

Trotsky's Ideas Stand Verified By World Events

By the Editors

Four years have elapsed since August 20, 1940, the day on which Leon Trotsky was struck down by Stalin's hired killer. By murdering the man he most hated and feared Stalin pursued a political aim: he hoped at the same time to deal a mortal blow to the organization which Trotsky had founded — the Fourth International; and to the system of ideas and the cause of which Leon Trotsky was the banner-bearer and the living incarnation. The ideas which Trotsky held, taught and fought for during his entire conscious life may be briefly summed up as follows:

Further progress of mankind is incompatible with the preservation of the existing system of capitalism. In fact, the perpetuation of this decayed social order threatens the complete destruction of civilization. Conditions have long ago matured for the reorganization of society on a new, socialist basis, which alone can assure the peaceful, prosperous and harmonious development of productive forces on a world scale, and with them of society as a whole. Such an organization of the world's economic life will not occur by itself. It can be accomplished only through the medium, leadership and transitional rule of the only progressive class in modern society — the working class. All other perspectives are reactionary and utopian. For the accomplishment of this task the vanguard of the working class must be organized into a revolutionary proletarian party, internationalist in spirit and scope. There is no other way of mobilizing the overwhelming majority of the workers, of winning the support of other oppressed masses in both the advanced and colonial countries, and of breaking the rabid resistance of the ruling classes to the establishment of socialism.

TROTSKY'S IDEAS ARE VINDICATED

The events of our entire epoch are a verification of the truth of these ideas. In the space of a quarter of a century, the world working class, and the whole of mankind, has gone through the agony of two world wars with their train of incalculable suffering and devastation. The interval between these world holocausts was one of economic stagnation, decline and unprecedented crises, accompanied by unbridled political and cultural reaction. Declining living standards, the bestial rule of fascism and, as the inevitable culmination, war — this is the price that already has been paid for the continued rule of capitalism. This frightful price was paid because of the treachery of the working class parties—those of the Second International and of the degenerated and now defunct Third (Communist) International. The workers paid this price, suffered all the terrible defeats of the past, for the lack of the chief instrument of the socialist overturn—a revolutionary party such as was built by Lenin and Trotsky in Russia before and during the first World War.

But the defeats of the workers have not altered the tasks that history has placed on the order of the day. The second World War is now drawing to its conclusion. Out of it, as out of the last war, a great revolutionary wave is beginning to emerge. For one year, since the downfall of Mussolini, the Italian masses have been seething in revolutionary ferment. The millions in Germany are beginning to rise. In their wake tens and hundreds of other millions must follow. That is the real perspective of the period ahead.

TROTSKY PREPARED THE VANGUARD

Leon Trotsky did everything in his power, everything humanly possible, to prepare and arm the vanguard of the world proletariat for the impending struggle for socialism. For years before the outbreak of the war, throughout the two decades of reaction after Lenin's death, he continued the work of Marx, Engels and Lenin. The body of principles, which constitutes the granite foundation of the world party of the socialist revolution, has been preserved and enriched. All the lessons of the past are at the disposal of the vanguard and of the class as a whole. The indispensable instrument itself, the Fourth International, was forged before the war, and has withstood the test of the war. Its sections continue to exist and to fight in more than a score of countries, in the colonies and the metropolises alike.

All the forces of reaction recognize who their mortal enemy is. Trotskyism has been from its birth the most persecuted movement in working-class history. Trotskyists have fallen under the bullets of Stalin's GPU and under the axe of Nazi executioners in Germany and in occupied Europe. On the eve of Wall Street's entry into the war, Roosevelt turned the machinery of capitalist oppression against the American Trotskyists, jailing 18 leaders of the Socialist Workers Party. Only a few weeks ago, the British imperialists, with Churchill at their head, unleashed their attack against our English co-thinkers, clapping in jail four leaders of the Revolutionary Communist Party of England. In the colonial countries of Asia and Latin America the hounds of reaction pursue the Trotskyists.

TROTSKYISM IS INDESTRUCTIBLE

In this way the blood-stained rulers of "democratic" and fascist imperialism, aided and abetted at every step by the traitors and criminals in the Kremlin, hope to prevent the oppressed masses from rallying to the banner of Trotskyism, the banner of the socialist emancipation of mankind. They labor in vain. They can destroy individuals, but never our movement.

On this fourth anniversary of the death of our great teacher and leader we march confidently ahead. We know our task. It is to accomplish the fusion of the Trotskyist ideas and program with the awakening and onward-surging masses. In the titanic events that lie ahead, this fusion can be accomplished at lightning speed. Once this occurs no power on earth will be able to obstruct the triumphant march of the socialist legions of the working class. The second wave of the world revolution now emerging will complete the work begun by the first wave of 1917-1921, when the first workers' state was founded under Lenin and Trotsky in the territories of the former Czarist empire. This time the October revolution will be extended throughout Europe and the whole world. It was to this end that Trotsky worked and fought side by side with Lenin, continuing after Lenin died. This is the task he entrusted to his co-workers and co-thinkers throughout the world. This is the task to which the Trotskyists summon the American workers.

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George 'Post-War Starvation' Bill Voted By Large Senate Majority

Nazi Army Shows Increasing Signs Of Disintegration

German imperialism's once-mighty military machine is disintegrating from within. Disaffection is spreading among the soldier ranks, revealed in mutinies, desertion and violent clashes between the regular troops of the Wehrmacht and Hitler's own S.S. forces. Inside Germany itself, the Nazis are compelled to pile more draconian decrees on the war-weary and resisting masses.

Three separate reports have appeared giving details of mutinies within various sections of the German army. One of the most significant is contained in both AP and UP dispatches on August 10 from St. Malo, France, describing how German troops

Outdoing Hitler

The Rotary Club of England's big steel town, Birmingham, listened recently to a speech by a French business man and Rotarian, Marcel Ferel, who had escaped from France. Said he:

"As long as there is a German nation the civilized world will never live in peace. We must destroy the Pan-Germanic Empire and reconstitute the former duchies which existed before the Treaty of Frankfurt. Deport Germans to the countries which they have devastated and make them work there as slaves. Shoot all the Gestapo and murderers and then sterilize all the men and male children. Later, when the various duchies have proved themselves worthy of a place in the civilized world, the German women will intermarry with other nationalities. From this, perhaps, will spring a united European civilization."

The Manchester Guardian, which reported the speech, did not say whether the assembled British capitalists applauded this highly civilized plan for civilizing Germany.

shot their officers and surrendered. This is a sign of the breakdown of discipline, the refusal of soldiers to continue being cannon fodder for the Nazi imperialists.

MUTINY SPREADING

That this is not an isolated instance of mutiny is disclosed by a UP dispatch from London, August 12, which reports the proclamation of martial law in Slovakia. "Authoritative Czechoslovak sources here said that underground information had reported

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AFL Tops Uphold Reactionary Policy In Attack On CIO-PAC

The fossilized bureaucrats of the AFL Executive Council have been crowing about their "victory" over the CIO Political Action Committee at the National Convention of the Democratic Party. "A mere hint from the AFL camp," writes Philip Pearl in the July 25, AFL Weekly News Service, "that Senator Truman would be considered far more favorably as the Vice-Presidential candidate than Wallace, assured the nomination of the Missouri Senator." This is cited by Pearl as a crushing argument in support of the AFL's traditional "non-partisan political policy." Contrasting the subtle method of solving political questions by dropping a "mere hint" in proper quarters with the noisy aggressiveness of the CIO-PAC, Pearl concludes that the AFL "non-partisan" policy is about the cleverest device ever conceived. You just can't lose!

Here is how it works: The AFL Executive Council, a loose aggregation of autonomous international unions, declares itself neutral in the conflict between the two capitalist parties. The heads of these Internationals, sitting as vice-presidents, are the real power. While the Council,

IN MEMORIAM



Leon Trotsky - 1879-1940

Detroit Auto Strikers Fight Against Company Provocations

DETROIT, Aug. 12. — Under the combined pressure of the international union officials, the government and General Motors corporation, a meeting of CIO United Automobile Workers Local 235 last night voted to terminate the second strike in recent weeks of 7,000 workers at the Chevrolet gear and axle plants here. But the issue is far from settled. A new walkout is likely in the event the "impartial umpire," instructed by the WLB to consider within five days the case of seven discharged union leaders, makes an unfavorable decision.

The militant action and solidarity of the gear and axle strikers has aroused union-wide repercussions and brought to the fore all the issues confronting UAW members everywhere. It has put a spotlight on the union-busting provocations of the corporations, the anti-labor role of the WLB and the treachery of UAW-CIO top leaders. A review of the background of this struggle provides

an illuminating object for all organized workers.

These strikes were directly provoked by the company through a long-time campaign to "house-break" the union. The collective bargaining system was completely undermined. Finally, the company, made bold by the "no-strike pledge," attempted to institute a speed-up in Plant 3, announcing a stepping-up of the high production rate of 55 units to 65.8 per hour. The embittered workers failed to meet the new intolerable speed-up quotas.

For a couple of weeks, the company proceeded cautiously. About three weeks ago, however, the management started to "put on the heat," firing a worker on July 22 with the claim he was not meeting his quota. The following Monday three more workers were sent home for the same reason. When on Wednesday another worker was similarly "disciplined," the afternoon shift walked out. By Saturday, the entire gear and axle division was shut down tight.

While admitting a total breakdown of the bargaining system, the local union officers at first urged a return to work and submission of the grievances to the WLB. The workers voted overwhelmingly against a return to work until a favorable settlement was reached. Their action was in defiance of a regional WLB back-to-work order.

At this point, the International Executive Board intervened against the strikers in its typical

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Imperialists Plan Division of World Petroleum Supply

By Ralph Graham

To the growing number of international agreements, ostensibly designed to promote cooperation between nations but in reality intended to serve predatory imperialist interests, was added an agreement on petroleum signed in Washington August 8 by the governments of the United States and Great Britain.

In announcing signature of the agreement, Edward R. Stettinius, Jr., Acting Secretary of State, described it as "a most constructive forward step" toward long-range collaboration between the two countries in the international economic field. A similar claim was made as regards the recently-concluded monetary accords at the Bretton Woods conference, but that did not prevent Lord Beaverbrook's London "Daily Express" from attacking the accords as detrimental to Britain because they virtually tied Britain to a future gold standard to the exclusive advantage of the United States, which holds the bulk of the world's monetary gold.

WALL STREET SCORES

The outburst in the "Daily Express" occurred at the very time when Beaverbrook was attaching his signature to the petroleum accord on behalf of the British Government. An exami-

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Roosevelt's Chief Henchmen Back Drive For Hunger Plan

Measure Sponsored By Wall Street Provides Unemployment Relief As Low As \$2 A Week

By C. Thomas

By a vote of 55 to 19 the Senate has adopted the George "states rights" unemployment compensation bill after defeating the more liberal Kilgore-Murray measure 49 to 25. The political deputies of Wall Street ganged up to smother the Kilgore Bill which had the support of the entire organized trade union movement. The forces behind the George Bill were organized by Roosevelt's right-hand man, James F. Byrnes, Director of War Mobilization. Parliamentary maneuvers to facilitate its adoption were engineered by Roosevelt's majority leader in the Senate, Alben Barkley.

The George Bill provides that unemployed workers and war veterans shall be paid unemployed benefits according to the compensation laws of the various states. These benefits range from as low as \$2 a week and are payable for a period of approximately 16 weeks. Computing both maximum and minimum payments for all the states the national average payment under the George Bill is estimated at \$14 per week. In most states an initial waiting period of two weeks is provided before unemployment payments begin. In addition "eligibility" standards are set up, determining whether or not a worker is eligible for unemployment compensation, and the weekly benefit amount is based on length of employment and earnings.

BENEFITS WHITTLED

The Kilgore-Murray Bill provided for federal unemployment compensation, transportation for workers disemployed by cutbacks and plant shutdowns, and retraining for war workers and veterans. As originally drawn, the Kilgore bill established a maximum benefit of \$35 a week for two years but this amount was gradually reduced by the sponsors of the measure to \$25 in an effort to reach a compromise with the "states rights" belly robbers. To no avail! The New York Times reports that: "Fast footwork in the corridors failed to halt the roll-call on the George

measure or to allow a respite in which the Murray-Kilgore group could gain time in the hope of bringing further compromise offers to the floor."

The political agents of Big Business rode roughshod over those who asked for a few more crumbs for jobless workers. Senator Barkley, the administration's majority leader and personal friend of Roosevelt, engineered a limitation on debate and shouted down an attempt to recommit the George bill which opponents claimed was "hurriedly drawn and insufficiently considered."

The George bill had been rushed through the Senate Finance Committee in order to head off the more liberal Kilgore measure. This strategy was devised in a behind-the-scenes conference between the poll-tax Senator from Georgia, Walter F. George, and Roosevelt's "Assistant President" James F. Byrnes.

The Washington correspondent of the New Leader reports that: "Assistant President Byrnes, who was once the Administration's Majority Leader in the Senate and knows the ropes in that chamber, quietly had a conference with Senator George and arranged support for the George measure on a reactionary coalition basis of Republicans and Southern Democrats."

ROOSEVELT APPROVES

The liberals and labor fakers, in their unceasing efforts to white-wash Roosevelt, always seek to divert responsibility for reactionary measures from their "friend" in the White House to his underlings. Barkley and Byrnes are two of Roosevelt's closest

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NORTH ITALY CIVIL WAR IS SPREADING

By Harry Martell

After a brief two months in office the Bonomi "coalition" cabinet, the second Quisling government of Roosevelt and Churchill in Italy, is on the toboggan slide, headed for political oblivion. Pounded by civil war between armed workers and fascists in Florence and throughout the north of Italy, undermined by a fierce economic crisis it is powerless to cope with, denied all real political authority by the Allied Military Commission, the Bonomi government is helplessly standing by while Churchill and his monarchist-reactionary allies are preparing to snuff out its pale existence.

Composed of capitalist "democrats," Stalinists, social-democrats, Catholics, assorted politicians and labor fakers, and supported by no one but AMG and its military establishment, the Bonomi cabinet has dragged through its two months in office with a record of impotence and capitulation before reaction. The masses of Italy are suffering from slow starvation; they have been enslaved by a humiliating conquerors' treaty and are being made to pay for the crimes of Mussolini; the anti-fascist partisans have been disarmed while the fascist gangsters are sheltered and even installed in local office; and now the road is being cleared for a new reactionary regime under the House of Savoy.

Faced with this crisis, the constituents of the Bonomi cabinet have no other program than to turn to Churchill, now in Italy, with plaintive supplications for assistance and a little more power. Churchill, however, has no

further need for this bankrupt crew, which has so quickly outlived its usefulness, and is preparing a substitute puppet regime.

Over and above the shadows of political intrigue in Rome comes the sound of gunfire from Florence, where armed warfare by organized workers against fascists is unleashing a widespread civil war that will eventually determine the fate of Italy.

