

# RAIL UNIONS SPURN ROOSEVELT AWARD

## DISSOLUTION OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY

An Editorial

Browder's sensational announcement that the American Communist Party will now discard even the formal pretense of political independence from the old-line capitalist parties and become an "educational" organization gives a real indication of the precipitous retreat of Stalin before the Anglo-American imperialists. In return for lend-lease materials and secret agreements with Roosevelt and Churchill, Stalin has already junked his Communist International, and thrown in for good measure the traditional Soviet anthem, the Internationale.

The formal dissolution of the American Communist Party is a natural consequence of the burial of the Comintern last May. The now openly avowed submission of the American Stalinist movement to capitalist politics and its parties is the logical outcome of twenty years of Stalinist betrayal of the international working class. Neither Stalin nor his office boy Browder has the slightest regard for the welfare or needs of the American workers or any other group of workers. Stalin and the Kremlin bureaucracy view the international working class merely as pawns for bargaining purposes with the imperialists.

Only thoroughly naive people will imagine that the new Stalinist policy signifies the elimination of the Stalinist-GPU apparatus from the American scene or that its influence will now automatically disappear. American Stalinism has simply changed its organizational form. No more. It will continue, under its new guise, to act as a strikebreaking apparatus in the ranks of organized labor and as a pressure group in the interests of the counter-revolutionary Kremlin caste.

The formal dissolution of the American Stalinist movement as a political party has, however, this one merit: it will serve to open the eyes of still another large section of the American working class to the truth about the perfidious Stalinists. The formal dissolution reveals again in the most unmistakable fashion that the American Communist Party is nothing but the soulless tool of Stalin and the reactionary nationalistic Kremlin bureaucracy.

The Stalinists now frankly confess that they have no program different from that of the two capitalist parties. Foster declared in his nationwide broadcast on Jan. 9: "Communists do not believe it would be of benefit to national unity to make proposals of a specific communistic or socialistic nature at this time or in the immediate post-war period." In complete harmony with the National Association of Manufacturers, Stalinists now step forth as champions of capitalist "free enterprise."

The Stalinists have become the most ardent defenders of the status quo. Since June 1941 the Stalinists have openly encouraged their members to act as finks and strikebreakers inside the American labor movement. They denounce all union fighters as "saboteurs" and as "agents of Hitler and Hirohito," they push speedup systems in the factories, they assail every manifestation of independent economic and political action on the part of the working class.

In the midst of the carnage and destruction of the second world war, when the masses are seeking a way out of the death agony of this rotting capitalist system, the Stalinists call upon the people to pledge renewed faith to capitalism. Like the oily hypocrites of the Chambers of Commerce, they mouth phrases of a coming post-war millennium. "Not only a prolonged peace without precedent in history," they state, "but also a flourishing of economic relationship of cooperation and a development of economic well-being and social re-

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## March of SWP Leaders to Jail



Leaving Party headquarters at 919 Marquette Ave., Minneapolis, 14 of the 18 leaders of the Socialist Workers Party and of Minneapolis Truckdrivers Union Local 544-CIO marched in closed ranks on Friday afternoon, Dec. 31 to the U. S. Marshal's office. There they were taken into custody and sent the following Monday to the Federal Penitentiary at Sandstone, Minn. to serve their prison sentences. Three were sent to Danbury, Conn. Penitentiary and Grace Carlson was taken to the Federal Penitentiary at Alderson, W. Va.

## CRDC Issues Campaign Plans To Win Freedom For Eighteen

NEW YORK CITY — On Dec. 31, the day the 18 leaders of the Socialist Workers Party and of Minneapolis Truckdrivers Local 544-CIO were shut behind prison walls, the Civil Rights Defense Committee, authorized representative of the prisoners, announced plans of its national campaign to win unconditional presidential pardon for these class-war prisoners framed-up under the Smith "Gag" Act.

In directives issued to local committees in over thirty-five cities throughout the country, Evelyn Anderson, Assistant Secretary of the CRDC, stated that the three main tasks of the defense were to free the eighteen, to provide relief for the prisoners and their families, and to mobilize all progressive forces

## Post Office Ban Still On

Roosevelt's Postmaster-General Walker, National Chairman of the Democratic Party, has become increasingly active in suppressing publications since he deprived The Militant of its second-class mailing rights last March. Recently Walker banned for the third time since May whole issues of the press of the Revolutionary Workers League in Chicago.

Meanwhile The Militant's application for the restoration of its second-class rights, filed last July, has not been acted upon and our issues are still being held up and delayed in transmission by the postal authorities.

behind the fight to repeal the reactionary Smith "Gag" Act.

## PETITION DRIVE

A nation-wide petition drive will be one of the principal means of mobilizing mass support for the pardon campaign. Petitions calling upon President Roosevelt to uphold the Bill of Rights by granting unconditional pardon and immediate release to the 18 have been sent to all local committees for circulation in local trade unions, clubs, factories, meetings etc. All signed petitions are to be returned to the national office of the CRDC and will be submitted to the proper authorities when the appeal for pardon is made.

Local committees have also been asked to urge trade unions, fraternal, negro and other progressive organizations to pass resolutions urging the President to pardon the 18. The CRDC reports that more than 125 unions have already given support or contributed to the defense in previous stages of the Minneapolis case. Among them are

the United Transport Service Employees of America-CIO, the New Jersey State CIO Council, the St. Louis, Mo. Joint Council-CIO, the San Francisco Industrial Union Council, Bridgeport, Conn. Industrial Union Council, Rochester, N. Y., Railroad Council, 38 UAW-CIO locals, 11 United Steel Workers-CIO locals, 6 United Rubber Workers-CIO locals together with dozens of other CIO, AFL and independent unions.

In addition to petition forms, collection lists, monthly pledge slips and other material, the CRDC is preparing a poster, leaflet and pamphlet to publicize the case. The American Civil Liberties Union and the Workers Defense League have pledged full cooperation in the national campaign.

