struggle with another imperialist power.

This case is but one example of a well-defined policy of the U. S. government in regard to treatment of the Negro people. They do not intend to give us our equality because they want to keep the workers divided. No one freely gives up a method that has repeatedly proved profitable to him.

It all boils down to this: If you are for capitalism you are supporting a system that breeds racial bigotry and oppression; if you are for racial equality you can realize your aim only by allying yourself with capitalism's only genuine enemy, revolutionary socialism. Which side are you on and what are you doing about it?

PIONEER PARAGRAPHS

ON THE STRUGGLE AGAINST IMPERIALISM AND ITS WARS

Imperialist war is the continuation and sharpening of the predatory politics of the bourgeoisie. The struggle of the proletariat against war is the continuation and sharpening of its class struggle. The beginning of war alters the situation and partially the means of struggle between the classes, but not the aim and basic course.

The imperialist bourgeoisie dominates the world. In its basic character the approaching war will therefore be an imperialist war. The fundamental content of the politics of the international proletariat will consequently be a struggle against imperialism and its war . . .

But not all countries of the world are imperialist countries. On the contrary the majority are victims of imperialism. Some of the colonial or semi-colonial countries will undoubtedly attempt to utilize the war in order to cast off the yoke of slavery. Their war will be not imperialist but liberating. It will be the duty of the international proletariat to aid the oppressed countries in war against oppressors. The same duty applies in regard to aiding the U.S.S.R., or whatever other workers' government might arise before the war or during the war. The defeat of every imperialist government in the struggle with the workers' state or with a colonial country is the lesser evil.

The workers of imperialist countries, however, cannot help an anti-imperialist country through their own government,

(From "The Founding Conference of the Fourth International," published by Socialist Workers Party, 1939; pp. 35-37. 128 pages, 25c. Order from Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Place, N. Y. 3, N. Y.)

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Warren K. Billings Calls On All Workers For United Action To Free The Eighteen

Warren K. Billings, framed with Tom Mooney in 1916, spent twenty-three years in jail. Billings, Mooney and several others were accused of responsibility for an explosion which killed ten spectators during the 1916 "preparedness parade" in San Francisco. Prior even to the investigation of the crime, the district attorney publicly stated that the persons to be convicted were Mooney and his associates. Mooney, Billings and a number of other militant labor organizers had earned the undying hatred of the San Francisco open shoppers by their militant labor activities.

Billings was the first to be convicted. He was found guilty on the testimony of a known thief who repudiated his own story a few years later. In spite of the admission of perjury on the part of this main witness, Billings remained in prison until he and Mooney were finally pardoned by the governor of California in 1939.

Since his release, Billings has devoted his time to fighting for the freedom of other labor prisoners framed by capitalist courts. He is a member of the National Committee of the Civil Rights Defense Committee and in the forefront of the fight to free the 18 Minneapolis prisoners.

[Reprinted below are excerpts from the speech delivered by Warren K. Billings on the Minneapolis case, at the Civil Rights Defense Committee meeting in San Francisco May 3, 1944.]

"The best fighters for the working class have been subjected to frameups by the capitalist class and its agents. This is certainly true of the 18 in the Minneapolis case. We can see clearly through that frameup.

"All these frameups follow a similar pattern. Just as in the case of Mooney and Billings, just as in the case of Sacco and Vanzetti, and just as in the case of the seamen, King, Connor and Ramsay here on the West Coast, these men were not prosecuted for any crimes they have committed nor for any acts against the government but for their militant trade union activities. These men were leaders and members of militant trade unions—that is the real reason why they were framed.

"We ought to remember that there is not only the case of these 18 but also that of Kelly Postal, the Secretary-Treasurer of Local 544-CIO, who is serving time in Stillwater State Penitentiary on the charge of "embezzlement." All Postal did was transfer the funds of his union from the AFL to the CIO when the members decided to go over to the more progressive CIO union. He did not use a penny for himself but was railroaded to jail simply because he carried out the will of his union. All frameups are rotten but this is even more rotten than any other in the past.

"The prosecution of these 18 was a part of the drive by the enemies of organized labor to get rid of the most militant trade union elements in preparation for the war. Just as in the first world war the forces of organized capital were determined to frame up the most militant unionists like Mooney and myself here in California, so with the approach of the second world war they set out to frame up the Minneapolis teamster leaders.

"This is an attack upon the entire labor movement and it must be met with the united action of all labor. That is why it is so important for every class conscious worker to fight for the freedom of the 18 and for the repeal of the Smith "Gag" Act.

Novack, Billings Speak For CRDC In California

(Continued from page 1)

this law as long as it is on the books. Not only is the constitutionality of the law in question, but also its application to this case. It was used by the administration to intervene in a labor dispute in payment of a political debt."