"Florence," a N.Y. Times dispatch reports, "has been virtually a no-man's land where sporadic street fighting and sniping took place." This situation is a repetition of that which took place in Empoli, a town of 14,000 population about 15 miles from Florence.

CLEANING UP FASCISTS

"Italian partisans," another report relates, "were relentlessly cleaning up the city street by street today...The Germans... ap-

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TRADE UNION NOTES

By Joseph Keller

After months of hearings, another War Labor Board "fact-finding" panel has "found" that the WLB has no authority to grant wage increases beyond the Little Steel formula. That is the sum total of the report of the WLB panel which has heard millions of words of testimony on the wage demands of the 254,000 General Motors workers, largest division of the CIO United Automobile and Aircraft Workers.

These "findings," the WLB reports, will be considered "along with similar reports from other panels when it determines whether it should investigate further proposals of various labor organizations that the board should seek authority to modify the Little Steel formula." Why the rigamarole of "fact-finding" panels is required in the auto, steel, packing-house and other vital wage cases, has never been clearly explained. They all "find" the one fact everyone knew before the panel hearings began—that the WLB is only an enforcement agency for Roosevelt's wage-freezing "stabilization" policy.

When the panels finish their part in stalling wage demands, the national WLB takes over. It goes through similar farcical proceedings. For change in wage-policy can be determined only by Roosevelt. WLB shadow-boxing merely provides a pretext for the union bureaucrats to curb militant actions of their memberships. The current wave of strikes, particularly in auto and steel, are a clear indication, however that the workers are catching up with the real role of the WLB and the treachery of the union leaders in supporting that wage-freezing agency.

7,000 UAW-CIO workers at GM's Chevrolet Gear and Axle plants in Detroit voted last Friday to conclude their four-day strike, the second in recent weeks, pending a WLB hearing on the discharge of seven local union leaders following the first strike. The vote was taken under the combined pressure of the government, corporation and international union officials.

Walter Reuther, a UAW-CIO vice-president and director of the union's GM division, appeared before the Board in Washington and complained that the company used "subterfuge, trickery and duplicity" by victimizing the seven union militants after the WLB had ordered the company to take back all workers without discrimination at the termination of the first strike. The WLB turned a cold shoulder to Reuther's plea and demanded an end of the second strike before it would even consider the case of the discharged men. Reuther lamely complied, stating he would do "everything in my power to persuade the strikers to vote to return to work."

Reuther's jaunt to Washington cannot cover up his complicity and that of the UAW international leadership in the firing of the local union leaders. The international board itself emboldened the company and put the finger on the fired men by bureaucratically expelling them from office for supporting the strike. The corporation was only taking the tip from Thomas, Reuther, Addes, Frankenstein and Company.

Representatives of local affiliates of the CIO steel, auto

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and radio and machine workers' unions held a conference in New York City last week to launch a campaign for the revision of the Little Steel formula. They heard the usual run of big-shot national officials explain that the Little Steel formula is not good for the workers and something ought to be done about it.

No proposals were made for militant union action, revocation of the no-strike pledge and withdrawal of labor support from the pro-corporation WLB. The conference advocated only the usual milk-and-water policy of sending resolutions to all interested government parties, including Roosevelt, and circulating petitions among the workers to "show that the workers are behind the plea to revise the Little Steel formula." As though Roosevelt doesn't know the workers are dead-set against the wage-freeze!

All this business is sheer subterfuge. It is an attempt to give the impression that the CIO leadership is making a "fight" for wage increases. If Philip Murray and his lieutenants wanted to organize a genuine struggle, they would launch a call for a national conference of the entire labor movement to formulate and execute a program of action to smash the government's freeze. But such a struggle is farthest from Murray's thoughts.

Now we have a junket to Europe planned for high-ranking officials of the CIO and AFL, who are going to tour England and France as the guests of the Army. Included among the tourists are Sherman Dalrymple, President of the CIO Rubber Workers, R. J. Thomas, President of the CIO Automobile Workers, and David McDonald, Secretary-Treasurer of the CIO Steel Workers.

These labor skates are aping the antics of their predecessors during World War I. Their purpose is to provide a labor cover for the predatory aims of Allied imperialism and to help once again ensnare the European workers, beginning to rise against capitalism, in the trap of reformism and capitalist "democratic" illusions.

The CIO officials are leaving the resentment of the industrial workers at their service policies is taking on wider scope. They hope to return with sufficient added prestige and a load of patriotic ammunition gleaned from a safe proximity to the battle-fields to beat down the rising wrath of their memberships, which will be expressed, notably at the forthcoming UAW and URW conventions in September.

Last week the NLRB once more brought Ernest T. Weir's Weirton Steel Company into federal court for violating previous NLRB and court orders to cease and desist from its campaign of violence and terrorism against CIO union men.

In May 1943, a federal court upheld a similar order of the NLRB, covering anti-union terrorism going back to the Little Steel strike of 1937. But all this legal flim-flam hasn't protected the rights of the workers. The company has been getting away with murder for years, laughing at government orders. The Roosevelt administration has taken no effective action. Another favorable court decision will mean nothing. The Weirton workers will be organized and win collective bargaining rights only when they settle the issue through their own militant mass action.

Roosevelt's Lieutenants Help Engineer Adoption Of George 'Post-War Starvation' Bill By Senate

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collaborators. It is impossible that he could have remained ignorant of their plan to jettison the Kilgore bill in favor of the George measure. Roosevelt has never hesitated in speaking out on matters which he favors—such as the forced labor bill.

Furthermore, when the supporters of the Kilgore bill discovered that the Senate was being lined up against the measure, they appealed frantically for some word from the White House in a last minute effort to stave off defeat. No word of encouragement or support was forthcoming—a circumstance which could only be interpreted as administration support for the "reactionary coalition" supporting the George bill. Of the 55 who voted for the "states rights" measure, 27 were Democrats—and not all were "Southern Democrats" by a long shot.

The pattern of the government's "Post-War Policy and Planning" is gradually taking form. It is a breadline and soup kitchen plan for the workers and a gigantic relief and plunder plan for the corporations. In the Senate debate on unemployment compensation the American workers who have performed miracles of production were stigmatized as "loafers."

STARVATION INCENTIVE

The Kilgore bill was opposed because, it was contended, it would encourage these "loafers" to remain in idleness while enjoying the benefits provided by the measure. The thing to do was to hit them in the belly with a "states rights" starvation scheme which would provide them with a proper incentive to go to work. But both measures were based on the assumption that in the "reconversion" period there would

be wide-spread unemployment and not enough jobs to go around. It is obvious that the real intent of Big Business and its government is to utilize the capitalist "incentive" of starvation to drive down wage rates and depress the standard of living of the American masses.

The more liberal benefits of the Kilgore bill would have provided some measure of protection against wage-cuts by enabling the workers to hold out a little longer and so was considered "dangerous" to the interests of Big Business. The same interests whose profits are guaranteed by law during the so-called "reconversion" period are the most ruthless in combating any measure offering any degree of protection for the workers. The Senate has already approved legislation granting tax refunds to corporations that could amount to as much as \$28,000,000,000 in the "post-war" period, to be used, says Kilgore, "to insure profits for these corporations at the handsome levels of the base period."

Through the tax refund measures, Kilgore points out, "the U. S. Government has in effect provided a half-billion interim placement benefit for General Motors not only in case it is involuntarily unemployed, but even if it wants to go fishing." Similar benefits have been provided for U. S. Steel, Alcoa, Chrysler, Standard Oil, DuPont and other corporate giants. There is plenty of cash for the dollar patriots with lush profits guaranteed to ease them over the "reconversion" period. But for the workers who create this wealth the political parasites in Washington reserve such epithets as "loafers" for whom a \$2 a week relief plan is "good enough."

The proponents of the George bill say that the "states rights"

starvation measure is based on the Baruch Plan. The Baruch Plan, endorsed by Roosevelt and administered by Wall Street stockjobbers, is supported by both the Democratic and Republican parties. It is the master plan of Big Business for the preservation of the profits, privileges and power of the monopolies, and hunger, insecurity and want for the working masses. It is a plan to create a huge army of jobless, hungry workers, to drive down wages and smash the unions. This is the reality that is emerging in the legislative form of the capitalist government's "Post-War Policy and Planning."

Mid-West Drivers Strike to Enforce WLB's Wage Order

Officials of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, AFL, last Friday ordered the return to work of 50,000 striking over-the-road truckdrivers in 10 mid-west states, when President Roosevelt, at the behest of WLB Chairman Davis, ordered government seizure of 103 trucking companies in order to break the strike.

The walkout was provoked by the Midwest Operators Association which since February 7 has defied a War Labor Board order granting a 7 cents an-hour increase to the drivers. Despite the enormous increase in haulage and profits, 70 per cent derived from transportation of war materials, 103 of the 112 members of the operators' association claimed they could not "afford" to pay the increase, which was only up to the limitation of the Little Steel formula.

MILITANT TRADITION

Center of the strike movement was in Minneapolis and St. Paul, Minnesota, and Omaha, Nebraska, where the militant traditions implanted by the Trotskyist leadership of old Minneapolis Local 544 still flourish despite the efforts of Daniel J. Tobin, Teamsters Czar, and the Roosevelt Administration to stamp out a fighting drivers' movement by framing and imprisoning 18 Socialist Workers Party and Local 544-CIO leaders.

There is no doubt the operators have been emboldened to refuse compliance with the WLB and Economic Stabilization Administration orders because they believed the framework of the militant leadership by Tobin and the government had successfully eliminated any possibility of strike action.

As in the Montgomery Ward case, the WLB and Roosevelt took no action to enforce the orders against the recalcitrant bosses until the workers went on strike for a week and threatened a total stoppage of truck transport throughout the mid-west.

BOSSSES' PROFITS SECURED

The operators now pledge "full cooperation" with the government, because they are guaranteed full compensation and profits under the seizure order. The government will pay the current wage increase while it is in possession of the lines, but the truckdrivers will not receive, under government control, the amount of the wage-increase retroactive to last November as the WLB order directed. The chairman of the operators' association has declared that the government "is going to have possession of these lines for a long time" unless the wage-increase order is rescinded.

Tom DeLorenzo Gets Jail Sentence On Flimsy Charges

Thomas DeLorenzo, president of the militant Brewster Aeronautical Local 365, CIO United Automobile Workers, last week was sentenced to 30 days' imprisonment and a \$500 fine for allegedly falsifying statements on a Civil Service application blank he signed as a formality in connection with his appointment as a temporary labor representative on the regional War Labor Board.

His prosecution was in reprisal for the militant policies pursued

Behind the Strike In Philadelphia

More light has been shed on the connections between the Philadelphia Transportation Company and the company union leaders who recently provoked an anti-Negro walk-out of city transit employees aimed at splitting the workers' ranks and undermining the CIO Transport Workers Union which had won collective bargaining rights.

Philip Pendleton, of the big-shot corporate law firm, Montgomery, McCracken, Walker and Rhoads, has "volunteered" to act as defense counsel for the four company union agents who were arrested as leaders of the union-busting, Jim Crow action.

Pendleton stated he is acting in the interests of "civil liberties." It is mere coincidence, it seems, that his firm represented the consolidating companies at the time the PTC was reorganized and that one of Pendleton's close associates is Frederick Ballard, present chief counsel for the PTC.

by his local and the defense of those policies he made before the House Naval Affairs Committee last fall. In an attempt to strike at the local through its president, vindictive anti-labor Congressmen and Naval officials dug through the records until they found the flimsy charge with which to persecute him.

SEIZE A TECHNICALITY

It was claimed that DeLorenzo had failed to note on the application blank the fact that he had been arrested several times, at least once for his labor activities, although all charges against him had been dismissed. Government officials seized on this technicality to have him tried on a charge which carried a maximum penalty of 10 years in prison and \$10,000 fine.

Federal Judge John McDuffie noted in passing sentence "that there may be a substantial question of law involved," thus indicating his reasons for the relatively light sentence. It had been pointed out by defense counsel and UAW-CIO officials that even though DeLorenzo signed a Civil Service application, in reality he was not a government employee but an appointee of his international union to represent it on the WLB.

This persecution has evoked wide-spread labor protest. It has been correctly termed an attempt to intimidate the labor movement through a prosecution motivated by union-busting intent. It will help to establish a precedent for attacks on organized labor by cooked-up prosecution of other union leaders.

Ford Local Unit Backs Fight To Free The 18

New labor support for the 18 Socialist Workers Party and Minneapolis Truckdrivers Local 544-CIO leaders imprisoned under the infamous Smith "Gag" Act was announced this week by the Civil Rights Defense Committee. The CRDC recently presented the formal pardon applications of the Minneapolis Labor Case victims to the Presidential Pardon Authority in Washington, together with resolutions of over 300 labor and progressive organizations, representing more than 2,000,000 members, demanding immediate freedom for the 18.

A resolution on behalf of the 18 and a financial contribution to their defense campaign has been voted by the Ford Aircraft Building Unit of Local 600, CIO United Automobile and Aircraft Workers, Dearborn, Michigan. This is the largest unit of Local 600, which is the biggest union local in the United States.

MORE LABOR SUPPORT

Other resolutions and contributions have been received from the following trade union and progressive bodies: Local 4, Amalgamated Clothing Workers, CIO, New York City; Local 2715, CIO

United Steel Workers, Reading, Pa.; Farmers Educational and Cooperative Union of America, Great Falls, Mont.; AFL Local 598, Chicago Shochtim Union; and Workmen's Benefit Fund Local 61, Trenton, N. J.; 103, Brooklyn, N. Y.; 180, New York City; 202, Los Angeles, Cal.; 276, Brooklyn, N. Y.; 129, Easthampton, Mass. To date, 32 branches of the Workmen's Benefit Fund, one of the two largest labor fraternal orders in the country, have responded to the CRDC appeal.

Last week the American Civil Liberties Union issued a memorandum in support of the unconditional pardon appeal for the 18, declaring that the ACLU "from the beginning has condemned the Act, the prosecutions and the convictions. It has given aid to the defense to the best of its abilities. It believes the Smith Act to be unconstitutional and the indictments unwarranted." The memorandum further urges Roosevelt to grant unconditional pardon "in the interests of a broad concept of civil liberties in general and of freedom of speech, thought and press in particular."

DETROIT CHEVROLET STRIKERS FIGHT COMPANY PROVOCATIONS

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ly bureaucratic fashion. Local 235 officers were summoned before a Board meeting and ordered to terminate the strike. When the local officers pointed out their inability to do so until some effective action on grievances was taken, the Board arbitrarily removed 10 local officials and appointed Melvin Bishop, the Regional Director, administrator over the local.

The aroused workers blocked the initial attempt to take over the local hall and properties, refusing admittance to Bishop's assistant. Their anger reached a further high pitch the following evening when the International Board called a meeting to start a back-to-work movement. Several international representatives were booted down, a vote to continue the strike was passed and the local officers were given a vote of confidence and instructed to continue functioning.