## FUNDS NEEDED

The CRDC estimates that it will need to raise at least \$1500 a month to defray the expenses connected with its work and to provide relief for the prisoners, their wives and children. Every worker and fighter for civil liberties is asked to send contributions for the Minneapolis Prisoners Relief Fund to the National office of the Civil Rights Defense Committee, 160 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

In the days immediately preceding the incarceration of the 18 a number of editorials were published in the press protesting the U. S. Supreme Court's refusal to review the convictions and requesting the judges to reconsider their refusal. In a full page plea in PM on Dec. 31, I. F. Stone wrote: "This case is a clear test because of the issues involved, a clear test because of the character of the defendants. . . . To permit such convictions to stand is to establish a new and dangerous precedent. To refuse a hearing, after lower courts have set aside the 'clear and present danger' rule, is to invite the disregard in principle and practice of one of the principal constitutional doctrines safeguarding freedom of speech and press. . . . Their plea is a test of the present Court's ability or willingness to enforce basic constitutional safeguards when and where it hurts, not in peace, not in the case of some large, re-

spected or powerful group, but in war and in the case of a most unpopular minority."

## CHICAGO NEWSPAPERS

The Chicago Sun's editors wrote on Dec. 28: "Not for many years has the Supreme Court refused to hear an appeal when a grave constitutional question was raised by citizens convicted in peacetime of sedition. For these 18 doctrinaires to go to prison without thorough review of the law and the evidence under which they were sentenced would set an extremely disturbing precedent. Guilty or innocent, they deserve their day in court."

The Chicago News declared that the case should be "given

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## Anti-Semitic Gang Assaults Increase In New York City

NEW YORK — Encouraged by the intensified capitalist assault against American labor and inspired by Hitler's mass extermination of the European Jews, fascist hoodlum gangs directed by such scum as the "Christian Front," Nazi Bundists and similar outfits have reopened their campaign of anti-Jewish terrorism on New York City streets. Similar terrorism is

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## President Reconvenes Board For Further Wage Hearings

Bureaucrats Prevent Unified Labor Action In Struggle Against Little Steel Formula

By C. Thomas

The railway wage dispute entered a new stage this week with Roosevelt reconvening the special emergency fact-finding board headed by Judge E. R. Shaw of Springfield, Illinois, to act on the wage demands of the 15 non-operating railway unions. The non-operating unions had agreed to have Roosevelt arbitrate only the question of overtime payment after accepting the previous recommendation of the Shaw board for a sliding scale wage increase of from 4 to 10 cents per hour.

Railroad corporation representatives insisted however that the wage increase already awarded must likewise be arbitrated and Roosevelt supported their stand.

Now, the Shaw board, reconvened by the President, is opening hearings on the whole wage controversy. It stands instructed by Roosevelt to report its recommendations within thirty days. The non-operating unions have indicated that they will refuse to re-submit to the board the 4 to 10 cents per hour wage raise already awarded but will insist that the Shaw board confine its hearings to the union demands for overtime pay.

## TWO CONDITIONS

In the meantime, Roosevelt has offered the three operating unions which had refused his arbitration proposal, the same wage increases he had awarded to the Brotherhood of Trainmen and the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, the two unions which had accepted Roosevelt as arbitrator. The Roosevelt offer was made contingent upon the fulfillment of two conditions: One, that the three operating unions, Firemen, Conductors and Switchmen, sign agreements with the railroads on the same terms as those signed by the engineers and trainmen and, two, that they call off the strike which they had previously postponed for the period in which the Government operated the railroads.

Officials of the three unions have indicated that the conditions named by Roosevelt would be unacceptable. These union heads point out that the award made by Roosevelt freezes wages for the

duration of the war and that their unions are opposed to submitting to such a wage freeze.

## MINERS EXAMPLE

The three unions also took issue with Roosevelt's demand that they cancel the strike call prior to signing the agreement with the railroad operators. They reminded Roosevelt that in the coal mine strikes, he authorized Harold Ickes to enter into "collective bargaining contracts with representatives of the miners to govern terms and conditions of employment during the period of Government operation," in view of the "desire of the miners to work under a contract." The officials of the three unions conveniently forgot their own attitude in the miners struggle when they condemned the miners for refusing to work without a contract. The knife is in their own hides now and they're squealing like stuck pigs about the betrayal by the fellow bureaucrats of the two deserting Brotherhoods—the trainmen and engineers.

When Roosevelt ordered the army to seize the railroads, A. F. Whitney, president of the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen and Alvanley Johnston, head of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers were appointed as labor consultants to the War Department. They went along with the seven railroad presidents who were given commissions as colonels and placed in charge of the seven regions into which the railway system of the country was divided. Whitney publicly approved of Roosevelt's dictatorial action in ordering the army to seize the railroads and white-washed the president's "wage-freeze" award by saying that he felt certain that Mr. Roosevelt had granted "all he possibly could within the terms of the wage stabilization act."

After selling out his brother

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## BIG BUSINESS ORGAN BOASTS FRAMEUP OF 18 AIDS BOSSES

BUSINESS WEEK, one of the most authoritative mouthpieces for Big Business, in its Dec. 25 issue gloatingly describes the events leading up to the convictions of the 18 framed-up Trotskyist and Minneapolis drivers Local 544-CIO leaders, and observes with obvious satisfaction that their imprisonment closes "another—and perhaps final—chapter in their stormy labor careers."

The statement of this leading business weekly leaves no doubt that the bosses consider the convictions a triumph for their interests. In addition, now that the U.S. Supreme Court has refused to hear an appeal in the case, this Big Business voice feels a bit more free to admit some of the true facts behind the convictions—facts which the federal prosecutors, trial judge and higher courts refused to permit as defense evidence.