Joseph James, president of the San Francisco National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and militant leader



TOM MOONEY

of the fight in this area against discriminatory practices in the unions, pointed out the danger of the prosecution of the Trotskyists to the negro workers. "I am personally interested in this case. Support of the Minneapolis Teamster Leaders is a necessary part of the solidarity of the working people, especially the negro people. The Gag Law is a danger, a real danger to the negro people. We know, in cases like this, that a threat to one section of the workers is a threat to all. Issues like this transcend all partisan positions."

OVATION FOR BILLINGS

Warren K. Billings received an ovation from the audience when he pointed out the similarity between the Mooney-Billings frameup and the frameup of the 18. (Excerpts from his speech printed on page 5 of this issue.)

George Novack, in his speech, pointed out "Just as in the last war San Francisco became notorious as a scene of the Mooney-Billings frameup, so Minneapolis will be remembered as the place of the frameup of the 18 Trotskyist leaders. They were imprisoned solely for their working class and socialist ideas. They

will be vindicated by that powerful giant — the American Labor Movement."

One worker pledged \$5 a week to the Committee in the collection taken up at the end of the meeting. Also presented together with an endorsement for the CRDC was a donation of \$25 from Local 262, United Furniture Workers, CIO.

On Sunday evening, April 30th, at a social of the San Francisco Branch of the CRDC, Novack told of his visit to the 14 prisoners at Sandstone Penitentiary and of the success of his tour. "I have now traveled clear across the continent and in every city I visited, I found a growing support of the Minneapolis Labor Case by the trade union movement of the country. There is developing a realization that with the offensive of the labor haters gaining power, the Smith Gag Act is a dangerous weapon which can be used against labor."

"I want to convey the warm thanks of the prisoners to all friends of our Committee," he continued. "When I saw the 14 in Sandstone, they told me the support of their friends on the outside is a source of deep satisfaction and inspiration to them."

Novack also addressed two student groups at the University of California in Berkeley; The Public Affairs Committee of the YWCA and the YMCA Graduate Discussion Club.

PETITION CAMPAIGN

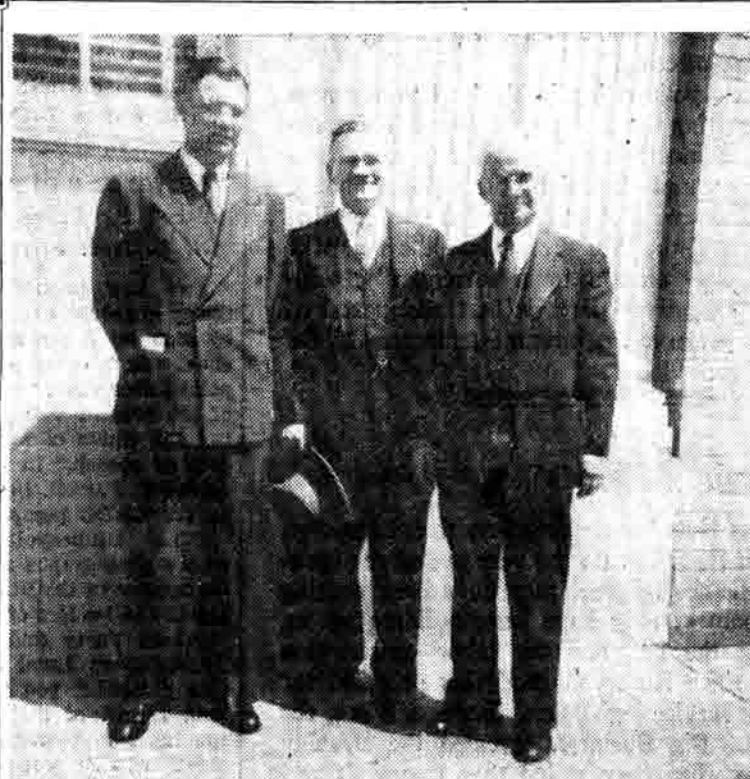
The local committee of CRDC is now launching a drive for 1000 signatures on the petitions calling on the president to pardon the 18.

Recent endorsements obtained by the local Committee in this area are: AFL Machinists, Local 68; Pile Drivers, Local 34; Brewers and Malsters, Local 7; CIO Machinists, Local 1304, Oakland; Textile Workers, CIO, Local 71; Millinery Workers, AFL, Local 40; Lodge 143, Railroad Brotherhood of Locomotive, Firemen and Engineers; Railroad Workers Joint Action Committee; Workmen's Circle, Workmen's Sick and Death Benefit Fund; San Francisco NAACP; San Francisco Committee Against Segregation and Discrimination and the Accion Democra Espanola.

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George Novack, Warren K. Billings, and John McKelvey of Machinist's Union Local 68, AFL, as they discussed the fight to free the 18 in San Francisco last week.