The top officials then called another meeting, on August 6. Mindful of the previous Chrysler Local 490 situation when the local officers ousted by the International Board were re-elected by a decisive margin, Bishop sought to regain favor by reappointing the local officers as his assistants. In doing so, he had one eye on mending his fences for the coming UAW-CIO convention. A vote to end the strike was finally passed, however, on the basis of the regional WLB directive which, in ordering a return to work, also indicated that discharged workers would be taken back.

REUTHER PLAYS MILITANT

Walter Reuther, the union's GM director and a vice-president, aided Bishop at the meeting. Reuther played militant, admitted the justice of the strikers' grievances, offered the "consolation" that the workers everywhere were confronted by the same situation and asserted, "collective bargaining in too many plants has become collective begging."

Nevertheless, Reuther and Bishop contended the "no-strike pledge" was binding and grievances must be settled through the WLB, which would not act while the strike was on. They finally gave their personal assurances that the discharged workers would be returned to their jobs, there would be no discrimination against any striker and the International Board itself would make every effort to win a favorable settlement of the dispute.

The company was not interested in this double-talk. It took its cue from the Board's action in ousting the local officials. When the workers returned to their jobs, management promptly fired seven as alleged strike instigators. These included the local's president and the chairman and two members of the shop bargaining committee.

VOTE STRIKE AGAIN

This new provocation was answered by an emergency meeting the same night which voted another strike. Reuther and Bishop once more leaped in, charged the company with deliberate violation of the WLB directive, but at the

same time announced they would once more insist on the fulfillment of the "no-strike pledge."

It is the International Board's servile policies and bureaucratic expulsions of local militants which has invited company provocations. But the top officials had to make some show of defending the workers' interests or become completely discredited. Reuther first pleaded before the regional WLB, challenging its new directive ordering a return to work without provisions for the discharged workers. When this plea was rejected, Reuther went to Washington to plead before the National WLB. Here too, he obtained the expected results. The strikers were summarily ordered back to work; the only "concession" was a directive to the GM umpire to rule on the discharge cases within five days.

CHEAP ASSURANCES

With this "success," Reuther returned to put more pressure on the local, which, after a further stormy session last night, finally agreed to suspend the strike. It is noteworthy that Reuther and other officials introduced a line at the meeting which has become increasingly popular with the bureaucracy. Things are tough now, "after the war" then the International would "really" settle accounts with the union-busting corporations. But the workers did not respond well to these cheap assurances for the future.

Not only have these strikes further exposed the pro-corporation role of the WLB, but the workers have seen how the whole capitalist government machinery operates against them. They were threatened with reduction of gasoline rations, loss of "employment privileges" under WMC regulations, cancellation of draft deferments, disqualification for unemployment compensation.

Fearful that the union leadership will no longer be able to uphold the prestige and authority of the WLB, AFL and CIO members of the board issued a joint public complaint that the WLB's decision in this case "will to a major extent destroy their (the workers') hopes for a peaceful and just settlement of labor disputes."

SEEK MILITANT ACTION

These hopes are already considerably dissipated. The gear and axle strike is symptomatic of the swelling discontent and desire for militant action on the part of the auto workers everywhere. This is shown by the growing number of strikes since the Local 235 walkouts, including stoppages at Kelsey Hayes, Gear Grinding, Star Tool, Dodge and Briggs. And officers of Local 735, GM's Detroit Transmission Division, have announced plans for a sympathetic strike vote on August 14 if the discharged gear and axle men are not restored to their jobs.

The Militant

may now be purchased at 242 Broadway, San Diego, Cal.

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Literature activity is being greatly expanded in the Reading Branch according to a report from our agent there:

"Will you please send us 25 introductory sub cards and bill us for this. We are planning to canvass a housing project where we have been distributing the paper."

"There is an excellent reaction to 'The Militant' here from those people who have taken subs. They are particularly interested in the case of the '18' and watch the news of the developments in the case with interest. One worker, after reading Cannon's testimony, said, 'Do you mean to say that one man kept all this in his head?'"

"We are going to inaugurate a regular distribution of The Militant as one of the steel plants here where we have some contacts and subscriptions already."

Being alert and realizing the importance of counteracting the Jim Crow propaganda of the Philadelphia Transportation Company, our Philadelphia agent immediately sent the following request:

"In the forthcoming issue of The Militant there should be a story on the Philadelphia transit strike. We want to increase our bundle for that issue by 500 copies."

In every mail delivery we receive more 25c introductory subscriptions to The Militant. This continuous flow of 3-month subs is assured by the fact that the branches know this is the best method of introducing the paper to worker contacts. We

quote from some of the letters received this week:
Minneapolis: "I am enclosing one more sub . . . One of the comrades asked me for twelve 25c sub cards yesterday. I expect these will be turned in, filled out, very soon."
Seattle: "Enclosed are seven 25c subs. If you still have special 25c sub blanks, please send some as we are out of them."

Buffalo: "Enclosed you will find two subscriptions to The Militant. Please send us immediately 25c three-month sub cards."

San Francisco has obtained good results from their work with new subscribers:

"We keep a file of all the new subs and send the subscribers notices of our forums, which we run once a month. And invariably one or more respond and attend the forum. Two fairly good Negro contacts have been made, both unionists, who buy literature every time, and one brought several new subs with him and promised to contact more Negroes. The two-month period of so-called rent given us will be utilized to visit those who appear to be seriously interested in us."

The following letters comment generally upon the high level being maintained by The Militant, both technically and theoretically:
Washington, D. C.: "Whoever wrote that Page 1 box, July 29 issue, ought to get at least a dozen vigorous slaps on the back. There should be more of them throughout the paper. And sometime start thinking about reducing it to tabloid size. You certainly should know that the people who read and subscribe to 'The Militant' want to keep it and file it. Congratulations on the intelligent effort and good handwriting that goes into the paper."

Farrell Dobbs: "Good news! The Militant and F.I. have arrived. What a treat to see the entire paper and magazine! I have already read every word in both of them, examined the cartoons, footnotes and even the ads. The makeup of the paper is excellent. The cartoons and pictures lend much life to every page. It is equally gratifying to find the paper so free from typographical errors . . . I was impressed by the paper's progress in striving to reflect the life of the workers—for example, Kovalevsky's true-to-life description of dry sandwiches. 'Shop Talks' has aroused enthusiastic comment among all the Minneapolis comrades. This well-written column is an excellent tool for the comrades in the mass movement. I favor putting these columns together in a pamphlet when enough have been written to fill the necessary minimum pages."

NEW YORK

MEMORIAL MEETING

In Commemoration of the 4th Anniversary of the Death of

LEON TROTSKY

SUNDAY, AUGUST 20 - 8 P. M.

Main Speaker: GEORGE COLLINS

CORNISH ARMS HOTEL

23rd Street and 8th Avenue

Admission 25c (Main Ballroom)

Auspices: Socialist Workers Party, Local N. Y.



The Life Of A Revolutionist

The brief biography of Leon Trotsky which is reprinted below with our emphases inserted, appeared in a note to the first edition of Lenin's Collected Works, Volume XIV, part 2, page 481. Lenin was then still alive.

"L. D. Trotsky (N. Trotsky): born in 1879, active in the Workers' Circles in the city of Nikolayev; in 1898 exiled to Siberia, soon after escaped abroad and participated in the Iskra. Delegate from the Siberian League at the Second Congress of the (Russian) Party. After the split in the Party, adhered to the Mensheviks.

"Even prior to the revolution in 1905, he advanced his own and today particularly noteworthy theory of the permanent revolution, in which he asserted that the bourgeois revolution of 1905 must pass directly into the socialist revolution, being the first of the national revolutions; he defended his theory in the newspaper Nachalo, the central organ of the Menshevik faction, published during November-December, 1905, in Petersburg.

"After the arrest of Khrustalev-Nossar, he was elected Chairman of the First Petersburg Soviet of Workers' Deputies. Arrested together with the Executive Committee on December 3, 1905, he was sent into life exile to Obdorsk, but escaped en route and emigrated abroad. Trotsky chose Vienna to live in, and there he issued a popular labor newspaper, Pravda, to be circulated in Russia; he broke with the Mensheviks and attempted to form a group outside of all factions; however, during the factional struggle abroad he made a bloc with the Mensheviks and the Vperedovists against the bloc between Lenin and Plekhanov who fought against the liquidators.

"From the very beginning of the imperialist war he took a brilliant internationalist position, participated in the publication of Nashe Slovo and adhered to

Monument in Coyoacan, Mexico



Zimmerwald. Deported from France he went to the United States. On his return from there after the February revolution, he was arrested by the English and set free only on the demand of the Provisional Government, which was forced to intervene under the pressure of the Petersburg Soviet.

"In Petersburg he entered the organization of the Mezhrayontsi, together with whom he joined the Bolshevik Party at the Sixth Party Congress, in July, 1917, in Petersburg. After the July days, he was arrested by the Government of Kerensky and indicted for "leading the insurrection" but was shortly freed under the pressure of the Petersburg proletariat. After the Petersburg Soviet went over to the Bolsheviks, he was elected Chairman and in this capacity he organized and led the insurrection of October 25.

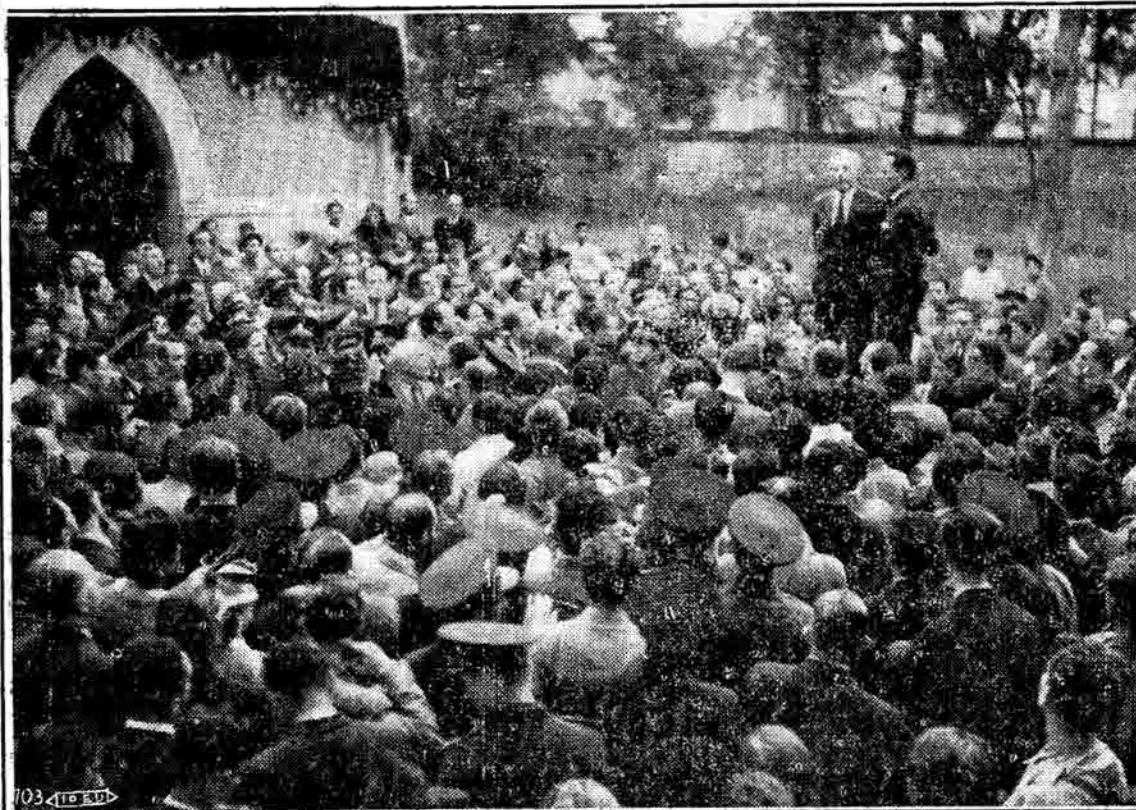
"Standing member of the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union since 1917; member of the Council of People's Commissars, first holding the post of People's Commissar of Foreign Affairs, then People's Commissar of War."

As Commissar of War, his post until 1925, Trotsky led the Red Army to victory in the Civil War of 1918-22. He formed the Left Opposition of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in 1923, exposed the treachery of Stalin's opportunist zig-zags in the Chinese Revolution and fought Stalin's reactionary "theory of socialism in one country." Expelled from the party in 1927, Trotsky wrote the brilliant "Criticism of the Draft Program of the Comintern" to be read at the Sixth Congress of the Comintern in 1928. The document was suppressed and Trotsky exiled to Alma Ata.

Under the leadership of Trotsky, the Left Opposition in the Soviet Union fought for and succeeded in establishing the program of industrialization and the Five Year Plan which developed Soviet industry.

Trotsky was deported from Alma Ata to Turkey in 1929, from Turkey to France in 1933, to Norway in 1935, and finally to Mexico in 1936. In 1938, he founded the Fourth International, World Party of the Socialist Revolution, which today continues the struggle for the ideas of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky.

Mass Gathering at Trotsky's Funeral



Great throngs paid their respects to Leon Trotsky, at the funeral in Mexico City. Above is shown part of the crowd, listening to Albert Gold man, Trotsky's attorney, as he delivered the funeral oration. With him is Adolfo Zamora, editor of the Marxist review "Clave."

HOW STALIN'S AGENTS STRUCK DOWN TROTSKY, GREAT BOLSHEVIK LEADER

On the evening of August 20, 1940, in Coyoacan, Mexico, an agent of Stalin's GPU fatally struck down Leon Trotsky with a pick-axe blow to the brain. As he lay dying, the great Bolshevik leader branded for all time the perpetrator of this monstrous crime against the world working class: "I will not survive this attack. Stalin has finally accomplished the task he attempted unsuccessfully before."

The hireling who committed the murder went under the various names of Jacques Monard and Frank Jacson. He had struck up an acquaintance in France with a young woman follower of the Trotskyist movement. Through her, he had been introduced to Trotsky, and on one pretext or another, sought access to him in Mexico.

MURDER FROM BEHIND

Pretending to seek advice on an article he had written, Monard or Jacson succeeded in obtaining an audience alone with Trotsky in his study. While the Bolshevik leader's back was turned, the assassin took a pick-axe which he had under his raincoat and plunged it into his victim's brain. Despite a terrible wound, Trotsky managed to grapple with his assailant and cry for help.

Two guards rushed in and overpowered Jacson, who in his fear cried out: "They made me do it. Otherwise they would have killed my mother." "They" were the GPU, Stalin's police-murder apparatus. This was further confirmed by a prepared "confession" on the assassin's person, which clearly was fabricated by the Kremlin's police agents. The assassin was also armed with a revolver and dagger.