## INITIATED BY ROOSEVELT

Business Week now openly admits that the prosecutions were initiated by the Roosevelt administration as an aid to Tobin's dictatorial drive to smash the

Local 544 opposition to his bureaucracy. It states:

"Mantle of leadership now rests chiefly on the shoulders of Sid Brennan, secretary-treasurer of 544 (AFL), who fought the Dunnes bitterly for years before achieving victory — with the timely help of the federal Dept. of Justice and its sedition case." Business Week further points out that the state government, under the direct instructions of Gov. Stassen aided Tobin by refusing to permit a secret election to determine which union should have recognition, and arbitrarily handed recognition to Tobin's outfit. It was "this blow" which put Tobin's machine back in power, "coupled as it was with the almost simultaneous sedition conviction of many of the 544-CIO leaders.

"The change (to the CIO) was formally approved at a membership meeting (of Local 544) . . . Tobin sent Dave Beck, Seattle labor boss, to Minneapolis as receiver of 544 in a move to control funds of the rebellious union. Also to Minneapolis came several score of Tobin's efficient and tough persuaders to line up

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## Stalin Proposes Curzon Line As Border While Red Army Speeds Westward Drive

By Art Preis

Red Army advances within one year have driven the mighty Nazi military machine back over 800 miles from its furthest penetration at Stalingrad. Hitler's eastern line has been smashed in at least two decisive sectors. Soviet troops are swarming across the old Polish border. Other columns are striking with irresistible force toward Russia. In the lower Dnieper bend, vast sections of the Nazi army face an encirclement threatening disaster to the German military front.

The Red Army feats have evoked from the grudging capitalist press open expressions of admiration—not untinged with hostility, fear and chagrin. The N. Y. Times acknowledges editorially that the Soviet drive is "the greatest and most sustained offensive in military history," pressed home "with such vast numbers in men and guns and tanks as to 'astound' the German general staff."

More, and more people are beginning to recognize the source of Soviet strength, which could withstand unparalleled blows and defeats for 17 months and then strike back with such pulverizing power. Such a phenomenon is possible only on the basis of a social system founded upon nationalized property, free of capitalist exploitation, sustained by planned economy, bureaucratically distorted though it may be. This is what has inspired the

what happened in Poland in 1939 when the Red Army marched in. The industrialists and bankers, the landlords, the nobility, the fascists and anti-Semites fled in panic. The workers seized the factories; the peasants the land. Capitalist property forms were wiped out.

Today similarly, as a Jan. 8 AP dispatch from Switzerland discloses, with the approach of the Red Army, "wealthy Rumanians evidently believing a Russian occupation of the country would mean the end of their fortunes reportedly began a panicky selling of their real estate and other property," while "leftist demonstrations had occurred in scattered areas and pro-Soviet manifestoes had appeared on walls during the past two weeks."

## STALIN'S ANNOUNCEMENT

In the midst of the capitalist furor about the crossing of the Polish border Stalin makes his announcement on the Polish border question. He offers to re-establish the Polish state on the so-called Curzon line, the line established by the Allied imperialists in 1919 to delimit the borders of the Soviet Union. In compensation for loss of eastern territories, he offers Poland a

slice of German territory. Stalin further proposes that Poland adhere to the terms of the recently concluded Soviet-Czech pact.

The Soviet announcement continues, however, to sharply attack the Polish Government-in-Exile. The declaration states that this government is "incapable of establishing friendly relations with the Soviet Union. . . . incapable of organizing an active struggle against the German invaders in Poland itself. . . . frequently plays into the hands of the German invaders." Stalin directs his appeal to the "Polish peoples" in general.

At the same time the Kremlin demonstratively announces its use of Polish forces organized on Soviet soil, in the advance toward Warsaw, and continues to maintain the Union of Polish Patriots in Moscow which claims to speak for the Polish masses.

Stalin and the reactionary nationalistic Kremlin bureaucracy can only attempt to safeguard the Soviet Union by reviving the bankrupt policy of seeking to reconstitute "friendly" capitalist regimes, tied to the Kremlin's "sphere of influence."

The 15th Anniversary plenum

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# My Trip To Minneapolis With Comrade Cannon

By Joseph Hansen

It was my privilege to accompany James P. Cannon from his home in New York to the County Jail in Minneapolis. His small valise was already packed when I arrived Tuesday afternoon, December 28. Smoking a cigar as he rested in his favorite chair, Jim seemed not ill at ease.

Rose, his wife, was busy at the typewriter, bringing up to date the scoreboard of the branches of the Socialist Workers Party in their drive to collect \$15,000 in celebration of the 15th anniversary of American Trotskyism. Rose is the dynamic manager of the campaign. Her gray hair framing dark eyes, Rose looked very beautiful as she typed at Jim's desk. Only two nights before she had stood up at the farewell banquet in New York to speak for the wives of the defendants and the Trotskyist women of the party. It was hard to see the men go, she had said with simplicity, but there would be no moping. The women would carry on.

In Grand Central station Jim said goodbye to his family. I could see that it was not easy for him to say farewell to his loved ones.

## The Journey

We had taken a compartment on the Commodore Vanderbilt to Chicago, for Jim still had some editorial work to complete on the manuscript of his book, "The History of American Trotskyism," and did not want to be disturbed.

But Jim was still unsettled from his leave taking. He watched the unsavory tenements of Harlem move past the train window—that monstrous ghetto where capitalism forces the Negro people of New York to live in segregation. "Some day we'll wipe that out," Cannon said, clamping his lips thinly; "bring in the fresh air

and green of the country, move out the people, destroy the old buildings, and build homes fit for human beings."

Socialism indeed, will leave not one stone upon another where slum tenements now mar America. If billions upon countless billions can be wasted for destruction in war, why can't we build a decent habitation for every family in the land? It would cost far less than war and would make a lot more pleasant world. The road to achieving that great social gain, however, is not an easy one. Jim was on his way to prison now precisely because of a fight for such an alternative to imperialist war.