SHIPYARD WORKERS REJECT WAGE PLAN

JERSEY CITY, N. J. — Members of Local 16, CIO Ship Builders Union, rejected the new "National Wage Policy" formulated by the Atlantic Coast wage conference of the IUMSWA, held in Camden on April 19. The proposals formulated by the conference will apply, if accepted by the locals, to all union agreements on the east coast and will extend the present contracts until one year after the war, provided the shipbuilding corporations agree to certain concessions such as severance pay, mechanical up-grading and group insurance.

The top bureaucrats who formulated this policy are apparently more interested in keeping thousands of new members on the dues check-off than in fighting for wage increases to meet the rise in the cost of living.

This repudiation by local 16 of the treacherous policies of the top union bureaucracy marks the second militant demonstration of the Federal ship workers in the last few weeks.

At the previous membership meeting, 700 members voted unanimously to reject an average 1c. per hour award of the WLB made in settlement of reclassification demands submitted one

year ago by the local union. The same motion contained a rider, also overwhelmingly approved, to give the WLB and the company 30 days' notice for a strike vote under the provisions of the Smith-Connally Act. Both these decisions were brushed aside by the union National Office; the first on the grounds that the local has no autonomy and the second as being contrary to CIO and IUMSWA policy.

Concurrent with these events, the Federal Shipbuilding Company has instituted its own campaign against the workers in an effort to provoke the militants and have an excuse to institute wholesale firings. In the past few weeks the company has brazenly refused to bargain on any form of grievance. This policy of provocation was climaxed by the firing of a Port Newark shop steward for allegedly threatening a subforeman. Two days of futile pleading with the company accomplished nothing. Finally 2000 workers walked off the job in protest. Several Stalinist flunks made the rounds of the yard during the day, pencil in hand, to record the names and badge numbers of all men and women who were expressing sympathy with the walkout.

Billions Handed to Canadian Workers Fight Ford Drive

(Continued from page 1)

liberal groups, as he has heretofore been one of their strongest backers in the Senate."

As for the other "friends of labor" in the Senate, they were more considerate. They just didn't show up when the bill was voted on, thereby keeping their "labor record" clear. "When the showdown came," reports PM, "Kilgore was almost alone, and couldn't even force a record vote so that constituents can tell how their Senators voted." The Contract Termination Bill was the product of a year's labor by the government's "Post-War Planning Committee," the prime government agency dealing with the problems of "post-war" economy. It was so rank that even the hardened political representatives of Wall Street feared to place themselves on record when they voted for the bill.

The real "post-war" plan of the capitalist ruling class, as embodied in the George-Murray bill, is a plan for further enrichment of a handful of monopolists at the expense of the overwhelming majority of the American people. It is a headline plan for the few. It is a plan for poverty, insecurity and hunger for the masses and riches beyond the dreams of avarice for Big Business. It is nothing more nor less than the flowering of the "free enterprise system" under the rule of monopoly capitalism — Earl Browder to the contrary notwithstanding!

Labor needs its own plan for the future. Not one of the thousands of windy and meaningless plans that are spawned by the journalists, professors, "labor statesmen," and liberals, but a plan that is embodied in a political program. A program that speaks for the little man. A program, if it is meant seriously, requires the instrument for carrying it to fruition — a political

ber of the locals pledged to join the walkout.

The fighting mood of the labor rank and file can be gauged by the fact that two CCF members of the Ontario Parliament and the Mayor of Windsor, also a CCF member, spoke to a mass meeting of the strikers, solidizing themselves with the strike and urging the men to hold firm. Even R. J. Thomas, International UAW President gave support to the strike.

Organized labor throughout Canada well understood that the action of the Ford Company was a test case. That is why they rallied as one man behind the Ford strikers.

The unprecedented solidarity of the men produced results. The union won a smashing victory. The striking workers voted to return to work on the basis of the agreement worked out by the management and the union officials. The agreement reinstated the contract, cancelled all demerit notices (handed out by the hundreds before the "holiday") and reinstated the fired union men.

Two days later, on Wednesday, May 2, the Ford workers voted at a huge mass meeting to strike again because the decision of the labor board on grievance procedure was in the words of Ray England, President of Local 200, "contrary to and certainly not part of the arrangement concluded with the union."

The union immediately placed strong picket squads around the plant gates, and next day prevented even Mr. Campbell from entering the plant.

party. With labor's own program and labor's own political party there will be no need to depend on the perfidious "watch-dogs" drawn from the camp of the enemy. Labor will be able to depend on its own political organization — the Labor Party.