The complicity of Stalin was shown by previous assassination attempts. On May 24 of the same year, a gang of Stalinist gunmen broke into Trotsky's home at night, machine-gunned his bedroom and kidnapped his young American secretary-guard, Sheldon Harte, whose slain body was found a few days later. Subsequently, most of the murder gang were rounded up, and a number of them made full confessions.

KREMLIN AIDS KILLERS

The powerful arm of the Kremlin reached out to protect its agents. For four years, the leaders of the May 24 attack and Trotsky's assassin have escaped full retribution. Jackson had the aid of the finest Stalinist legal talent and inexhaustible funds to fight his conviction. Only a few months ago he was finally sentenced to 20 years imprisonment — maximum penalty under Mexican law for premeditated murder. On August 21, 1940, Trotsky

died. His last words were an expression of supreme confidence that the workers would reach their historic socialist goal, and an exhortation to his followers to continue the great work for which he lived and died. He said: "I am close to death from the blow of a political assassin... Please say to our friends I am sure of the victory of the Fourth International. Go forward!"

Of One Who Died

(L. D. T.)

Years pass: the features and the presence fade:
The humor and contempt — the forceful challenge of his ways —

No future generations are to know.

Then will be known a different sum

Than formed the person of his time.

More than his answers to the problems of today

Will shine his method of solution.

Deeper than his verdict on the actions of our foe

Will course his concept of the right.

Higher than his example there soars even now

His vision of the truth.

These things will be while yet his name
Invests the tongue. Still will they be —
And every youth bearing with conscious pride
The dignity he gave — unknowing whence the gift.
And when the world's new joy has burned
The years and actors of its sorrow,
Then will his ideas — born of these events —
Prompt the ascending effort of our kind.

— P. D.

They Fear Trotskyism!

To the capitalist class the name of Trotsky epitomizes the world movement of socialist revolution of which they stand in mortal fear. Capitalist statesmen, observing the signs of the approaching revolution above the carnage of their imperialist battlefields, unfailingly connect them with the name of the great founder of the Fourth International.

In the past five years the name of Trotsky has been on the lips of Winston Churchill, Henry A. Wallace, Sumner Welles and even Adolf Hitler. On August 25, 1939, just prior to the outbreak of the imperialist slaughter, the French ambassador to Berlin, Coulandre, was in conversation with Hitler.

Coulandre warns Hitler: "The real victor (in the event of war) will be Trotsky. Have you thought of that?"

"I know," responded Hitler, "but why did France and Britain give Poland complete freedom of action?"

Commenting on this instructive episode, Trotsky wrote: "The gentlemen like to give a personal name to the spectre of Revolution . . . Both of them, Coulandre and Hitler, represent the barbarism which advances over Europe. At the same time neither of them doubt that their barbarism will be conquered by socialist revolution. Such is now the awareness of the ruling classes of all the capitalist countries of the world."

SAN FRANCISCO TROTSKY MEMORIAL MEETING

Sunday, August 27 - 8 P. M.

Speakers: - Anne Alexander — James Dall

Chairman - R. Chester

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LEON TROTSKY

305 Grant Avenue - 4th Floor

AUSPICES - SAN FRANCISCO SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY

Trotsky's Struggle Against Stalinism

By Miriam Carter

Stalin's agent, Jackson, assassinated Leon Trotsky by sinking a pick-axe into his brain. The whole world knew that this was a desperate attempt by Stalin to kill the ideas of Trotskyism, for Trotskyism and Stalinism are deadly enemies. The world working-class was shocked by this dastardly murder, but many people thought that it was only the result of an internal Russian dispute, and far removed from their daily lives. "What if Joe here is a follower of Stalin", a worker might say, "What has that got to do with our fight for more pay here in Detroit, or Philadelphia or Los Angeles?"

It is true that the struggle against the opportunistic policies of Stalinism began inside the Russian Communist Party, but this struggle, as we shall see, was inextricably tied up with the fate of the world working-class. The struggle centered around Stalin's new theory of building "socialism in one country," dished up after the death of Lenin in 1924.

THE STALINIST AIM

Stalin and the bureaucracy he represented, which came into power at this time, had, and still have, one all-consuming desire — to be left alone by the outside world so that they can enjoy their power and the comfortable living it affords them at the expense of the Russian masses. They made the Communist Parties of the world their bargaining tool, and time and again used them as an agency to sell out the workers to the world capitalists. To them the selfish desire to maintain their own comforts transcended every other consideration.

Trotsky fought this reactionary policy tooth and nail. The Soviet Union cannot divorce itself from the world about it he pointed out. The Soviet Union, first of all, has to trade on the world market. It was a terribly backward country, and needed machinery and consumer goods that only the capitalist countries, with their advanced technology, could supply. Not only were they dependent on the capitalist countries, but these countries themselves looked upon the Soviet Union with covetous eyes.

The capitalist countries, in order to maintain their profits, are constantly looking for new sources of raw materials and new markets in which to sell their goods. The Soviet Union is a juicy plum for them—a vast country, covering one-sixth of the earth's surface, with a population of 160 millions and vast stores of rich natural resources. The huge potential profits lying there are forever tempting. But the October Revolution put a big sign around the boundaries of the Soviet Union—Keep Out! The resources of the Soviet Union are not open for capitalist exploitation. But this did not keep Hitler and will not keep Roosevelt and Churchill from trying. They must find new markets.

FEAR REVOLUTION

There is one more reason for the fundamental antipathy between the Soviet Union and the capitalist world. The Soviet Union is a constant reminder to the exploited workers of other countries that they too can throw out the capitalists and take destiny into their own hands. The capitalists live in mortal fear that the workers in their countries will some day follow the Russian example.

The Soviet Union could exist independently of world capitalist pressure only if it were on another planet. As long as it remains in this earthly sphere it must deal in some way with world capitalism. There are only two roads that it can follow. The first, advocated by the Trot-

of the Allies. In the United States and England they are ready to give up anything the bosses demand and are the first to stool-pigeon on any worker who wants to fight to defend his rights and living standard against the offensive of the bosses.

Stalinism has meant catastrophe for the workers of the world and for the Soviet Union. Despite all of Stalin's deals and zigzags he could not prevent the invasion of the Soviet Union by the Nazi imperialists, an invasion which has been fearfully costly to the Soviet Union in terms of manpower and destruction of hard-won technical gains.

TROTSKYISM LIVES

Throughout these bleak years the Trotskyists alone have kept alive the ideas and traditions of international revolutionary socialism. And today, as it becomes more clear that socialist revolution is on the order of the day, it becomes more and more clear that the days of Stalinism are numbered. Stalinism represents the past—the terrible nightmare of reaction of the last two decades. Trotskyism represents the future. The ideas of Trotsky, for which he was struck down by Stalin's assassin, will be echoed by millions of revolutionary-minded workers, who in their forward sweep will thrust aside not only the system of capitalist suppression, but also jackies and servants of the capitalists, chief among whom are the Stalinists.

IN LENIN'S DAY

The historic document we reprint below is an order of the day issued to the Red Army on June 13, 1921 in Moscow by Leon Trotsky, in his capacity as Soviet Commissar of War. This order of the day reflects the spirit of internationalism which imbued the Soviet Government and the Red Army in Lenin's lifetime. Today, the Kremlin tramples all this underfoot. In place of internationalism, Stalin has put the Czarist program of Pan-Slavism. The text of the order was first published in issue No. 128 of "Izvestia," Moscow, June 14, 1921.

* * *

Warriors of the Red Army!

For the third time the World Congress of the Communist International convenes in Moscow.

It is a great joy and honor for the workers, peasants and Red soldiers of Russia to greet within the walls of the Red capital the best representatives of the world working class.

Red warriors! For three and a half years you have defended the first Toilers' Republic in the world against the incessant attempts and attacks of the brigands and oppressors of all countries. On the Volga and the Obi, on the Northern Dvina and the Neva, on the Berezina and the Dnieper, on the Don and the Kuban, you have fought and died under the banner of the International. With your blood you have defended Soviet Russia, the fortress of the world proletariat. Together with this you have hurled back the attacks on the heart of Soviet Russia—Red Moscow. You have assured to the representatives of the working class of all countries the possibility of gathering together under your protection in order further to work out the ways and means of struggle against capitalist oppression—in the name of the brotherhood, freedom and happiness of all oppressed mankind.

On June 17, in the name of the entire Red Army, the garrison of Moscow will solemnly greet our dear guests, our brothers in struggle. Revolutionary warriors—Red Soldiers, Commanders, Commissars! Let us join in a fervent cheer for the Communist International!

L. Trotsky

Peoples Commissar of Army and Navy

Honor Guard at Trotsky's Bier



Mexican workers mounted guard at the bier of Leon Trotsky. The banner of the Mexican section of the Fourth International is shown in the background.

Civil War Is Spreading Throughout North Italy

(Continued from page 1)

parently prodded too much by partisans, sent two tanks to fire a few rounds down several long streets. Little damage resulted and the Germans withdrew. Partisans are everywhere in the city — riding bicycles with, tommy-guns slung over their shoulders and astride the tops of small Italian sedans.

That the workers are settling a thousand old scores with the fascist gangsters, however, brings no joy to the hearts of the Allied imperialists. They are planning to suppress the Florentine workers in the same manner as in Naples and Rome. The AMG has no intention of allowing the workers to remain armed and therefore a power for the liberation of Italy from her new imperialist overlords and for the establishment of a workers' republic. Nor do they desire to see the fascist gunmen and politicians receive summary justice, because it is precisely in this underworld that the Allies will find their most trusted agents for the subjugation of the Italian masses.

"Under prevailing conditions," writes the N. Y. Times reporter, "it is next to impossible to undertake the first obligations of civil administration. The Allied Military Government's task in this area (Florence) is described as the most difficult yet encountered in the Italian campaign."

DISARMING PARTISANS

From Gen. Sir Harold Alexander's headquarters comes the ruse by means of which the disarmament of the Florentine partisans will be attempted. It was stated

that "indiscriminate sniping" was "hampering the task of carrying food, water and medicine to the hard pressed Florentines." Hollow alibi! A modern army proves incapable of provisioning a city because of gunfire and fighting! Yet the same report states: "Strenuous efforts are being made to put an end to the shooting of both patriots and fascists, who have been fighting in the northern sections of the city for more than a week."

To force Italy to her knees, to stem the revolutionary tidal wave that is sweeping down the northern industrial centers, to compel the masses to accept yet another reactionary police-military dictatorship, the Allies are making cold-blooded use of the weapon of economic terror. They are trying to starve the Italian people into submission.

"WINNING THE WAR"

A n n e O'Hare McCormick writes to the N. Y. Times from Rome: "If in Rome you do as Romans and not as Americans do, your first occupation is search for food... nothing was to be bought anywhere but green pears, tomatoes, lemons and a few strings of onions... For the first time in Rome an American feels a little uncomfortable before the hungry eyes of the inhabitants... Roman housewives are asking why there is so little to eat under the 'American administration'... If first things are to be put first the report must begin with the question of food."

The Stalinists and Social-democrats, meantime, have entered into a "united front" agreement. An announcement on the subject says nothing about organizing

the masses for struggle in their own interests. All emphasis is placed on "winning the war" — in other words, harnessing the masses to the Allied war machine. The pact is simply a device to strengthen the hands of these traitors inside the "coalition" government.

Churchill knows that he holds the whip hand. His supplicants among the capitalist and reformist parties fear and hate the insurgent masses far more than humiliation before Allied imperialism. Plans are now being completed to throw out Bonomi and put in his place Vittorio Orlando, octogenarian author of the notorious Versailles Treaty and supporter of fascism for twenty years. Marshal Badoglio is slated to be the Foreign Minister in this new government. A United Press dispatch views the current refusal of social-democrats and Stalinists to enter the new "concentration" government as "political bargaining," after which it expects them to "get into line."

MASS ARE LEARNING

If these traitors are once again capitulating under the whip-lash of their imperialist masters, the Italian masses are drawing the balance sheet of one year of "Allied Liberation" and months of treachery and impotence by the "people's front" coalition.

The civil war now spreading through all northern Italy shows the powerful will to struggle which animates the workers. It is this struggle and not the intrigues of the capitalist politicians and their Stalinist and "socialist" flunkies, that will determine the future of the Italian people.

Workers Battle Fascists



Anti-fascists in Florence, with no illusions about the treatment Nazis would get under the protection of AMG, took matters into their own hands, attacking the Nazis in the streets, as Allied forces neared the city.

Canadian News Letter

Quebec Elections

On Aug. 8, election day in Quebec Province, the oppressed French masses of Canada, misled and confused by the bickering between the imperialist-finance and Catholic-fascist factions, voted in a government that will inevitably disillusion and exploit them. It is composed chiefly of three parties: the timid liberals (supported not only by many of the big trusts, but also by the Labor Progressives, a Stalinist pseudo-workers' party), and two closely connected, clearly fascist parties, known as the Union Nationale and the Bloc Populaire. Thus another bitter page has been turned in the history of the three-century struggle of the Habitants (French Canadians) against British domination.

Perhaps never since the popular rebellion of 1837 have the French Canadian people, both workers and farmers, been so united in their will to liberate themselves from the rule of the British capitalists and their henchmen in Ottawa. But the French, until recently predominantly agricultural, are still under the smothering influence of the Catholic church and church-run schools. Directed in Quebec by the notorious Cardinal Villeneuve, the church, trembling for fear of an early awakening of the French masses, has grabbed at an alliance with the pro-fascists under Laueudeau and Duplessis in the hopes that they will trample out all socialist advances within the province.

FIGHT FOR LIBERTY

The Habitant struggle for liberty began in that day in 1760, when, in a remote European city, defeated France handed over these people and their land to the British victors. Since that date, the history of Quebec Province can truly be said to be the history, not yet done, of the French Canadian fight to cast away its chains. It is a story which proves conclusively that it is beyond the power of a tyrannical ruling class to thwart forever the revolutionary will of workers and farmers united. It is the story of a people physically enslaved, first by a feudalistic system of land tenure, more recently by unscrupulous finance moguls who exploit their labor for starvation wages, and through it all, always mentally doped by the clergy of the Catholic church. Yet, despite the presence of English soldiers and the dire threats of a fiery hell from their clergy, these people have repeatedly risen in mass movements and have, many times, wrung concessions from the ruling classes.

In 1774, just four years after they had been traded, like cattle, by France, and while the English rulers were shaking before the American revolutionary successes, the Habitants made their first advances. They secured, in the form of the Quebec Act, recognition by the British of the national character of the French Canadians; but they continued to labor under the English practice of granting huge blocs of land to parasitic "seigneurs" who were thus able to live in luxury on the rents paid them by the poor tenant farmers.