As the crack train gathered speed along the banks of the river the man bound for prison leaned back in his seat watching the barren trees and the ice-fringed water skim by. The pillars of a famous geologic formation moved in stately procession into the past—scenes of the Hudson lit up by a winter sun for the socialist to remember in the hard days ahead. The sun fell on his hair as the train leaned around a curve, lighting up the gray waves like iron. "The Palisades are beautiful," he said. Jim is a man possessed of a deep passion for the earth, the mountains, the streams, lakes, forest, plains—all the ever-fresh variety that is America.

## Rosedale, Kansas

A few questions led him to reminiscence. He was born near the geographical center of the United States; in Rosedale, Kansas. The background of his childhood is the somber, backward life of the rural middle-west. For all practical purposes, his formal education ceased at the age of twelve. Only "bitter will" drove him forward. He carried a grocer's notebook in which he jotted down new words he read in books. He memorized and tried to use in his conversation these fascinating words despite the jests of his companions, who, like many

farm boys considered education a huge joke.

"When I write my autobiography," continued Jim, "I'm going to call it 'The Hard Way'."

Having graduated from formal schools at the age of 12, he went to work 60 hours a week for the Swift Packing Company. His next job was in the KAT railroad yards at the age of 14; 70 hours a week, one day off a month for relaxation. When he spoke at the farewell banquet about the "pathetic pleasures" of those who have not yet gained the emancipating vision of socialism, Jim said, he had in mind that boy of Rosedale, Kansas, on his day off.

## John Dewey

I was reminded of an incident: several years ago at a banquet in New York for Angelica Balabanov which I attended, John Dewey, relating how he came to serve on the Commission of Inquiry that exposed the Moscow Trials, said to Max Eastman in the presence of Cannon, "This is the man who got me to serve on the Commission. He appealed to my better nature."

I recalled the incident to Jim. "How did the boy from Rosedale get an eminent person like John Dewey to serve on that Commission?"

Stalin was flooding the world with the most monstrous lies, Jim explained; murdering tens of thousands under pretense they were spies and traitors. He had even succeeded through his machinations with the Norwegian government in preventing Trotsky from explaining to the world press what was happening. It was necessary to give Trotsky a hearing so that people who believed in truth could decide whether he was guilty of the charges or not. Several people had already gone to Dewey to ask him to serve on the Commission but he had refused. His family didn't want him to go to Mexico, for he was more than 80 years

old. "I went to him and told him what the situation was," Jim smiled warmly at the memory. "I told him he must do something for justice. I wouldn't let him go until he agreed to do something for justice. That was how he came to serve on the Commission. That was how Trotsky was given the opportunity to prove his innocence before the whole world, to prove that he was the best defender of the Soviet Union."

## First World War

As he smoked his pipe he answered another question of mine about the persecution of socialists in the first world war, telling me his experience in Rosedale. Despite his becoming an advocate of the rights of labor and even a member of the IWW and Socialist Party the town elders still considered him as destined to be Congressman. "Probably they were right. I might have ended up these past decades in Congress if I hadn't become convinced that the only worthwhile fight is the fight for socialism."

"The crucial turning point was my attitude on the war. In those days the American socialist movement hadn't arrived at the correct approach to this question. We thought that the way out, in our uncertainty, was to become conscientious objectors. Now we know of course that it is wrong to separate yourself from your generation; you should go with them into the armed forces. When I came up before the board to register for the draft one of the venerable town elders tried to counsel me to advise me not to get in trouble—to go along—but when he asked me what to put down, I said, 'Conscientious objector.'"

"Why?" he asked me. "I don't believe in the war." "The others didn't think they had heard right. 'What did he say?' one of them asked."

"He doesn't believe in the war." "I'll never forget the way he said that, without lifting or turning his head. He felt very bad that I would do such a thing."

## Persecutions

"From then on I was a pariah in my own home town. No work. Complete isolation. They came and took away my wife's kitchen cabinet. You don't know now what that means—but in Rosedale it was a terrible blow. My little boy held on to the man's legs, biting him like a little dog because they were taking away his mother's kitchen cabinet. They took away our phonograph records. I'll never forget how my little boy went around cranking his arm and hand, pretending he was playing a phonograph record. The whole world seemed against us."

"Finally we had nothing to go with our muck, except a quart of milk a day. The milkman took pity on us week after week, leaving a bottle each morning without asking for money. Maybe he sympathized a little. Finally one day I went out to get the milk and it wasn't there, just the empty bottle I had put out. Tom Hampton hadn't left the milk that morning. He wasn't going to leave any more without money. I had two babies and a wife waiting inside the house. I just sat down on the step and held that empty bottle in my hands."

"I know what desperate poverty means. I've had to stuff my books in the stove to keep my family from freezing to death."

The outrage of those days was still discernible in the timbre of his voice as he spoke.

Now, for the second time, he was being hounded and persecuted for his opposition to the imperialist war. That was why he was now on the train, speeding toward the federal penitentiary.

As evening reddened the sky, Jim turned to the editorial work left on his "History of American Trotskyism." Many things in

that book stirred his memory. It was almost morning before Jim was ready to turn in.

## Changed Trains

We changed trains at Chicago, leaving the sprawling smoke which clothed that city for the sunlit flat lands of Illinois. We now rode a bit closer to the blinds, that is, in a coach jammed with the traffic of war, soldiers and sailors on furlough, workers, women and children.

"What song is that?" I asked, hearing him humming a tune.

"Haven't you ever heard it? It's one of Joe Hill's best." Joe Hill was the IWW poet who came from Sweden to put the thoughts and emotions of the militant American working man to music.

"Shall I sing you the words?" Jim asked. Then and there he presented me with Joe Hill's famous ballad "Overalls and Snuff." The words seemed singularly appropriate in view of the present labor crisis on the railroads for the song tells about the railroad strikers of an earlier day who sang, "We'll build no more damn railroads just for overalls and snuff."