10 Years Ago In The Militant

MAY 12, 1934

PITTSBURGH—In an article entitled "New Trends in the Trade Union Movement," The Militant analyzed the growing rank and file opposition in the old AFL steel union to the servile bureaucrat "Grandmother" Mike Tighe. The rank and file delegates took things over at the 1934 convention of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers. Under this pressure, the convention voted the following demands:

1. Immediate presentation of demands to the steel companies for union recognition and substantial wage increases.
2. To give a ten-day ultimatum to steel corporations with preparation for a general strike if the demands were not granted.

The article concluded, "The trends which are now in the making point toward a new stage of militant unionism."

MINNEAPOLIS—Three thousand transport workers were organizing their forces to fight for union recognition in the notoriously open-shop town of Minneapolis. The campaign, launched by the coal yard workers, was reported in The Militant: "During the past several weeks workers have streamed into General Drivers Union No. 574. . . The monumental detail work, the research accomplished, the precise schedules drawn up, the manifold demands formulated in conjunction with the continuous organization campaign, will stand as a monument to the union loyalty and sincerity of the workers who have taken the lead."

NEW YORK—James P. Cannon's second article on the Revolutionary Policy Committee, a left-wing group within the Socialist Party, appeared in The Militant. The decay of capitalism, the betrayals of Stalinism and the Social-Democracy, made inevitable the disintegration of old political organizations of the working class. A significant expression of the worker's search for a new road to the solution of their problems, said Cannon, was "the emergence of the Revolutionary Policy Committee, with its straight-out challenge to the policy of social reformism. Will it be able to carry out this challenge to the end? That remains to be seen. . . If the implications of the first declaration are developed to their logical conclusions, the R.P.C. can become a rallying center for the revolutionary socialist workers. . . Every revolutionist worthy of the name will be ready to aid such a development." He continued with a warning against the dangers of centrism, urging the group to break with the Second International and turn its forces toward the formation of a new grouping of serious international revolutionists.

SWP Branches Hold Meetings In Celebration Of May Day

YOUNGSTOWN, O. — Members and friends of the Socialist Workers Party held a successful May Day meeting in Youngstown on Monday evening, May 1. Comrade List, the speaker of the meeting, outlined the history and meaning of May Day as the international labor holiday. Comrade List said: "On this day in the midst of imperialist war, we dedicate ourselves to do everything in our power to prepare for the coming revolutionary events, for the day when the masses will push aside all their misleaders and betrayers and when they will strike out on a path leading to peace, security brought about by the only means possible through the establishment of a socialist society. As a part of that task of carrying the fight forward, we must unrelentingly fight to free our heroic leaders who have been jailed by our class enemy.

"In fact the task will not be completed until the working class the world over shall have the power and shall organize society on a Socialist basis for the benefit of all mankind." A lively discussion followed the talk and a sizeable sum was contributed in the collection.

BOSTON, Mass. — The Boston Branch of the SWP celebrated May Day with a meeting held at the Workers Center at 158 Broadway. The speaker of the evening, Comrade Eloise Black, analyzed the world events of the past year and traced the phases of the resurgent workers' movements in Europe and the colonies.

All the members and friends who attended the meeting were inspired by the address and the realization that the world is again on the eve of great labor developments. Refreshments were served after the question and answer period.

CHICAGO, ILL. — The Chicago Branch of the Socialist Workers Party held one of the most successful May Day meetings in its history on Sunday, April 30. The meeting was held in the Party's new headquarters and was followed by a gala social affair. Every chair in the hall was occupied. Workers were present from the Chicago steel mills and the aircraft plants, many of them attending their first May Day meeting.

Comrade Lydia Bennett delivered an inspiring May Day address.

The meeting was followed by a showing of numerous motion pictures taken at Socialist Workers Party functions over a period of several years and included movies of the 18 prisoners as they marched to the County Jail last December. Refreshments and a social completed the evening's celebration.

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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.

Auto Strikes

Immediately following the publication of the resolution adopted by the International Executive Board of the United Automobile Workers Union threatening drastic action against those members and locals who "resort to work stoppages in response to the provocative acts of management," *The Militant* warned: "This resolution can only serve to embolden the union-hating corporation executives. The corporations now have the green light to go ahead and declare open season on all the shop stewards and committeemen who try to make them live up to their contracts. They have the 'unconditional surrender' resolution of the UAW executive board to support their provocations."

Since then, dozens of union militants have been victimized by the auto corporations, while the UAW top officials have stood by doing nothing and in a number of cases even actively joining with the employers to purge militant stewards and committeemen. Have these sacrificial victims of the "unconditional no-strike pledge" served to mollify the auto barons? Have the corporations become more tractable, more reasonable, more "cooperative?" Not at all! Led by the rabid union-hating Ford Motor Company, the corporations have INTENSIFIED their anti-labor drive. The "provocative acts of management" which were bad enough before the adoption of the "unconditional surrender" resolution, have now reached epidemic proportions.