Sixty-three years later, led by such courageous men as Mackenzie and Papineau, the revolutionary vigor of the Habitants again reached a peak and broke out in open rebellion against their British masters. This time, the English, better versed in the art of subjecting "colonials," since their defeat at the hands of the American revolutionaries, crushed the masses. However, fearing another

uprising, the English were driven to grant more concessions to the people, and as a result, local self government was to a great extent gained by Quebec.

REBEL LEADER HANGED

In 1885, the Toronto and Ottawa land grabbers who had by now taken over many of the plunder-prerogatives of London, hanged Louis Riel, the great French Canadian revolutionary hero who had led the farmers' North-West Rebellions in what is now Manitoba. The Quebec masses, correctly sensing that the fight of those western French settlers was also their fight, had stood solidly behind Riel. They did not succeed in saving Riel's life, but the rulers, frightened by the depth of feeling amongst the people, did carry out some much needed land reforms.

In 1914, the British imperialists embarked on the greatest of all wars to protect and increase the tribute they were, and still are, exacting from peoples all the way from China to Peru. They were chagrined to discover the peace-loving Habitant farmers resolutely refusing a part in the gigantic international slaughter. The Quebecers, still kept ignorant by the church, knew instinctively that the war would only bring more hardship and suffering upon them. But they were driven by the imperialist bankers into the holocaust.

Now, 1944, in the midst of this war, we find the Habitants still struggling against imperialist tyranny at home. The manner of oppression has, it is true, changed with the times. In 1774 it was exploitation of a peasant-farmer nation by means of tax levies from abroad, and maintenance of a privileged, landed class within the province. Today we find a predominantly proletarian people struggling against ruthless industrialists who exploit their labor and keep them at a starvation level of existence. Indeed, just prior to this war, the reactionary Quebec government tried to attract more big industries into the province by publicly advertising the St. Lawrence Valley as the biggest source of cheap labor on the continent!

BREACH WITH CHURCH

As soon as the French masses can be made to see the utter perfidy of the Catholic church in Quebec, there will be no power left strong enough to quench the new socialist revolutionary ardor which will arise. Already a breach has developed between the church and the French workers in the main industrial cities, like Montreal, Three Rivers and Sorel.

The workers of these and other regions have, despite the shrieking protests of the clergy, decisively repudiated the once-powerful Jesuit-controlled "trade union" known as the Catholic Syndicate. The replacement of this rotten organization by C.I.O. and A. F. of L. unions means far more than a possible amelioration of living conditions. More important, the workers have pitted their own judgment against the advice of the Catholic clergy, and have found themselves to have been right. This lesson has been indelibly stamped on the minds of tens of thousands of vigorous young Habitants.

For a Rising Scale of Wages to Meet Rising Living Costs

AFL Tops Support Reactionary Plan In Attack On PAC

(Continued from page 1)

liam Hutcheson (Carpenters) and Daniel J. Tobin (Teamsters), stand high in the respective councils of the Republican and Democratic parties. And so on down the line. Placing their bets on both horses in the race, rather than on the Elephant and Donkey, the "non-partisan" labor skates are sure to pick a winner! It's such a sure-fire system that Philip Pearl is amazed at the stupidity of Hillman's political Action Committee for having "abandoned" it. What will they do, he asks, if they are repudiated by the Democratic Party? "They have committed themselves so thoroughly to one side in this election," he says, "that they cannot seek revenge by turning elsewhere." Revenge politics, that is, punishing enemies and rewarding friends, is the political content of the "non-partisan" policy. By cutting themselves off from the Republican Party, Pearl argues, the CIO-PAC is so completely at the mercy of its Democratic "friends" that the political bosses can safely disregard their wishes, spurn, disavow or repudiate them without fear of "revenge."

LABOR SKATE'S HORIZON

Under the circumstances, says Pearl, no matter who wins the CIO loses. Thus in summarizing the position of the CIO-PAC he proclaims: "By abandoning labor's traditional non-partisan policy and by gambling their future on the outcome of the coming election, the Hillmanites have dug their own grave. They are bound to lose no matter which side wins." The horizon of this political tout is bounded by the two-party system. He cannot even conceive of labor playing an independent role. His only criticism of the "Hillmanites" is their noisy aggressiveness and their alleged abandonment of labor's "non-partisan" policy. A policy which limits labor's choice to the candidates and program of the two boss-controlled parties in a contest in which the exploiting class always wins and the working class always loses.

The differences between the bureaucrats of the AFL and CIO is one of degree, not of kind. Hillman, Murray and Company also proclaim their adherence to the two-party system and their opposition to an independent labor party. But because their base is the mass production workers of the CIO, the most dynamic section of the labor movement, they have had to alter their technique of betrayal. Paying lip service to the idea of labor's independent political action they practice the discredited Gompers policy of "rewarding friends and punishing enemies," a policy which has kept the American working class in political subjection to their exploiters.

"Taking up the cudgels for a return to labor's 'traditional non-partisan policy,' the weekly organ of the standard railway labor organizations, Labor, warns that the CIO-PAC tactics 'will strengthen the hands of organized labor's foes and increase the demand for more rigid regulation of labor unions.' This is the familiar cry of the fakirs who always preach that labor's resistance to exploitation and oppression will lead to reprisals. If the workers would only lie down and play dead the bosses would leave them in peace—the peace of a graveyard. 'No fair-minded American,' says Labor, 'can question the right of workers to organize for political purposes and to ardently support their friends and punish their enemies.' That is quite a concession, but anything more than that, warns Labor, will lead to 'the most serious repercussions.'"

The top officialdom of the AFL, CIO and Railroad Brotherhoods are united in their fear of labor's independent political action. This fear has already led to "serious repercussions" among the top leaders of the more conservative section of the trade union movement who warn the CIO officials to turn back to the "traditional" Gompers policy. But the CIO militants do not want to turn back and in increasing numbers are demanding that the movement go forward to a decisive break with the parties, program and candidates of the employing class and to the formation of labor's own independent labor party. Only along this road can labor "win" over its class enemies!

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SHOP TALKS ON SOCIALISM



By V. Grey

"Forty-six dollars and fifty cents," said the blast furnace man. "What kind of a check is that? And Eugene Grace gets ten thousand and smackers a week. Now there's a check for you!"

"Sure, but you just get paid for what you do. He gets paid for what he knows."

But how much does he know? A lot of workers have the impression the boss must know a hell of a lot to get all the gravy he does. Well he does know enough to hold onto his money. That's the reason they call Bethlehem Steel a holding corporation. All it does is hold onto shipyards and steel plants all over the country and hold the workers down to a minimum wage. The boss knows enough to hire thugs and scabs when there's a strike. He knows enough to wire the governor for national guard troops if you beat the thugs, and he knows enough to bribe the courts and buy up the newspapers. He's still got union fighters from 1919 on his blacklist that have never worked in steel since then. He's not so dumb when it comes to that. But just how smart is he—or any other steel magnate—when it comes to his own business, making steel? Does he know enough to be a blast furnace foreman? Or an open hearth melter? Does he know enough to engineer the construction of a blast furnace? Could he run the bar mill or the strip mill? Could he even describe the processing of a steel ingot?

IS THE BOSS REALLY SMART?

"But," someone could object, "These things are all specialized activities. No one man can do them all. The Boss's job is to supervise them. He's an organizer. He puts the right man in the right place and he's always on the lookout for better processes and better methods of production. He goes out and gets the business."

That's the picture of these captains of the steel industry that some people have. But even if he were that good, his salary is kind of high. The president of the United States is supposed to be pretty smart too, and do all the things for the whole nation the president of the steel company does for the plant, but he doesn't get a third of Eugene Grace's salary. We're going to have administrators and organizers for the plants when we workers take over, too. But we don't figure they'll need quite so much money to get along on as Eugene does.

But as a matter of fact neither Grace, Morgan, nor any of the rest of them is really so hot when it comes to organizing. They organize their own wealth OK. But that's not the same thing as making steel and making it right. Five years ago "U.S. Steel Magazine" had an article by some scientist working for U.S. Steel who said steel rails could now be made to last a hundred years. Neither the rails nor the scientist have been heard from since.

Everybody knows about the ships that crack in the middle because of defective plates. This happens because the steel doesn't have the right carbon content. When a "heat" of steel is being made in an open hearth furnace, it is sometimes hard to get the exact percentage of carbon required. If the time has come to "tap out" and there is too much carbon, more liquid iron has to be added and a lot more time is lost while the extra carbon is absorbed. So naturally, brittle steel that breaks like cast iron, is cheaper to make than good steel. Every furnaceman knows this and a melter can make a good product if he's not hurried. He's only a working man, but he's smart enough to make good steel. But who's going to let him do that if it means less profits for Grace? The trouble is that the big bosses are smarter at making money than they are at making steel.

THEIR BUSINESS IS MAKING PROFITS

Here's just how smart they are at steel making: They're so smart that in 1932 they could only operate three open hearth furnaces out of thirty in this plant. They're so smart that in the fabricating shop they use junior I-beams from Jones and Laughlin that have to be carried hundreds of miles, when the mills across the street could produce them by the thousand. "Why, they don't even know their own business!" you might say. But they do know it. Because their business is not steelmaking at all. It's profit making. If, in peacetime, they couldn't make profits, they wouldn't and couldn't make steel. If in war time the government will pay a high price for the steel in the capitalist murder-machine, why they will make plenty of steel, even if half of it is only cast iron in disguise.

We workers wouldn't need half a brain to run the business that well. Even Louie, the "stump jumper" could do as well as Grace. He might not be able to steal such a big profit and salary, but he couldn't do any worse job as far as mixing up depressions, steel and murder, are concerned.

However, it isn't because we're smarter than Eugene Grace or J. P. Morgan that we're going to run things so much better. It's because our system is different. Just like some of those old-timers were great hands at cutting a steel plate with a cold chisel and sledge hammer. Nowadays, a young squirt who works after school can learn to use an oxygen cutting torch in a few days and do twenty times as much as they could in the old way.

Our system differs from Grace's system in the same degree. The bosses' system is as out-of-date as the sledge hammer and cold chisel. It can't keep going. It can't produce enough (except in war). It's a terrible waste all around, when they let so many furnaces go down, as they did before the war—and as they'll do after the war. We workers will need steel for automobiles, for washing machines, for pleasure boats, bridges, elevated highways and super-highways. And since we need these things, we'll make them. The steel plants will be ours. So, of course, we'll make steel.

The first question Grace and Morgan ask before they make any steel is, "Who's going to buy it and has he got the money?" In a case like that it doesn't matter how smart they are, if nobody's got the money to buy, the bosses can't run the steel plants.

WHEN THE WORKERS TAKE OVER

We working people may not be such geniuses. We're just ordinary folks that know enough to come in out of the rain. And we figure we're smart enough to use the tools we have and not let them get rusty. But the big bosses are starting their layoffs already. They can't use all the tools they have. It's up to us to use them. We have about enough sense to figure that someone who can make good steel shouldn't be told to make peanut brittle, because we're the ones who'll be using the steel, and sailing the boats.

When we workers own the country, we don't figure it will take so much brainwork to have prosperity and jobs for everyone without killing off all the kids in a war. If we see ten thousand hungry people living in the shadow of a plant that has only three furnaces out of thirty going, why we'll ask those people to start the other furnaces. That's all. The whole world needs steel. Farmers need steel products, and will be glad to give the city workers food in return.

Anyway, one thing is sure. These puffed-up phonies don't get paid for what they know or for what they do. They get paid for what you know and what you do. And they don't collect their fat checks just because they're smart, but only because, and as long as, we're dumb enough to let them get away with it.

Mexican Government Policies Toward The Labor Movement

By A. Roland

Every capitalist government finds one base of support in the trade union bureaucracy. In return, these labor leaders are aided in various ways by the heads of government. Daniel De Leon coined the apt phrase "Labor Lieutenants of Capitalism" for those who were carrying out the policies of the ruling class inside the ranks of the working class. Mexico shows this tie-up in the clearest possible form.

Calles secured mass support by his appointment of Luis Morones to build the Mexican AF of L, the Regional Confederation of Mexican Workers, or CROM. Cardenas needed his own labor movement to help carry out his policies against the inevitable opposition both at home and abroad. Hence the reformer-president gave his support to Lombardo Toledano in the formation of a more leftist movement than the CROM, the Mexican Labor Confederation or CTM. This became the new official trade union movement.

The fierce reaction of American and British capitalist interests to the Cardenas program caused the Mexican government to cast about for some counterbalancing international support. Possibly it was this in mind that Cardenas sent Toledano to Moscow in 1936. But Stalin was himself seeking support among the capitalist "democracies" at that very time and the plight of Mexico hardly interested him. If Toledano failed to achieve anything of benefit to Cardenas, he nevertheless returned to Mexico with the Stalinist ideology. This came easy to the professor of law who himself had entered the labor movement bureaucratically, right from the top. The Stalinist version of the Russian Revolution superimposed in Mexican affairs through Toledano. And well did this figure serve two masters simultaneously: the Mexican bourgeoisie and the Kremlin dictator.

The Mexican government did not encourage the trade union movement without serious misgivings. It did not propose for one moment to see this movement emerge as an independent force free to pursue its own goals. Above all, Cardenas feared the unity of the two great progressive forces of Mexico, the workers and the peasants, who together could carry to completion a really revolutionary program. He retired behind the old capitalist formula: "The government is the mediator and arbiter of the social welfare" to prevent a growing tendency to unity of the oppressed.

Rather than have the peasants fall under the leadership of the workers' movement, Cardenas proposed to build up a separate, counterbalancing agrarian organization. He instructed Portes Gil in 1936 to strengthen the PNR among the peasants, but Gil secretly scuttled these plans. The CTM started a campaign to organize peasant unions and at once Cardenas stepped in with a warning. He said: "The farmers have their own organization in the League of Agrarian Communities. It is not fitting that the national labor groups should attempt to invade these organizations and force the farmers to organize themselves."

He then proceeded to give new life to a national peasants' organization, the Confederacion Nacional Campesina. And when Toledano created a strong labor militia to defend the gains made by the masses against counter-revolution, Cardenas encouraged

the formation of a rival peasant militia. This was even offered by the Mexican army. This was the method of checks and balances in Mexican politics applied by a small capitalist class. Cardenas again stepped in to prevent the CTM from organizing under its banner the civil employees. He permitted these employees to organize in 1938—but separately from the CTM. Here he said: "When the chief executive recognized the right of government employees to organize, it was recommended that they should not affiliate with any labor confederation until the total unification of Mexican labor is achieved." This could be interpreted as meaning opposition to Stalinist control of Mexican labor, but in reality it was based on something more than that.

The interesting point is that these "desires" of Cardenas were not violated by the working class organizations, showing how much they are under the dominance of the government. It was at the request of the President that the CTM called a "world congress against war" in 1938. At all such meetings of labor—as at later meetings of the Latin Confederation of Labor—the government has direct representatives present to listen to reports. Obviously the ruling class feels—and rightly—that a movement so tied cannot get out of hand.