## Past and Future

Time has a strange quality. Sitting beside Jim as the train rushed up the banks of the Mississippi ever closer to Minneapolis time seemed to be draining away inexorably. The future bore down heavier upon us; prison bars, cells, finger-printing and mugging of socialists as if this were old Czarist Russia and not America. The past was with us too, Jim's boyhood in Kansas, his struggle to hew a path to truth and knowledge, the Wobblies, the martyrs of the first World War.

But the great goal of the future rode with us too, the inspiring vision of a free world in which mankind will have everything that science can provide to satisfy our lives.

# TRADE UNION NOTES

By Joseph Keller

Under direct pressure and intimidation of government representatives, who were aided by a servile national union leadership, a boating, jeering, 4-hour mass meeting of striking Cramp Ship Building Corp. workers at Philadelphia reluctantly agreed to end a 3-day strike last week.

The strike, second within three months, involved 17,000 workers. Its immediate cause was the arbitrary firing of 52 painters. But its roots lay in months of company provocations and discriminations following the failure of CIO International Union of Marine and Shipbuilding Workers Local 42 to secure an adequate contract last June on the expiration of its previous contract.

After protracted stalling by the company, the contract dispute was first turned over to an arbitrator and finally to the War Labor Board, where it has since been buried. In the meantime, the company has taken deliberate advantage of the union's no-strike pledge to fire local militants and violate previous contract provisions.

Firing of a leading shop steward last October led to a brief strike which the national leadership squelched, but which brought government assurances of prompt action on their WLB case. This promise has likewise been buried.

The strikers were particularly bitter against IUMSWA President John Green, and other national leaders, who were repeatedly and roundly booed at the mass meeting because of their support of the government and bosses against the strikers. The shipyard workers have the right spirit, but more than boos are necessary to win their demands against such a treacherous leadership. They need to build a new militant leadership which will lead them in the fight.

Sherman Dalrymple, International president of the CIO United Rubber Workers Union has added another score to his already unenviable record as a tool of the Roosevelt administration—against his own union. Last week he ordered the General Tire local in Akron to summarily expel 72 of the workers involved in a strike against General Tire and Rubber Co. William O'Neill, president of the Company, promptly announced that the 72 men would be fired.

Dalrymple castigated the striking workers and said that they had violated the no-strike pledge and the URW constitution.

Dalrymple's vicious action should be no surprise. It is entirely consistent with his reactionary record.

Early last spring the Akron rubber locals voted to call a one-day strike to protest the WLB's delaying tactics. The one day

demonstration was set for June 2, the anniversary of the date on which the original wage increase demands were filed with the WLB in 1942. Dalrymple denounced the locals and demanded that they rescind their decision. Even the threat of a general work stoppage was enough to jog the WLB into action. Late in May the Board handed down a miserly three cent increase, despite a recommendation by its own regional panel for an eight cent increase.

This insulting "increase" so incensed the Akron workers that a general rubber strike was called. Again Dalrymple jumped to the defense of the bosses. He ordered the strikers back to work forthwith. So great was the rank and file pressure that even Dalrymple had to add his voice however, to those of the local union leaders in demanding that the WLB reconsider its award.

In July the WLB reaffirmed its three cent award. Since that time Dalrymple, by threats and compulsion, has barely managed to keep the rubber workers under control. Last week a strike among the band building workers caused a general shut down of the General Tire and Rubber Co. plants at Akron, and Dalrymple proved himself once again his own union's worst enemy.

The strike of municipal workers in Montreal which began on Dec. 21 when 2000 clerks and stenographers walked out, has spread to include the milk testers, meat inspectors and clinical staffs. These workers are demanding an annual wage increase ranging from \$395 to \$500.

This strike follows hard on the heels of a successful fourteen hour strike of police and firemen in Montreal.

These strikes are particularly significant in judging the growing unrest of Canadian labor against government restrictions and phony cost-of-living bonuses. The militancy of these municipal workers and their acceptance of a place within the trade union movement can serve as a valuable lesson to the 15 million U. S. white collar workers over whom the capitalist press has recently shed so many crocodile tears. A living wage can be won only by militant, organized labor action.

3500 employees of the street cleaning, rubbish collection, water and highway departments of Philadelphia went on strike on January 6 for an increase of 10 cents per hour. The strike was voted by 1500 members of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, at the expiration of a truce arrived at last November, between the union and the city administration.

# N. Y. Central Branch Tops Quota

By Rose Karsner, Director

Branches of the SWP have eloquently expressed their solidarity with the 18 Class-War prisoners by rushing in their collections on the 15th Anniversary-\$15,000 Fund before these comrades were locked behind prison bars.

In this connection special mention goes to the following branches: San Diego, New Haven, Allentown, San Francisco, Milwaukee and Central Branch of Local New York. All these branches came in with 100% and better before New Year's Day 1944.

At the same time we must point out that all the branches, without exception, have been exerting their efforts toward the successful completion of the Campaign. Even those branches which are still in the Zero column have written letters telling us that they are hard at work on the collections and that they will come in with their quotas on time, Milwaukee, for example, jumped from Zero to 100% with one remittance.

Reba Aubrey, the Local New York Director, writes: "New York is divided into three Branches. Brooklyn and Queens have not yet fulfilled their pledges because their members are economically so situated as to make it impossible for them to take more than a limited amount out of their weekly pay envelopes. Central Branch however fulfilled its quota at the Farewell Dinner, and has now gone over with an additional 9%. The other Branches will come through O. K. and we will be listed with the 100% Branches very soon."