Provocations, refusal to adjust grievances, violations of contract, have finally reached their climax in the high-handed action of the Ford Motor Company of Canada in "cancelling" its collective bargaining agreement with the union. Such are the fruits of the policy of capitulation and surrender fostered by the Thomas-Reuther-Addes-Frankenstein leadership of the UAW. But the union militants who once fought the corporations to a standstill have no intention of "playing dead" while the proud and militant organization they built in bitter struggle AGAINST the corporations, is hacked to pieces.

The resistance to the capitulation policy of the top leaders is evident in the wave of defensive strikes that have swept through the industry as well as in the mounting criticism of the no-strike policy. Unable to defend their policies with the instruments of logic and reason, the bureaucrats now

threaten to take action against those who even dare to criticize! The April 27 issue of *The Searchlight*, official publication of the Flint Chevrolet local, publishes a photostatic copy of a letter sent by R. J. Thomas to the ex-president of the local. Thomas takes cognizance of the sharp criticism in the local paper directed at himself and his policies and concludes with the ill-concealed threat that: "There now seems to be nothing left to do but take this up with the Board, and I am planning to do so at its next meeting."

Treachorous policies inevitably lead to attempts at bureaucratizing the union, gagging all critics, destroying all democratic rights. That is the course taken by Dalrymple in the rubber union. That is the road Thomas and Company are attempting to travel. Thus, the struggle against the no-strike pledge and the "unconditional surrender" resolution of the executive board, is part and parcel of the fight to preserve the internal democracy of the union.

Forced Labor

The Brass Hats have stepped up their campaign for a forced labor law on the very eve of the invasion. This is the moment they have been waiting for; the moment they have been building up to, by keeping the ballyhoo for labor conscription alive ever since Roosevelt made his proposal for compulsory service legislation. *Business Week*, the magazine of Big Business, revealed the strategy months ago when they stated that Roosevelt and the Brass Hats, under cover of the impending invasion, expect to stimulate a "blaze of popular anger that, skillfully guided will overawe the dissidents— as soon as the troops land in Europe and the really big casualty lists start coming in."

The most recent development is the introduction of a drastic labor draft law by the poll-tax Democrat, Bailey of North Carolina and the Republican senator from Maine, Ralph O. Brewster. Whenever it is a question of an attack on the labor movement you can always count on the Republicans and Democrats to forget their "differences" and unite against the workers. The Bailey-Brewster bill provides for induction into army labor battalions of all draft-deferred men between the ages of 18 to 45 who fail to take a job when ordered to do so, or leave a job without the permission of the employer and the government.

Labor has been lulled into a false sense of security by the previous failures of the military caste to put across their forced labor scheme. The top AFL and CIO leaders have contributed to relaxing labor's vigilance by their failure to speak out against the attempts to put across a "modified version" of the forced labor law. Labor must not tolerate any phony "compromises" on this issue. Conscription of workers for private profit under a compulsory labor law means placing the workers in chains. It is well to keep in mind that the Brass Hats are determined, unscrupulous and powerful. Their conspiracy against labor can be broken only if the unions are thoroughly aroused to the danger.

3000 New Readers

The campaign for 3000 new subscribers to *The Militant* has reached the half-way mark one week ahead of schedule. The quota for all branches and sympathizers was 1000 new readers a month beginning with April 1st. The campaign was a little slow in getting underway. But once started, it gathered such momentum that each week's total showed a substantial increase over the preceding week. The reports of the branches indicate that they are just getting into their stride and we have every reason to believe that the subscriptions will continue to come streaming in to top the national quota even before the June 30 deadline. A number of branches have already reached and several have exceeded their quotas. The response of individual sympathizers has also been extremely gratifying. All in all, our comrades and friends deserve to be congratulated. They are conducting the subscription campaign in a truly magnificent manner.

The reports of our agents throughout the country emphasize the growing political consciousness of the American workers. The great political problems of the day are being posed with the greatest sharpness. The workers are groping for a solution. The ideas and programs of all political tendencies are being submitted to the test of events. And we see that the most advanced ideas, the ideas of Trotskyism, are being eagerly received. The seeds now being planted by our comrades and friends in the form of new subscriptions to *The Militant* are being sown in fertile soil.

"War, let us once again recall," reads the *Manifesto of the Fourth International on the Imperialist War and the Proletarian Revolution of 1940*, "speeds up enormously the political development. Those great tasks which only yesterday seemed long years, if not decades away, can loom up directly before us in the next two or three years and even sooner." The prognosis is being confirmed by experience. The ideas of Trotskyism conform to historical necessity. Our program has withstood the test of events. It will prevail and conquer in the end.