Yet it had seemed for a brief space that the Mexican rulers were permitting the participation of the workers in control and administration of industry. The oil workers were permitted to administer the oil industry when this was nationalized. The railroad workers similarly ran the nationalized central railway. All the government did, however, was to permit the workers to get things in a bad muddle, offering neither adequate technical nor financial support. When this occurred Cardenas stepped in to teach the workers their place. Thus on March 1, 1940 the representatives of the Oil Workers Syndicate were called to the National Palace where terms were dictated for complete reorganization of the industry. There had been a 22 million peso deficit piled up by "incompetence" in the past year. The union was ordered to pay this back to the government. Cardenas also ordered the immediate dismissal of over two thousand political and union favorites added to the payroll since expropriation. Clearly the union bureaucracy had been permitted free rein purposely. Then the railroad workers were dispossessed from control.

Camacho is at present carrying to completion the policies started by Cardenas. The bourgeoisie, having squeezed out the foreigners with the aid of the Mexican masses, is now engaged in separating itself from those self-same masses to put them back where they belong—as the hewers of wood and drawers of water.

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The Negro Struggle

By Charles Jackson

Rehearsal for Ruin

A preview of the type of tactics that will be used by big business in its all-out attempt to discredit and crush the labor movement was seen in the recent Philadelphia race strike. Three weeks previous to the strike the C.I.O. won bargaining rights in the Transport Workers Union by a 55 per cent majority over a reactionary labor group and over the company union. The Philadelphia Transport Co., licking its wounds after the election defeat, apparently decided to kill four birds with the one stone of crystallized racism: to smash the C.I.O. union, to show that equality in working opportunities is "impractical," to further the use of the army in industrial strife, and to vindicate the use of the Smith-Connally anti-labor law.

Without a doubt, it indirectly inspired McMenamin and other leaders of the company union to project a well-planned program: playing upon the workers' unfortunate background of prejudice and on their perfectly natural desire for economic security. The zero hour was the date of upgrading of eight qualified Negroes to the status of motormen, ordered by the FEPC, which followed the victory of the C.I.O. whose stand is clear on the question of negro job rights.

A REACTIONARY STRIKE

Nevertheless, this small reactionary group of company stooges, through a well-planned and well-financed program of slander and hate, was able to keep enough workers off the job to effect a full-fledged strike. Contrary to strikes against the company which gain economic concessions and build solidarity, this strike was anti-labor because it carried the seeds of intra-working class division.

What are the consequences when the union fails to wipe out such bigotry? Many black workers may lose faith in the labor unions. They may return to the Negro chauvinists who tell us no whites are any good. Also, our drive for industrial equality receives a set-back because other employers will surely point to the "chaos" resulting from upgrading according to merit alone. Furthermore the liberals are pointing out that the Army intervention stopped the strike. From this fact they draw false conclusions. We warn again that the intervention of the army in labor disputes will operate to the advantage of the exploiting class and to the detriment of the workers, both black and white.

JIM CROW AGAIN

When the Army took over, one southern soldier, started separating the passengers Jim Crow fashion. This is in line with civilian

policy in the South and, of course, with military policy in all American Army camps, on transport ships and on every beachhead where fly the stars and stripes. Soon after the introduction of this repulsive color-quarantine 400 angry Negroes gathered to teach this soldier some democracy. Dr. J. P. Turner, civic leader, managed, however to disperse the crowd. When a southern soldier is spreading color-quarantine he must get "military respect." If the black masses try to reestablish a little democracy they are "rioting." At the height of the strike a colored worker rang the famous Liberty Bell and shouted "Oh Liberty Bell, where is your liberty?" The capitalist court sent him to a mental institution for asking such a question!

The spokesmen for big business and some short-sighted Negro writers are happy that there was a Smith-Connally anti-strike law under which these race baiters could be jailed. It is up to the trade unions however, and not the capitalist courts, to punish the enemies of the labor movement. Capitalist laws, courts, and judges exist to uphold the ruling class and to keep down the workers, including the racial minorities.

The Smith-Connally law was mothered by the most reactionary, Negro-and-labor-baiting politicians in Congress. It was designed to crush—not race prejudice—but the entire labor movement. It challenges labor's economic rights just as the Smith "Gag" Act challenges the freedom of speech. The clever money barons are attempting to vindicate this law on "liberal" grounds to justify its use for real anti-labor purpose.

DOWN WITH RACIALISM!

The labor movement must, for its own protection, destroy all bigotry and race hatred in its midst. To do this the unions must defend the interests of all workers against the employing class. The fight against race discrimination is part and parcel of the struggle for full employment, job security and a decent standard of living. When the unions fail to provide such protection the employers find fertile ground to sow the seed of internal dissension; to divide the workers over such questions as color, race and religion; to set the workers fighting one another in order to prevent them from uniting against the common enemy. Only a program of independent labor action designed to rally the working masses against their exploiters can frustrate the "divide and rule" design of the reactionary, capitalist ruling class.

Pioneer Paragraphs

CORRECT IDEAS, IN LONG RUN, WILL CONQUER, SAID TROTSKY

Trotsky himself believed that ideas are the greatest power in the world. Their authors may be killed, but ideas, once promulgated, live their own life. If they are correct ideas, they make their way through all obstacles. This was the central, dominating concept of Comrade Trotsky's philosophy. He explained it to us many times. He once wrote: "It is not the party that makes the program (the idea); it is the program that makes the party." In a personal letter to me, he once wrote: "We work with the most correct and powerful ideas in the world, with inadequate numerical forces and material means. But correct ideas, in the long run, always conquer and make available for themselves the necessary material means and forces."

Trotsky, a disciple of Marx, believed with Marx, that "an idea, when it permeates the mass, becomes a material force." Believing that, Comrade Trotsky never doubted that his work would live after him. Believing that, he could proclaim on his death bed his confidence in the future victory of the Fourth International which embodies his

ideas. Those who doubt it, do not know Trotsky.

Trotsky himself believed that his greatest significance, his greatest value, consisted not in his physical life, not in his epic deeds, which overshadow those of all heroic figures in history in their sweep and grandeur—but in what he would leave behind him after the assassins had done their work. He knew that his doom was sealed, and he worked against time in order to leave everything possible to us, and through us to mankind. Throughout the eleven years of his last exile he chained himself to his desk like a galley slave, and labored, as none of us knows how to labor; with such energy, such persistence and self-discipline, as only men of genius can labor. He worked against time, to pour out through his pen the whole rich content of his mighty brain and preserve it in permanent, written form for us, and for those who will come after us.

The whole Trotsky like the whole Marx, is preserved in his books, his articles and his letters. His voluminous correspondence, which contains some of his brightest thoughts and his most intimate personal feelings and sentiments, must now be collected and published. When that is done, when his letters are published alongside his books, his pamphlets, and his articles, we and all those who join us in the liberation struggle of humanity, will still have our Old Man to help us.

(From "To The Memory of the Old Man," by James P. Cannon. Pioneer Publishers, 1940, 16 pp., 5c. Order from Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Place, N. Y. 3, N. Y.)

BOSTON

TROTSKY MEMORIAL MEETING

SUNDAY, AUGUST 27

Speaker:

Sam Marcy

168 Broadway 8 P. M.

Imperialists Plan Division of World Petroleum Supply

(Continued from page 1)

nation of the terms of this accord shows that here, too, Wall Street's government has secured a notable advantage over its British rivals.

Article I, paragraph 4 of the agreement provides that "with respect to the acquisition of exploration and development rights in areas not now under concession, the principle of equal opportunity shall be respected by both governments." But since the United States and Britain are not in any sense "equals," the former possessing far greater power and wealth than the latter, the American oil concession sharks will always succeed in grabbing the richest prizes.

Paragraph 5 of the same Article provides that "the government of each country and the nationals thereof shall respect all valid concession contracts and lawfully acquired rights, and shall make no effort unilaterally to interfere directly or indirectly with such contracts or rights." This would protect the recent Saudi Arabia oil grab of Standard Oil's smart concession hunters and such other grabs as they may make in the future. The British oil magnates let out a howl of anguish when the secretly-concluded Saudi Arabian deal came to light a few months ago, but they have had to bow—as always—to the superior power on the other side of the Atlantic.

DIVIDING THE OIL

In essence, the new petroleum accord represents an attempt, as did the monetary conference at Bretton Woods, to regulate the activities of the pirates of British and American imperialism so that conflicts dangerous to the entire imperialist system may be avoided. To this end the governments have agreed to a division—thus far on paper—of the world's oil.

To quiet the inevitable suspicion that this division will arouse, there is included in the agreement (Article I, par. 1) a declaration "that, subject always to considerations of military security and to the provisions of such arrangements for the preservation of peace and prevention of aggression as may be in force, adequate supplies of petroleum shall be available in international trade to the nationals of all peaceable countries at fair prices and on a non-discriminatory basis."

But the imperialists in Washington and London, controlling the bulk of the world's oil, will naturally be the ones to decide which countries are "peaceable" and which are "aggressors." Oil supplies will be cut off from any country whose ruling class dares to challenge the domination of the two great Powers.

This is the real intent and meaning of the Petroleum Agreement—not according to the honeyed, hypocritical phrases about "international cooperation" inserted into it by the signatories, but according to the jungle laws of cut-throat rivalry which are a permanent feature of the system of capitalist imperialism.

Workers' BOOKSHELF

USSR—THE STORY OF SOVIET RUSSIA, by Walter Duranty. Lippincott, Philadelphia, 1944. 287 pp. \$3.

Walter Duranty is a well-known writer who served as *New York Times* correspondent in Russia from the October Revolution until a few years ago. Many people considered him to have been a mouthpiece for Stalin and the GPU. To create an impression of impartiality, Duranty would occasionally lift the curtain covering the real situation in the USSR and reveal a few previously unpublished facts.

He evidently felt that his real role was suspect. This is apparent, for example, in the choice of a title for one of his books, "I Write As I Please." Duranty must have heard only too often that he was writing as ordered.

In evaluating Stalin he employs the same old pretense of impartiality. Stalin, Duranty admits, made "mistakes," says, in hastening collectivization. He doesn't deny that Stalin secured his power by ruthlessly expelling thousands of tried Bolsheviks from the party, while he opened the door to anyone who supported him. Duranty quotes Lenin's appraisal of Stalin as "the highest type of mediocrity," and agrees that Stalin has not the mental force of Trotsky. He "deplores" the death of millions of peasants because of the chaos of collectivism and he "deplores" also the murder of thousands after the Moscow Trials.

But, to counter-balance these damaging statements, Duranty piles up a list of the remarkable achievements he credits to Stalin: the astonishing success of the Five Year Plan, the amazing Dnieperstroy dam, collectivism which brought "bread and happiness." Stalin, Duranty declares, through his consistent, unwavering work, served the progress of Russia and deserves to be considered one of the greatest men of today.

Trotsky, the champion of planning and industrialization, and one of the originators of the Dnieperstroy, finds no place in Duranty's history. That Stalin fought stubbornly against these plans, and scoffed at them when Trotsky first advanced them—only to accept them later and misapply them—is, of course, never mentioned. We find Trotsky is usually referred to in this history when some alleged statement puts him in an unfavorable light, such as a supposed death sentence imposed on a disobedient soldier (Duranty discusses this at length.) Trotsky as a leader of the October Revolution and the organizer of the Red Army does not exist for this "historian." But suddenly Duranty mentions the popularity of Trotsky among the Red Army soldiers, and states that there were towns called Lenin-Trotsky. Why this should have been so, is not apparent from anything Duranty says in his "history" of the USSR.

HISTORY A LA DURANTY

Duranty loves to dwell on his original and absurd explanation of why Stalin succeeded in taking power after Lenin's death. Trotsky's absence from the funeral of Lenin, according to this "historian," was responsible for his fall from power in Russia, and his absence Duranty attributes to Trotsky's selfishness. The fact that the date of the funeral was purposely shifted by Stalin in order to prevent Trotsky from appearing, is, needless to say, omitted.

As a Stalinist pen-prostitute, Duranty naturally never bothered to read Trotsky's works. He praises the "Lessons of October" as being well-written, but reveals in other comment that he is quite unacquainted with its contents. This book, he says, deals with the fight about "socialism in one country." The fact is that "Lessons of October" deals with the problems of the German revolution and the mistakes of the Old Bolshe-

viki, in particular of Stalin, Zinoviev and Kamenev, during the October days. This document appeared in 1924, while the fight over "socialism in one country" did not develop until later.

He fulsomely describes Trotsky's abilities: "He shone so bright in the sun, has done brave deeds." But all this is only cover for justifying Stalin's murder of Leon Trotsky. "He (Trotsky) spent his declining age in spiteful twilight, and has met a sordid, murky death. All this because he was cursed by the folly of selfishness and pride."

Duranty does not pillory Stalin for his proven guilt as Trotsky's murderer, but tries to discredit the victim of the Kremlin Borgia. The "spiteful twilight" Duranty refers to was the years when Trotsky performed his greatest work—creating the Fourth International to sweep the monstrous obstacle of Stalinism from the path of the oncoming revolution.

In his chapter on the Moscow Trials, Duranty reveals the main purpose of his book: to whitewash the Kremlin. No one could prove, says he, that any of the accused confessed under duress. Therefore, he concludes that the confessions were true and the trials were not frame-ups. Duranty accepts the verdict of the Moscow Trials, although he doesn't dare to repeat openly the faked charges against Trotsky. For he is aware of the findings of the Dewey Commission on the Moscow Trials which completely exonerated Trotsky on all charges and branded the trials as frame-ups.

In his "history" Duranty's line remains consistent. His history is as one-sided and distorted as were his previous news cables from Moscow.

Reviewed by

ANTOINETTE KONIKOW

MUTINIES, INTERNAL CLASHES GROWING WITHIN NAZI ARMY

(Continued from page 1)

revolts among German troops billeted in Slovakia and among Slovak troops who refused to be sent to Italy and Rumania to bolster the wavering German forces."

Nazi quarters themselves have revealed that Hitler is engaged in a tremendous blood-letting among the officers corps of the Wehrmacht, which has already resulted in the liquidation of between 3,000 and 4,000 officers and high civil officials. An August 12 report from Switzerland in the N. Y. Times tells that "the conflict between the Wehrmacht and the Nazi Elite Guard was becoming still more open and of more army officers being arrested and shot."

Violent armed clashes are

breaking out between the regular army troops and Hitler's Elite Guard and S. S. detachments, both in East Prussian and France, A. N. Y. Times report from Geneva, Switzerland, August 10, gives a detailed account of virtual civil war between Hitler's personal forces and the Wehrmacht, describing several instances in which retreating troops "shot it out" with S. S. and Elite Guards sent to forces them to stand their ground and to seize the officers who ordered retreat.