Especially gratifying are the returns in this Campaign from the members-at-large, friends and sympathizers. We take this opportunity to acknowledge their contributions as well as to thank them for their co-operation:

FROM MEMBERS-AT-LARGE			
Gonz, N. J.	\$ 5.00		
R. Young, Ala.	10.00		
C. H. & L. B., Portland	30.00		
Montana	10.00		
Dayton	25.00		
C. Canton, O.	5.00		
Ft. Wayne, Ind.	5.00		
Pittsburgh	12.00		
FROM FRIENDS			
NEW YORK	G. H.	1.00	
Phil S.	5.00	Rose of Bklyn.	1.00
Anon, through Gold	10.00	Isabel	1.00
Dan, through J. W.	100.00	Jeanne D.	1.00
Don	40.00	Anon through W. Walters	15.00
H. Kass	5.00	M. Parker, N. J.	5.00
H. Kerz	3.00	Fresno friend	5.00
Dora B.	5.00	Minneapolis friend	1.00
I. Berm	2.00	G. C., Calif.	5.00
I. R.	5.00	Anonymous friends, total	70.00
Maria	5.00		
Jim	1.00	Total	388.00

## Sunday Night Forum

Topic  
"THE END OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY"

Speaker  
WILLIAM WARDE

Sunday, January 9, 1944

Auspices: New York School of Social Science  
116 UNIVERSITY PLACE (Cor. 13th Street)  
NEW YORK CITY

# SCOREBOARD

	Quota	Paid	Percent
New Haven	50.00	75.00	150
San Francisco	1,000.00	1,200.00	120
Milwaukee	25.00	27.50	110
San Diego	100.00	100.00	100
Allentown	25.00	25.00	100
New York	2,500.00	2,303.00	92
Detroit	2,000.00	1,624.50	81
Newark	300.00	240.00	80
Los Angeles	2,000.00	1,437.16	72
Boston	300.00	211.00	70
Buffalo	300.00	189.50	63
Twin Cities	1,000.00	620.00	62
Cleveland	200.00	100.00	50
Youngstown	200.00	100.00	50
Members-at-large and Friends	800.00	388.00	49
Chicago	2,000.00	798.13	40
Reading	75.00	30.00	40
Seattle	1,000.00	350.00	35
Toledo	100.00	35.00	35
Bayonne	300.00	83.50	28
St. Louis	100.00	25.00	25
Akron	200.00	50.00	25
East Chicago	100.00	0	0
Flint	100.00	0	0
Philadelphia	150.00	0	0
Quakertown	25.00	0	0
Rochester	50.00	0	0
<b>TOTALS</b>		<b>10,012.29</b>	<b>67</b>



At the beginning of the new year we find many of our agents expressing the desire to clean up the debts of the old year. St. Paul asks: "If you haven't already done so, will you please send us a statement of our literature account. We will try to get this cleared up so that we can start the new year off with a clean slate."

Some of our agents have already paid their 1943 financial obligations in full. They are as follows: Boston, Chicago, Detroit, Los Angeles, Milwaukee, Minneapolis, Newark, New Haven, Seattle, and Toledo.

Our agent in Baton Rouge, Louisiana, has had some tough luck, but we are more than willing to cooperate with him during this period. He writes: "I do know that The Militant needs money as bad as ever, and I will send some money as soon as I can."

"I have been sick and out of a job and had no one to carry on the work."

San Francisco continues to appear in this column every week, because of the excellent work they are doing in obtaining subscriptions. The agent's letter this week merits printing in full: "Enclosed find money order covering seven six-months' subscriptions to The Militant."

"This week's picture is much different and I trust it looks as encouraging to you as it does to us."

"Out of forty-four call-backs, we found only ten not interested; twenty-seven asked that we call again, as the Xmas spirit had hit their pocketbooks; and we acquired seven regular subscribers to our press."

"The experience we had on our first attempt at renewals was due I am sure, to the time. Just before Xmas everyone is concerned with their own personal problems."

Our San Francisco agent is being very modest about the results of their "first attempt at renewals." You will remember the letter of last week in which the agent enclosed five subs and stated: "We have contact now with three very fine Negro families..."

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# Union Heads Reject Wage Freeze Scheme

(Continued from page 1)

Whitney adds insult to injury by publishing a jingle in a circular distributed to his membership, ridiculing the three officials holding out against the Roosevelt award by referring to them as: "Three blind mice." Whitney probably feels that his role in rattling on the railway workers qualifies him as an expert on rodents. His servility toward Roosevelt and the newly created "colonels" placed in charge of the railroad by the War Department stands in glaring contrast to his attitude of contempt toward his union colleagues. The corrupt bureaucrats have as little compunction about double-crossing each other as they have in betraying their own membership.

The top union officials have permitted Roosevelt to hold his wage freezing line against the mass of workers by a carefully cultivated policy of preventing organized labor from throwing its unified strength against the administration. In the rail dispute the operating unions were split from the non-operating unions. The operating unions closely associated in the Railway Brotherhoods split in two sections at a decisive moment.

crisis had reached its peak, the steel workers wage dispute erupted into a walkout of approximately 200,000 men. It was the first time that Roosevelt had to confront two powerful sections of labor at the same time and the hysterical labor baiting campaign that followed was testimony to the fright of the boss class.

Upon Roosevelt's intervention, Murray hastened to send the steel workers back to their jobs without having gained any real concessions. The Philadelphia convention of the CIO had encouraged all affiliated unions to press for wage increases—but had not taken any steps toward organizing the legions of labor for a unified march against the Little Steel formula upon which they had declared war. The strategy of spacing labor's marching legions so far apart that Roosevelt can deal with them one at a time is the height of folly. To send solitary detachments against a powerful enemy is to invite disaster. It is necessary to close ranks, to march together, to present a solid front. Only in that way can victory be assured.

(See Editorial on Labor Unity, page 4.)

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JAMES T. FARRELL, Chairman  
CIVIL RIGHTS DEFENSE COMMITTEE  
160 Fifth Avenue, New York City 10, N. Y.