We are the only movement that is conducting genuine socialist agitation and education in this country today. The campaign for 300 new readers of *The Militant* represents a great step toward bringing the message of Trotskyism to broader sections of the labor movement. Just as a stone thrown into a pool creates a ring of concentric circles extending outward over an increasing area, so will our new subscribers create an ever widening circle of influence reaching out to the periphery of the working class. Forward then, to the successful completion of *The Militant* subscription campaign.

Workers' BOOKSHELF

WHO ARE THE 18 PRISONERS IN THE MINNEAPOLIS LABOR CASE? Foreword by James T. Farrell; published by Civil Rights Defense Committee, N. Y., 1944; 32 pages, 10c.

WHY WE ARE IN PRISON; published by Pioneer Publishers, N. Y., 1944; 56 pages, 10c.

Two new pamphlets have recently appeared which belong side by side on every worker's bookshelf. Both concern the Minneapolis Labor Case, "the major case of the present war period involving the rights of labor and freedom of speech," in the words of James T. Farrell, in his foreword to the CRDC pamphlet.

The Minneapolis prisoners, whose photographs and biographies appear in the CRDC pamphlet, are the 18 leaders of the Socialist Workers Party and Minneapolis Truckdrivers Local 644-CIO. In this pamphlet you will find the long record of their services in the labor movement, their participation in its economic struggles and devotion to its political advancement—over thirty years of service in the case of the veterans James P. Cannon, V. R. Dunne, Oscar Coover; eight years for the youngest prisoner, Oscar Shoenfeld. Each of the eighteen biographies is an inspiring story of devotion to the American working class and its labor struggles. No wonder hundreds of Minneapolis workers who had taken part in the building of the truckdrivers' union under the leadership of the Trotskyists, thronged the streets to cheer these leaders marching to the capitalist prison. Thousands of other workers, reading the story of their lives, will be inspired to learn more about the Socialist cause which for ninety-five years has rallied to its banner men and women who defy all persecution. These workers will learn how inseparably the trade union struggles are connected with the fight for Socialism; how, inevitably, the ruling class must strive to crush the labor movement to preserve its power. These workers will understand why it is the duty of American workers to fight for the freedom of the eighteen.

It is for what they said that the Trotskyists were sent to the penitentiary—what they said to teach the working class the truth about capitalism and its wars. In their own words, the 18 prisoners prove in the pamphlet "Why We Are in Prison," that they are serving prison sentences because they told the people the truth about the imperialist war, and spread the socialist program of how to fight against capitalist wars and how to wipe out the system that brings starvation, tyranny and death for the masses.

The capitalist rulers can never forget how Socialist truth proved victorious in the Russian Revolution.

Letter from V. R. Dunne to Kelly Postal

Before going to prison, Vincent Dunne, one of the 18 Trotskyist leaders framed in the Minneapolis case and now serving a 16-month sentence in Sandstone penitentiary at Minnesota, wrote the following letter to Kelly Postal, Secretary-treasurer of Truckdrivers, local 644, who had also been framed and is serving a one-to-five-year sentence at the Stillwater state penitentiary:

"Dear Kelly:

"I am sending you this letter before going away, to greet you and to tell you that I appreciate the sacrifice you are making.

"It is my conviction that in the future yours and my position, which are one and the same, will be vindicated.

"I am going to be denied the right to participate in the movement, the same as you, for a little time; but in the future you and I together will fight on and complete the task of liberating the working class.

"In this spirit I am greeting you and hope that you will soon be free.

"The hands of the 18 close comrades guide mine as I send you fraternal greetings of solidarity."

tion over capitalist lies. That is why the "democratic" capitalist government of the United States, in brazen violation of the Bill of Rights, was so determined to frame-up and imprison the 18 Trotskyist leaders.

The 18 Trotskyist leaders were under no illusions as to who was behind the frame-up and as to the outcome of the trial. They were not surprised when the Supreme Court, which is supposed to be the guardian of the Constitution, three times refused even to review the conviction, refused to rule on the Smith "Gag" Act, which has been condemned by labor as a clear violation of the Bill of Rights. Cannon in his farewell speech said: "We have not been suddenly pulled up short and required to make a decision whether we are prepared to pay this price . . . We knew to begin with that to tell the truth, to take up the cause of the poor and the persecuted against the rich and the mighty, to tell the truth in the face of all the liars in the world—we knew that course entailed risks." Farrell Dobbs declared: "We understand—every one of us—that nothing is more important than the working class cause to which we dedicate our lives . . . we are a party of one-hundred per cent."