WOMEN CALLED UP

Hitler's desperation is revealed in still another "total war" decree, issued last week, through which all women up to 50 are liable to forced labor in the armaments industry, all workers in so-called "non-essential" and

"luxury" industries are to be transferred into the arms plants, and even the "indispensable" party members, hitherto exempt from military service, have been ordered into uniform.

In addition, Goebbels on August 11 broadcast the ominous warning that the Reich's losses of Soviet, Polish and French territories, upon which Germany has been dependant for large food supplies, now means a "serious food situation" and that additional "great sacrifices" must be demanded of the German people.

For the German masses, already pinched by years of hunger to feed the war machine, this must be a crowning blow. Such a pronouncement, on top of the new harsh decrees, can only feed the fires of mass resistance that are beginning to lick at the foundations of Nazi and capitalist-Junker rule in Germany.

20,000 Workers Strike at Wright Aircraft Plants

A four-day strike of 20,000 workers at five plants of the Wright Aeronautical Corporation in the Patterson, N. J., area was voted suspended Thursday evening of last week at a stormy meeting of CIO United Automobile Workers Local 669, after Richard Frankenstein, UAW vice president, pleaded with the strikers for two solid hours to return to work and accept an agreement negotiated earlier the same day between the company and union officials.

The strikers were finally swayed when Frankenstein, notorious for his strike-breaking actions, was compelled to promise that if the company did not adhere to "every iota" of the agreement, "I will come back and personally lead you in a strike."

Although company officials at first refused to negotiate, they finally agreed, in the face of the spreading strike and the militancy of the workers, that there would be no wage-cuts or lay-offs before August 27, all men would be returned to their former rates of pay without "prejudice, discipline or loss of

Diary Of A Steel Worker

By Theodore Kovalesky

Every day in the steel plant you see something or other that catches your imagination, and you think you'll remember it, but somehow or other it usually seems to slip away. Sometimes it's part of a conversation you hear, sometimes a particularly dangerous or unpleasant job, or sometimes it's just a picture, a silhouette of the stacks in the sunset, but it carries with it an idea. Most of these things, as I say, slip away from you, but some do remain.

For instance, there is in my mind a picture of an old furnace keeper. You see him going about his work bent over, as though the heat of many years on the job had warped his body like a piece of metal. His every move is well-learned and methodical. He does the job so well now, that it doesn't look very hard. But still, you know it is. I wonder how much longer he'll be able to last, and if he'll die while still on the payroll or just be thrown out into the streets when there is no more work left in his worn-out body.



Then there is another portrait, the kid who lost an arm in the mill. They gave him a fairly easy job (there are some fairly easy jobs in the steel plants), and they say that he doesn't need to worry about being laid off. I heard one fellow say, "I don't know, I think I'd trade an arm for job security." No arm, but—what the hell!—he's sure of his job . . . or at least he thinks he is.

And then I remember one day in the labor gang, when there were quite a few of us working monotonously near a railroad track. One man was going back and forth with a wheelbarrow. Each time he passed us, a middle-aged man at my side would howl some stupid insult at him in fun. Finally after one such banal jibe, he turned to me and said with an almost pathetic expression on his face, "You gotta say something!", and he went on yelling his foolish jokes trying to shorten the day by saying "something."

Labor United

But I guess the thing that touched me most was something that one of the colored fellows I work with said to me one day. I had gotten to work a little late, and when I arrived I found him doing some of my work. I thanked him and said, "Look, Jimmy, you didn't have to do that. You could have finished up your work and then taken it easy."

He smiled a little and said, "Well, I'll tell you. You're not like a lot of people. You believe everybody else is a human being like yourself."

I wanted to say that I had been trained to be that way, to understand, that there were lots of other workers who felt the same way, and there were hundreds of thousands of others who had never learned, who didn't know that we are all human beings, none of us inferior, none of us superior as a race, but who can and will learn that most of the boys pull together in a crisis like a strike, and that the day will come when all peoples, yellow, brown, black and white will live together in brotherhood . . . but how in hell can you talk when a lump suddenly jumps right into the middle of your throat? All you can do is grin and give the fellow a light punch on the arm and get busy doing something or other. And that's what I did.

10 Years Ago In The Militant

AUGUST 18, 1934

NEW YORK—By an overwhelming majority, delegates to the United

Textile Workers Convention in session in New York, voted for a general strike to begin on or about September 1. The call for a general strike, made over the heads of the bureaucratic top leadership, included major demands of the rank and file. Included were "a wage scale ranging from \$13 to \$30 . . . uniform on a national scale," the elimination of the "stretch-out, an inhuman speed-up under which workers are required to operate more looms per person than is physically possible," and recognition of their unions, with destruction of the company unions favored by provisions of the NRA (National Recovery Act).

In the South, where cotton textile workers slaved for six or seven dollars a week, 20,000 workers were already on strike in Alabama, 2,000 in Georgia. It was estimated that the general strike would affect 500,000 workers, all over the country.

MINNEAPOLIS—The "Committee of 100," including leaders and rank and file members of the striking General Drivers Local 574, defeated attempts of federal conciliators Haas and Dunnigan to foist off on the union a "compromise settlement." The "compromise" was worded to enable bosses to discriminate against militants who had been active on the picket line. Challenged by questions from the rank and file, Haas and Dunnigan were forced to admit that their proposal offered no guarantees to the workers.

PHILADELPHIA—Starving, jobless workers risked their lives for a bit of poisonous food, said a dispatch from Philadelphia, dated August 16. "A famished crowd of unemployed, 'squatters' on the city dumps, fought deputies armed with revolvers . . . to get to a truckload of canned prunes (which had been) condemned by the city authorities as tainted."

Warned that the prunes were poisoned, the hungry men yelled, "Who cares? It's something to eat!" Frenzied as they saw gasoline poured over the cans of "food" and set afire, they ignored the armed deputies, rushed to the blazing heap, and snatched the hot cans with sticks.

seniority," and that negotiations would start within three days for a new seniority agreement.

HALT WAGE CUTS

Chief grievance of the strikers was the action of the company in down-grading workers to lower-paid jobs and placing other men in their original jobs at reduced wages. According to the agreement, this policy is temporarily suspended pending negotiations of seniority provisions.

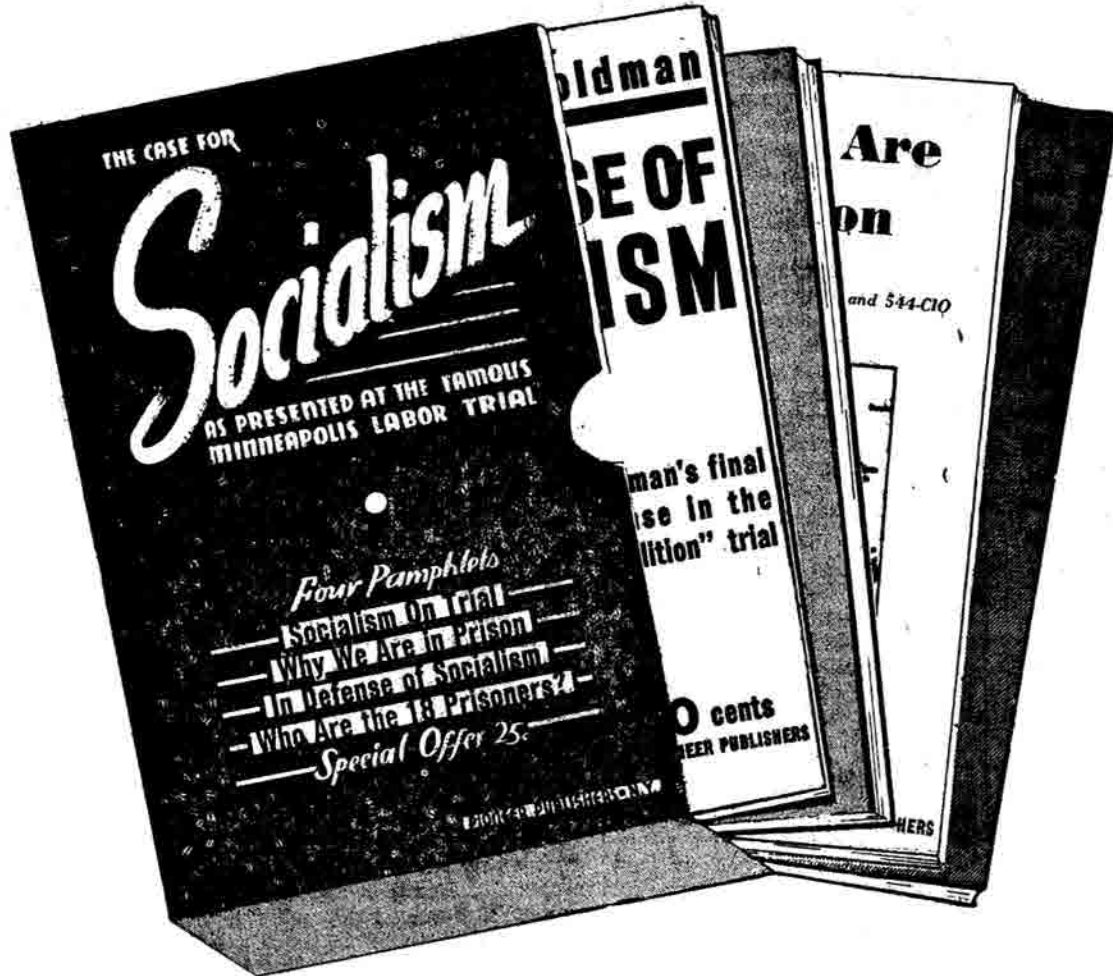
Frankenstein first attempted to end the strike with threats, declaring its continuation would mean "army against labor." Frankenstein, one of the most

ardent advocates of the "no-strike pledge," and a supporter of the War Labor Board, was forced to play militant by complaining that the WLB "never gives the employees a break."

Undoubtedly, Frankenstein made his promise merely out of desperation to end the strike, and in the belief that he will never have to make good. But the militancy of the Wright workers, and the union-busting record of the company, indicate he may shortly have an opportunity to demonstrate whether he will fulfill his promise to "lead a strike" or continue to live up to his established reputation as a four-flusher and strike-breaker.

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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.

Warsaw Betrayal

No sooner did the Red Army approach the outskirts of Warsaw, than the Warsaw proletariat rose up and, arms in hand, launched a full-scale battle to drive out the Nazi oppressors. The Warsaw proletariat, rich in socialist traditions and revolutionary training, has thereby served notice that five years of Nazi brutality have not tamed its fighting spirit nor destroyed its fighting powers.

Undoubtedly, the Warsaw proletariat expected that the Red Army would hasten its assault on the city, and thus through their joint efforts, from within and without, the Nazi tyrants would be driven out and destroyed.

But instead of launching more energetically the military onslaught and redoubling their efforts, the Red Army attack was brought to a sudden standstill, by order of Stalin's generals. Just as Badoglio had turned the Italian proletariat of the North over to the Nazi invaders a year ago, so Stalin determined to permit the Nazis to crush the uprising of the Warsaw proletariat in blood.

Stalin is thus pounding home the lesson (that advanced workers learned long ago) to the whole Warsaw proletariat: That his aims are counter-revolutionary, that he intends not to liberate the Polish people but to subjugate them again under the yoke of the capitalists, landlords, and Polish "colonels."

After first denying the very existence of the Warsaw revolt, *Tass*, the Stalinist news agency, now seeks to justify Stalin's latest betrayal by issuing a press release that the Polish government-in-exile in London is alone responsible for the cruel isolation of the embattled Warsaw proletariat. Of course, the government-in-exile, representative of the Polish capitalists, landlords and militarists, undoubtedly seeks to use the insurgent movement of the masses for its own reactionary ends. Of course, only treachery and reaction can be expected from that quarter. But Stalin cannot hide his crime against the Warsaw proletariat by retreating behind the skirts of the reactionary Polish capitalist-landlord clique in London.

The Warsaw proletariat must draw the lessons. They must organize completely apart from, and in opposition to, the Stalinists. They must mercilessly drive out of their ranks all Stalinist agents, as they would plague-carriers. They must depend

only upon themselves, their independent organizations and their independent revolutionary actions. Only in their own revolutionary actions lies the guarantee for protection of the Polish revolution from the Stalinist hangmen. Only through their independent revolutionary actions will they be able to organize fraternization with the Red Army soldiers and help the Soviet masses to settle accounts with the bloody Bonapartist dictatorship of Stalin.

Forging A Labor Party

The Michigan Commonwealth Federation was formally launched at its first constitutional convention in Lansing, Michigan on July 28-30. Despite a number of obstacles, the MCF met in convention, adopted a constitution, declaration of principles and platform and nominated a number of candidates for public office against the candidates of the two capitalist parties.

The first obstacle confronting the MCF was the vigorous opposition of the top CIO officials to any and all "third party" movements. Secondly, the timidity of the MCF leadership, which sought to compromise with the bureaucrats of the CIO Political Action Committee. Third, the lack of clarity which expressed itself in seeking to keep labor in a subordinate position in the new party. All of these factors found expression in the constitution, declaration of principles and platform adopted by the convention.

Underlying these manifestations, however, are the decisive factors which are pushing the workers along the road of independent political action. The probing for a solution to the political problems confronting the workers, the inevitable disillusionment with the Hillman-Murray political fraud, the pressing need to find a way out of the blind alley into which the official union leadership has led the labor movement, will hasten labor's development toward independent action.

The real impetus for the building of an independent labor party must come from the militants active in the union movement. These militants provided the active core of the Michigan Commonwealth Federation. They showed a firm grasp of the problem by directing the attention of the MCF to the powerful Michigan trade union movement, primarily to the most militant section, the UAW-CIO.

The main task of the MCF still remains to win the support of the rank and file unionists in the Michigan CIO and cut through the mumbo-jumbo of a "people's party" and "people's program," to build an independent labor party based on the trade unions.

'Philadelphia Method'

The anti-Negro strike of the Philadelphia transport workers stands condemned in the eyes of the progressive labor movement as a reactionary abuse of the strike weapon. However, the capitalist press has seized upon the incident to point the lesson that now "Uncle Sam" has established a precedent that must be used to smash all strikes whatever their origin, purpose or aim may be. They clamor for the application of the "Philadelphia Method" to all strikes. That is, to use federal troops to smash strikes, arrest strike leaders, induct strikers into the army, cancel-gate ratings of those ineligible for induction, blacklist strikers from jobs in all industry, etc. etc. After congratulating "Uncle Sam" for having established a "successful precedent" in Philadelphia, the pro-Roosevelt *Philadelphia Record* asks: "Why can't this method now be a model for the nation?"