Here is my contribution of \$..... to the Fund for the relief of the 18 political prisoners in the Minneapolis "Gag" Law case and their families.

Name .....

Address .....

City and State .....

# The Negro Struggle

By David Ransom

## FDR Offers Negroes Another Committee

There are none so blind as those who will not see. This includes the editors of the Pittsburgh Courier, a leading Negro newspaper. They believe Roosevelt took a "necessary step" when he set up a three-man committee to negotiate with the 16 southern railroads who defied an FEPC order. In the January 8 issue of their paper they say, "President Roosevelt wants all the facts before him before he makes a final decision."

But Roosevelt has all the facts and he has made a decision—in favor of Jim Crow. Roosevelt refused to back up the FEPC and crack down on the 16 railroads that wouldn't obey its order to stop discriminating against Negroes. Instead he created another committee. So now these railroads and every other boss in the country can keep right on Jim Crowing Negroes. Those are the facts.

Of course Roosevelt needs this new committee but not for fact-finding purposes. He needs it in order to keep up the pretense that the government is fighting against discrimination.

The same day that Roosevelt created this new committee he ordered the army to take over the railroads. Some Negro leaders hoped that Roosevelt would instruct the army to enforce the rulings of the FEPC. And they sent telegrams to the White House asking Roosevelt to do so.

Roosevelt remained silent, but General Somervell, federal operator of the railroads spoke his little piece for the administration: the army was not concerned with the dispute between the FEPC and the railroads. Everything, he said, was to be frozen as of 7 P.M. on December 27, 1943, including the vicious Jim Crowing of Negro railroad workers.

As the executive head of the bosses' government, Roosevelt tells the Negroes that to expect equal opportunities now is to expect "the millennium" and refuses to act against the anti-Negro railroad corporations. But Roosevelt, as he has shown, is ready to move heaven and earth to defend the interests of these same railroad companies.

Let the railroad workers threaten to strike for a modest wage increase and Roosevelt rushes the army onto the scene with the cry "I can't wait." All the police power and moral authority of the government are instantly set in motion to back up the bosses in an attempt to crush the workers' struggle for better conditions.

No doubt self-appointed leaders of the Negro people will keep on sending telegrams to the White House. But there is a lesson to be drawn from the failure of the Roosevelt administration to act against discrimination. If Negroes depend on the government to fight for their rights they will indeed have to wait until the millennium. The only way to even get respectful hearing from the bosses and the government is by organizing and

### PIONEER PARAGRAPHS

## WHY VAST SOCIAL UPEAVALS ARE UNAVOIDABLE IN JAPAN

Japan, beatedly rising to the stature of an imperialist power toward the end of the nineteenth century, was confronted by a world already substantially divided among its imperialist rivals. The Japanese imperialists, moreover, were obliged to proceed from an exceedingly weak economic base in their plans of empire. Lacking such vital raw materials as coal and iron, copper, oil and cotton, they were driven from the outset to seek these supplies beyond the natural frontiers of Japan. Acquisition of sources of these raw materials was a condition, not only of expansion, but even of survival in the competitive world of imperialist rivalry. The career of Japanese imperialism opened with the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-5, when Japan defeated China and seized Korea and Formosa. Ten years later Japan vanquished Czarist Russia and took over the sphere of influence held by the latter in South Manchuria. During the world war of 1914-18, Japan seized the Chinese province of Shantung and presented China with the notorious "Twenty-one Demands" which were designed to bring all China under Japanese control.

The growth of Japan's productive forces and the development of capitalist economic relations did not result, as in the capitalist countries of the West, in the emergence of a corresponding social and political superstructure. The transition from feudal to capitalist society was accomplished without revolution and the bourgeoisie was therefore not faced with the necessity of razing the old institutions of social rule and replacing them by new. Emerging from the ranks of the feudal nobility and the warrior caste of Samurai the bourgeoisie adapted the old institutions, with some modifications, to the requirements of the new systems of capitalist exploitation. Thus ancient feudal institutions, including a "divine" monarchy, a semi-independent military caste, and semi-feudal types of exploitation exist side by side with a "democratic" parliament and powerful industrial and financial trusts. From the presence of these "feudal survivals," powerful as they appear to be, it would, however, be false to deduce that the next stage in the social progress of Japan must be a "democratic" revolution. This is the shallow

# Stalinists And Ford Bosses Join In Smearing Union Men

NEW YORK CITY — There appeared recently on the bulletin boards of the Ford Instrument Company, Long Island City, a large placard entitled: "How to Identify Any Fifth Columnist in Our Plant." The placard lists "twenty means of identification." Interspersed among "wanton and wasteful" destruction of "materials" and breaking tools "excessively" are the following:

1. He encourages slowdowns.
2. He accuses the government of engaging in a "bosses war."
3. He constantly criticizes his superiors.
4. He sponsors wildcat strikes or walkouts.
5. He demands coddling in working conditions and refuses to put up with any hardships no matter how necessary they may be.
6. He engages in horseplay during working hours.
7. He mutilates important shop bulletins.
8. He razes and intimidates efficient workers who are loyal to the war production program.
9. He circulates seditious pamphlets or leaflets in the shop.
10. He says he is only interested in helping to win a "workers' war" for a "workers' republic."

### WORKERS' REACTION

The reaction of the workers in the plant was expressive of their attitude towards this brazen union busting witch-hunt. Some angrily tore the placards from the bulletin boards—others passed it off as a bad joke, going from one machine to another joshing their fellow workers: "I'm a fifth columnist. Do you know anyone who isn't."

The War Production Committee which authorized the "identifications" was made up of Ford Com-

pany officials and Stalinists. The character of the "identifications" shows the unmistakable imprint of the typical Stalinist method of taking ideas of class conscious workers, plus common demands of all progressive unionists and lumping them together with violations of safety rules or deliberate destruction and labelling them all "fifth columnist."