"Why We Are in Prison" comprises an introduction which provides the background of the Minneapolis Labor Case, the trial, the aims of the prosecution and the significance of the case. The pamphlet includes speeches of James P. Cannon, Felix Morrow, Farrell Dobbs, Oscar Shoenfeld, Alfred Russel, and Karl Kuehn, delivered at the farewell banquet held at the Irving Plaza, New York, on December 26, 1943; the

speech of Albert Goldman, defense attorney in the trial as well as defendant, made before a Civil Rights Defense Committee mass meeting at the Manhattan Center, New York, on Dec. 16, 1943; speeches made by Vincent R. Dunne, Oscar Coover, Carl Skoglund, Grace Carlson, Harry DeBoer, Carlos Hudson, Max Goldman, Emil Hansen, Edward Palmquist, Clarence Hamel and Jake Cooper at the Minneapolis farewell banquet, held in the local SWP headquarters Dec. 28, 1943; the speech of Rose Karsner, at the New York banquet, delivered on behalf of the wives and relatives of the defendants and the speech of George Grant, organizer of the New York local of the SWP on behalf of the members and sympathizers of the party.

The concluding section of "Why We Are in Prison" is an account by Joseph Hansen of his trip to Minneapolis with James P. Cannon, and the last hours spent with 15 of the 18 Minneapolis prisoners. (The other three surrendered in New York and are serving terms at the Federal Penitentiary at Danbury, Conn.).

To many a worker, the struggle for Socialism may seem only a vision, far removed from the day-to-day struggle; but when he has read these two pamphlets, he will feel a deep personal interest, a response akin to that of Hansen who wrote, "when you see men who have spent their lives organizing for a better society thrown into prison, then the concrete meaning (of the evil of capitalism) enters your bones."

These two pamphlets should be put into the hands of every union progressive, of every thinking worker.

Reviewed by
Ruth Johnson

International Notes

ITALY

At least one of the opposition parties in southern Italy has refused to join the new phony coalition government under Badoglio and King Victor Emmanuel. The Stalinists (who took the lead in "breaking the deadlock" for reaction), the social-democrats and the liberals all jumped on the bandwagon and took their places in the monarchical police-military dictatorship, but not the Italian Revolutionary Socialist Party.

This party has been variously described as Trotskyist, Maximilianist and Bordighist. It publishes a paper called *Bandiera Rossa* ("Red Flag") which carries at its masthead the famous slogan of Karl Marx: "Revolution is the locomotive of history." In its issue of April 21, the paper states that the Italian Revolutionary Socialist Party is against the reactionary coalition government and proudly proclaims itself the only proletarian party remaining in opposition.

In northern Italy, mass opposition to the Nazi enslavers is still continuing. Partisan troops operating behind and between the Nazi military lines have inflicted a severe defeat on Fascist guards and German detachments sent against them in the province of Coni, according to a communiqué published in Berne last week. This is the first report of mass resistance to the Nazis since the Allied censorship clamped down on reports of the great general strike which recently paralyzed the big cities on the Lombardy plain. The general strike ended, but active opposition to the Nazi enslavers is continuing.

The Berne report discloses

that the Fascist guards and Nazi troops, in an effort to wipe out partisan activities in Coni, embarked on "a vast operation" which ended in "complete disaster for the Axis." Following the decisive battle, the partisans withdrew to their mountain strongholds, taking with them a large number of prisoners who are being held as hostages.

ENGLAND

Aneurin Bevan is a "left-wing" member of the British Labor Party who led an opposition in the House of Commons to the new defense regulation which prescribes imprisonment or heavy fines for "instigators" of strikes. The regulation was promulgated by the servile flunkey of British capitalism, Minister of Labor Ernest Bevin, following the strikes in the coal mines.

The labor skates who compose the top leadership of the labor Party decided that Bevan had to be "disciplined" for his outlaw "action." A movement was started to expel him from the party. But according to the latest reports on the subject, the movement for expulsion has been dropped.

Both Bevan's opposition to the anti-strike regulation and the decision not to press for his expulsion are indications of the growing pressure of the discontented and rebellious British workers. Bevan the "left-winger" has gone along with the Labor Party in its truce with British capitalism from the very beginning, but sensing the radicalization of the workers, he presents a left face to his proletarian constituents. The Labor Party chieftains, sensing the same thing, have decided it is best to tolerate Bevan.

FRANCE

In a survey of underground papers published in Nazi-occupied France, a writer in the New Yorker includes a reference to "a little sheet called *Le Soviet*, which carries at its masthead the line 'Long Live Trotsky and Lenin! Down with Stalin, grave-digger of the Third International!'"

Le Soviet has been appearing at more or less regular intervals during the past two years, perhaps longer. It is the organ of the Parti Ouvrier Internationaliste (Workers Internationalist Party), French section of the Fourth International.

BOLIVIA

A general strike shut down every tin mine in Bolivia on April 19, according to an AP dispatch from La Paz. The workers quit in protest against the release from prison of Pedro Silveti, former Minister of Interior, whom the workers hold responsible for the Catavi massacre of December, 1942 in which 19 striking workers were killed and 30 wounded.