Pro-New Dealer and anti-New Dealer, poll-tax Democrat and Wall Street Republican, sweat-shop operator and corporation executive, have joined in chousing the demand that the "Philadelphia Method" be applied universally, "without discrimination," to all strikers. They have seized upon an action whose origin, aim and purpose was reactionary to draw there from the conclusion that ALL strikes are evil and must be summarily crushed. The healthy revulsion of the progressive labor movement against such manifestations of race prejudice as the Philadelphia anti-Negro walkout, is perverted by the practitioners of exploitation and race hatred into a "model" to further their own end of smashing the labor movement.

For labor, the Philadelphia incident contains an important lesson. Race prejudice is a weapon of reaction. A strike which serves reactionary purposes is a blow against the entire labor movement. Labor condemns such actions, and rightly so. But we treat with the utmost contempt the nauseating hypocrisy of an exploiting class—which uses racial discrimination as a pillar to prop up its rule—and which now attempts to use the Philadelphia "precedent" as a strike-breaking pretext to smash the unions.

The strike is labor's most effective weapon for defending its existence against the predatory moneybags who rule the roost in Wall Street and Washington. A strike which pursues a progressive aim commands the sympathy and support of all class-conscious workers and serves to advance the interests of the working class. A strike which unites the workers against their exploiters is progressive. A strike which divides the workers and serves the interests of the exploiters is reactionary.

This is a vital distinction. It is only by welding the solidarity of all workers, regardless of race, color or creed, into a united front against their common enemy that the labor movement will survive, flourish and grow stronger. That is the lesson of Philadelphia for the labor movement.

WORKERS' FORUM

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

Capitalist Parties

Editor:

I agree in the main with your answer to J. M. in the Militant of Aug. 5 but do not think that it goes far enough. Nor can I agree that Big Business is opposed to Roosevelt.

It seems to me that Big Business is divided on support of Roosevelt in the same way that it was divided between interventionists and isolationists. As you properly point out in the article, it was a question of timing as to what to do next in the international sphere. The most conscious section of the capitalists supported and guided Roosevelt in his struggle against the isolationists.

Business is again divided — this time as to what to do next in the domestic front, i. e., how best to control labor. It is again a question of timing as to how best to throttle labor. Shall business strike out sharply against labor or shall it first sap its energies at a slower tempo and then lash out decisively?

Thus far Roosevelt has served business well. He has the support of labor despite his continuous whittling away of labor's rights and that is a tremendous asset to big business. As long as Roosevelt is not discredited, why need business change horses? But business is also looking ahead. It knows tumultuous upheavals are coming. It may again be necessary to make minor concessions and a person who has labor's confidence and often speaks in its name is in a better position to make fewer concessions than one who is reputedly anti-labor. Business not only does not fear Roosevelt but admires him as the essence of hypocrisy. Who else could have fooled labor for so long? There is plenty of time to call in a Dewey or a Stassen or some dilliant tool when Roosevelt has been completely discredited.

But if that is so why does big business denounce Roosevelt in the public press and business magazines? That has always been part of its strategy. Too bad labor has not learned that important lesson! Roosevelt could not possibly hamstring labor as he has, if he had the open intention of the tacit support of big business. Business is very conscious of its role at all times and how to behave in public. Business guides Roosevelt at all times and denounces him in public for the very things it advises Roosevelt to do. The concessions to the miners is a recent case in point. Big business did not want a bloody showdown and was quite satisfied with Roosevelt's action. But it had to denounce him in the press. It has

to offset labor's howls from the left. It accomplishes a twofold purpose, pressure from the right and helping Roosevelt to keep his labor support. Once a government lacks that support it must resort to force, and big business — its most conscious section — prefers to wait for a while.

The Republican party is the party of big business. That is correct. But that is all the more reason for not resorting to its rule since it is quite dangerous to rule in the open name of big business. That is exactly the reason that big business must resort to rule by the fascist thugs. The most conscious section of big business is supporting Roosevelt more by what it fails to say than by its rather mild criticism of Roosevelt. It supports Roosevelt by its lukewarm support of Dewey. The columnists and editorial writers are hedging to a large extent. And I do not think that Roosevelt is getting any less financial support than Dewey. Big business wants a close race but at this stage it still prefers the man who can fool labor best.

Arthur
Detroit

Philadelphia

Editor:

The anti-Negro walkout in Philadelphia engineered by company agents of the Philadelphia Transportation Company is being used as a springboard for new repressive moves against the American labor movement. The Philadelphia Press is unanimous in calling for new and more "effective" legislation to end all strikes for good.

The *Philadelphia Record*, so-called liberal, pro-labor and pro-New Deal newspaper, in an editorial entitled: "Tell 80,000 Other Strikers the Philadelphia Story," praises the government's "handling of the Philadelphia transit strike crisis," and asks, "why can't this method be a model for the nation?"

"Now that the handling of the PTC strike has established a successful precedent," says the *Record*, such measures should be promptly applied to all strikes, and then proceeds to urge that the precedent be applied to the current truck drivers' strike in the following manner:

"We would like to see Uncle Sam move in on the truck strike as he did on our trolley strike. We would like to see him: (a) arrest the strike leaders, (b) take over the fleets of idle trucks, (c) give the strikers an ultimatum to return, (d) put soldiers on the trucks, to protect the men who go back to work and to run the trucks of those who don't, (e) cancel

draft deferment, supplementary rationings and job eligibility of men who refuse to resume their jobs."

The strike of the truck drivers was caused by the refusal of the owners to abide by a War Labor Board decision granting the workers an increase in wages. Roosevelt has ordered the army to "seize" the trucks to enforce the WLB order.

"It's our opinion," says the *Record*, "that Uncle Sam will have to apply the 'Philadelphia Method' only a few more times before the whole country understands that from now on the government's patience is exhausted; that from now on the no-strike pledge is going to be kept—or else!"

The Philadelphia *Record* is a spokesman for the "New Deal" and its government. Using the reactionary company union action of the Philadelphia Transportation Corporation as a springboard, they mean to open a general offensive against the bona-fide trade union movement. Labor can meet this challenge by closing ranks; by uniting all workers regardless of race, color or creed against the common enemy, the exploiters and their government. Race prejudice is a weapon of reaction that strikes at the heart of the labor movement. That is the lesson of the PTC walkout and its aftermath.

JERRY MILLER
Philadelphia, Pa.

Editor's Note: See editorial for further comment on the Philadelphia transit strike.

About the WLB

Editor:

The enclosed rhyme was written by a worker who is a friend of mine. We got quite a kick out of it and want to pass it along to the readers of *The Militant*. Hope you can use it. A LOS ANGELES READER

"WOULD W. L. B.?"
If grievance blanks—were
locked in banks,
As rich man's property;
And all in doubt,—
did start to shout.
Where would the W.L.B.?

While prices rose,—
and wages froze,
And profits took a spree.
If all alike—had chose to
strike.
Where would the W.L.B.?

If they dealt fair,—
and judged with care
In a "land of Liberty,"
We have no doubt,
who'd get kicked out.
Where would the W.L.B.?
—HUGH MEIGH

INTERNATIONAL NOTES

FRANCE

Trade unions suppressed under the regime of Nazi occupation in France have already been revived in areas conquered by the Allied armies, according to Walter Schewenels, general secretary of the International Federation of Trade Unions. The IFTU official was quoted by the London correspondent of the *Chicago Sun* as saying that local unions in Cherbourg, Caen and Bayeux have been reorganized and that preparations are under way for a general assembly of members of the pre-war Confederation Generale du Travail to be held in Cherbourg soon.

Schewenels also disclosed a considerable growth of the trade union movement in the French North African colonies where "there now are five times as many trade unionists . . . as there were before 1939." Arabs in unskilled jobs, he said, were mainly responsible for the increase of union membership in those areas, which now stand at about 150,000.

In Marseilles, which is under the control of the Vichy regime, there was an extensive strike movement toward the end of May, provoked by the action of the authorities in "strengthening the control of breadcrauds." According to the *Journal de Geneve* (June 22), dockers, tramway workers and metallurgical workers walked off the job and engaged in demonstrations in which they were joined by their women folk. A truck belonging to Doriot's fascist party was driven through the streets. It was decorated with signs exhorting the strikers to resume work. At one point demonstrating strikers held up the

truck, the Geneva paper stated, and gave the driver a thorough beating before police could reach the spot.

PUERTO RICO

On August 7 the public schools of Puerto Rico held their forty-seventh annual opening, with an enrollment of 330,000 pupils in grade and high schools. But, reports the *New York Times*, more than 150,000 school-age children "were excluded because of lack of school facilities."

The little Caribbean Island was wrested from Spain by the American imperialists in 1898, close to half a century ago. Its inhabitants were given a promise of independence by their new conquerors but this promise has never been honored. Wall Street capitalists have plundered the island of its wealth all that time, and the people have been reduced to a state of beggary similar to that of the masses in British India. Today there are not even facilities for educating all the children. Here we have the true measure of that "benevolence" with which the American imperialists always attempt to cloak their predatory system.

BRAZIL

Due to war-time shortages of imported manufactured goods the industry of Brazil is undergoing a sizeable development, with a corresponding growth in the Brazilian working-class. According to *Business Week*, the following percentage gains in production have taken place between 1938 and 1943, in terms of value of products, and without any attempt to adjust figures to the

price inflation that has taken place:

Food supplies	45
Textiles and yarns	34
Clothing	23
Chemicals, drugs	38
Construction industries	202
Iron, steel products	48
Paper, graphic arts	170
Processing industries	85
Wood, furniture	34
Machinery	50
Rubber goods	1,090
Tobacco	27
Leather goods	50
Toys, games	44
Sundries	2,400

This "wave of local industrialization," says *Business Week*, "will have an important influence on the future of the country and its trade." Much more important, however, is the fact that a greatly enlarged industrial working-class is growing up to confront the Yankee imperialists who dominate and exploit the country.

POLAND

The economic chaos which has descended on Poland under the Nazis is well illustrated in a listing of black market prices in Warsaw in February of this year which appears in the bulletin issued in this country by the Polish Labor Group.

Pork was selling at \$12 per lb., beef \$9 per lb., ham \$23-\$27 per lb., fish (carp) \$11 per lb., sugar \$8 per lb., wheat flour (50 per cent) \$3 per lb., rye flour \$2 per lb., sausage \$18 per lb., alcohol \$60 per quart, milk \$3 per quart, potatoes \$50 per quintal, carrots \$50 per quintal.

The official bread ration is 20 lbs. per month.

Why Jim-Crow Policies Flourish in Industry

Government officials have been clucking around in "righteous" indignation about the misguided, company-inspired anti-Negro municipal transportation walkout in Philadelphia. But they remain strangely silent about the government's own Jim Crow hiring and up-grading policies which are establishing precedents for racial discrimination in industry.

A typical example is cited in the Los Angeles California Eagle, Negro weekly. The Eagle, July 27, reports that "recruiting for workers at the U. S. Naval Drydocks, Terminal Island, is going on at a fast pace, but the 2,000 Negro workers among the 8,000 workers already employed see no prospects for their being of greater service to the yard, for they are in the same menial jobs for which they were hired."

Efforts are being made to recruit 15,000 workers for the naval yard. New white workers, claims the Eagle, are being placed in the better jobs, while qualified Negro workers with longer service are denied upgrading rights. "All the jobs at the U. S. Naval Drydocks," states the Eagle, "are civil service jobs, and the Negro workers there ask only that the regular Civil Service procedure for the upgrading of workers be carried out in their cases."

A deliberate policy of discouraging the hiring of qualified Negro workers is pursued, although many white workers must be recruited from other sections of the country. White workers at the yards are urged to go out and recruit other white workers, "but no Negro has been asked to recruit other Negro workers. . . while qualified Negro workers already in this area are not apprised of the job opportunities existing there in other than menial capacities."

Judge's Heart Bleeds As He Sentences Coal Barons

When 28 Pennsylvania anthracite coal companies virtually pleaded guilty to conspiring to fix prices in violation of the Sherman anti-trust law, Federal Judge John Clark Knox, appointed to the bench by the late President Wilson, publicly displayed his bleeding heart at the prospect of having to impose sentence on the criminal coal barons.

The companies pleaded nolle contendere—refusal to contest the government's suit. Judge Knox thereupon suspended sentence against the guilty coal bosses, and set minimum fines for the companies of from \$750 to \$5000, a mere bagatelle compared to the millions they looted through their conspiracy. Then the worthy Judge wound up with an abject apology because he was forced by law to impose even these chicken-feed fines.

The ten-ter-hearted Judge declared that "one might plausibly argue that the defendants, instead of being evil-minded malefactors were animated by worthy motives and accomplished good ends," and he "doubted that the public had been made to suffer because of the misdeeds of the defendants."

"Sure, sure, what consumer could possibly object to these profiteers picking their pockets? After all, they had 'worthy motives' of price-boosting, squeezing out extra war profits and establishing a monopoly."

We can only wonder now how Judge Knox, who had acted toward striking coal miners, who risk their lives daily to provide the profits for these same coal barons, if they had been hauled into his court. We doubt that he would express regrets as he "threw the book" at them.

Capitalism's 'Post-War' Future for the Workers

The post-war prospects of the American working class under the "free enterprise" system of monopoly capitalism were disclosed in part by A. Ford Hinrichs, Acting Commissioner of the U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, before last week's "post-war planning" conference of the National Retail Dry Goods Association, U. S. Chamber of Commerce, National Association of Manufacturers and other big business bodies.

Even while the war against Japan is still in progress, within six months after the end of the European phase of military hostilities there will be between 3,000,000 and 5,000,000 unemployed as a result of war production curtailments, Hinrichs asserted. Employment levels in war industries will decline at least 30 per cent and "possibly as much as 45 per cent."

The real problem two years hence, when he anticipates the war with Japan will be over, will be to provide between 53,000,000 and 55,000,000 jobs, Hinrichs said, instead of the 51,000,000 at present when over a million are unemployed, and 46,000,000 in 1940. He added that 53,500,000 jobs are the "bed-rock minimum" to satisfy approximately what we mean when we say that there should be full employment. This "full employment," Hinrichs further explained, would not include 7,500,000 retained in the armed forces and a "maximum volume of permissible unemployment" of 2,500,000. But "present thinking," he complained, looks forward to a "probable employment" of around 49,000,000.

Even the most liberal administration spokesmen like Hinrichs are contented if the slack is pulled in by keeping a huge permanent military establishment and a "permissible maximum" of disemployed. But Hinrichs, like all other capitalist representatives, can offer no effective program to achieve the volume of employment he claims is the "bed-rock minimum."

American capitalism, under the ministrations of Roosevelt, could never reduce unemployment under 8,500,000 through ten years of depression, and then for only a brief period in 1937. In August 1939, it stood at 11,500,000. Despite war expenditures of \$250,000,000,000 or more and the drafting of over 10,000,000 men, unemployment is now rising.

Unemployment is a natural scourge of decaying capitalism. It will be eliminated only under a system of socialist planned economy in which the workers themselves will organize and control production for their own benefit and not the profit of a handful of owning-class parasites.

FREE THE 18!