Catavi is one of the largest of the tin-mining centers. Silveti ordered police to break the 1942 strike and the massacre resulted from this order. Under pressure from the outraged strikers, the government was obliged to imprison Silveti and other ministers, but recently they were released.

Once again, however, the government has been compelled to yield to the indignation of the tin-miners. Silveti and his confreres have been returned to custody and the government, obviously frightened, issued a statement which said: "We do not want another Catavi. We do not want to be against the people."

Crimes of Big Business to Be Hidden for Duration

Right after Pearl Harbor, more than two years ago, the Roosevelt administration began a noisy anti-trust campaign against scores of America's biggest corporations which were impeding war production in order to maintain monopolies and safeguard their cartel agreements with the German, British, Japanese and other foreign monopoly interests.

Recent reports reveal that there are now 26 major anti-trust suits, involving hundreds of leading American corporations, which have been filed by the Department of Justice, but which have been postponed until "after the war."

Among the powerful trusts that the administration is protecting through the postponement of the anti-trust trials are E. I. duPont de Nemours and Co., General Electric, Allied Chemical and Dye Corp., American Brass Co., Bausch and Lomb Optical Co., and scores of others.

Most of the very largest monopolies, like duPont and General Electric, have maintained cartel agreements with I. G. Farben and other Nazi corporations to protect each others' interests, parcel out exclusive spheres of influence, exchange patents, fix international monopoly prices, restrict competition, etc.

The basis for the postponement of these trials "for the duration" was laid by Roosevelt himself in a letter approving the delay of cases which in the opinion of the War and Navy Department might allegedly interfere with the "prosecution of the war."

Since the issuance of Roosevelt's letter two years ago, not a single major corporation cited by the Department of Justice has been brought to trial.

The original reason for initiating the suits was the fact that these monopolies were restricting war production. Now it is argued that to require a few of their top officials to appear on a witness stand would "impede war production."

Match Trust Conspiracy Bared in New Cartel Suit

Big Business has placed its monopoly grip on everything, including the lowly match. Chances are, if you don't want to light your stove, cigarette or furnace by rubbing two sticks together Boy Scout fashion, you will have to pay monopoly tribute to the match trust operated by the Diamond Match Company.

Last week it was revealed in the Federal Court of New York, where the Department of Justice has filed suit against the Diamond Match Company, that the American trust has engaged in a gigantic international monopoly conspiracy with the German, British and Swedish monopolies. The purpose of the conspiracy has been to control and limit the production of wooden matches and chlorate of potash, an important munitions chemical; restrict match imports to maintain scarcity and high prices; and prevent the production of an "everlasting match" which can be relit at least 100 times.

As part of a secret international agreement, the American trust, according to the evidence uncovered by the Department of Justice, deliberately dismantled part of its plant facilities in this country in order to limit production of wooden matches and chlorate of potash. This resulted in several war-time shortages and high prices.

The government's brief states that "Diamond decided not to acquire the everlasting match patents and not to manufacture the everlasting match because the patents have not long to run. . . It is to be hoped that if the item is not put out and pushed by a strong manufacturer, no one will take it up even after the patents expire."

While the agreement with the German trust, I. G. Farben, has been "suspended" during the war, the government charges Diamond is prepared to resume it "in full as soon as the difficulties created by the war disappear."

Wall Street Barons Grab Synthetic Quinine Patent

After 100 years of experimentation and research, science has at last produced synthetic quinine. Now, presumably, mankind will no longer be dependent on the quinine sold at monopoly prices and secured in limited amounts from the tropical cinchona tree bark, the only previous source of the one chemical that relieves malaria, the most widespread disease in the world.

But concurrent with the announcement of the successful synthesizing of quinine by two Harvard chemists comes the report that international chemical monopolies have the inside track on control of the new boon to humanity, and that it will be patented and produced in accordance with the profit interests of one of the big chemical trusts.

The patent rights will be owned by the Polaroid Corporation, which has announced that "the process will be licensed to such organizations as are best fitted to assure the broadest usefulness for the scientific discovery." Just what companies will be considered "best fitted" are indicated by the fact that the executive vice-president of Polaroid is Carlton P. Fuller, long associated with international chemical and financial interests through his association with the J. Henry Schroder Banking Corporation of New York, in turn closely connected with General Aniline and Film Company, holding 50 per cent interest in Winthrop Chemical, which controls the patent for atabrine, a synthetic and not-too-successful substitute for quinine.

The two young chemists who made the discovery will have nothing to say about its use. Harvard University, which provided its tax-free facilities for the research, and the people who pay the taxes, will have nothing to say.

Tens of millions, including several hundreds of thousands of poor people in our own South, are afflicted with malaria. But for them, this new product will provide no benefits. Under monopoly control, its production will be so restricted and its price so high, that they will have to continue to suffer and die while the means to save them are readily available.