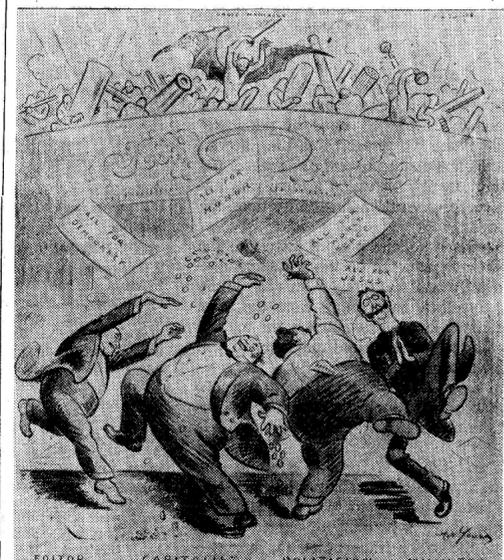
The expression "Fifth Column" had its origin in the Spanish Civil War. Franco boasted that he had four columns outside Madrid and a fifth column within the city, undermining and weakening the workers' defense of the city in favor of the fascists. The Stalinists have perverted and distorted the term "fifth columnist" and converted it into an epithet which they hurl at all progressive and militant unionists who oppose their piece-work, speed-up, company-union program.

### "FIFTH COLUMNIST"

The term "fifth columnist" could, with greater justification, be applied to the Stalinist flacks who join with the bosses in undermining the gains which the workers have made through bitter struggle. These backguards who have achieved top rank within the labor movement as out-and-out strike-breakers have the cast iron gall to stigmatize honest union fighters as fifth columnists.

That the workers in the Long Island City Ford Instrument Plant understood the role of the Stalinists was proven in the union election.

## Having Their Fling



Art Young, the beloved American socialist cartoonist and humorist, who died in New York on Dec. 29 at the age of 77, fought his whole life "with a pencil well-sharpened for attack in the ranks of those who do the world's work" and against "the tyranny of wealth." We reproduce one of the cartoons for which Art Young, as one of the four editors of THE MASSES, was indicted and tried for his anti-war and anti-capitalist propaganda during the first world war.

membership. The American working class will tolerate no traitors within their ranks once their eyes

## Business Magazine Boasts Frameup of 18 Helps Bosses

(Continued from page 1)

members for 544-AFL in opposition to 544-CIO.

### VIOLENCE USED

"These organizers soon had signed up several thousand truck drivers in their union, by rough-and-tumble means when persuasion failed."

But Business Week which speaks as the very voice of American capitalism, does not "deplore" this violence. On the contrary, it approvingly explains the beneficial results for the bosses to be gained from the leadership put in power by this violence.

"Typical of the leadership now governing . . . is a recent incident in which 544 (AFL) worked with a Minneapolis brewery to defeat a strike of an independent brewery workers' union."

This leadership, observes Business Week, "believes it's now possible to be reasonable in relations with employers." So reasonable it might have added, behind the backs of the union men, the worst contracts of recent Minneapolis drivers union history.

This entire brazen admission of Business Week adds another confirmation to the fact that behind the frame-up of the 18 is the hand of Big Business, which found willing tools in Roosevelt, Attorney General Biddle and Tobin.

## FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

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# Teheran - Sinister Product Of Secret Diplomacy

By Norman Daniels

Hollywood has developed the art of publicity to an exceptionally high degree. A producer will spare no money in hiring the most enterprising press agents who know how to arouse public interest in a film scheduled for release. In his publicity, a press agent will generally stress that the film has been in the making for a very long time; that there was a huge number of people involved in the production; that the cost mounted into millions of dollars, etc. One trick, slightly worn with use, is to keep the star of the film in the public eye at all costs, even if a divorce scandal is required.

The Teheran conference needed no such build-up. The public interest exceeded anything the most imaginative Hollywood press agent could have hoped for in his wildest dreams.

### GLOBAL AUDIENCE

The whole mass of humanity inhabiting this war-torn globe waited with bated breath for the word from Teheran. What greater audience is possible? Even if we should discount the millions of Indians so weakened by famine and pestilence that they could not sit up and take note of Teheran; even if we should discount those millions living in their own world of grief for the near ones they have lost in the war and who therefore had no mind for Teheran; even if we should discount the millions bombed out of their homes who wander all over Europe without any possessions, too obsessed with the herculean task of finding shelter and bread, and unmindful therefore of Teheran; even if we should discount the millions who have grown disillusioned by this warring world and therefore cherished no hope that anything good could come of the conferences of the war leaders—it still remains a fact that a vast global audience waited with the greatest anxiety and anticipation for the message from Teheran.

And why not? Everybody knew that the president of the United States did not travel those thousands of miles for the mere pleasure of the trip. Everybody understood that the first minister of the British Crown who is bent with age did not journey this long distance from London while scarcely recovered from a severe case of pneumonia merely to contract another case of pneumonia. Everybody knew that dictator Stalin who had not left the confines of Russia since the October Revolution did not go to Teheran merely to kiss a gift sword and get photographed in his new Marshal's uniform.

DECISIONS MADE  
Everybody understood that the leaders of the three great allied powers did not get together merely to toast each other and to wash down rare Russian caviar with the choicest champagne. There were decisions of far reaching importance and consequence to be made—decisions affecting the lives and future of humanity. Humanity wanted to know the nature of these decisions. Is there anything abnormal about this? Is it idle curiosity to be concerned about one's own destiny?

WHAT KIND OF WORLD  
Now, what kind of a world did Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin map out at their meeting? Is it a world where freedom will reign supreme? A world free from fear, free from want? Then by all means let's tell about it. Let's shout about it from the roof tops. Let there not be a single person on this earth who would remain ignorant of it. Yes, let every German soldier, every Japanese soldier know it, maybe they will lay down their arms and refuse to fight. Countless human lives would thus be saved.

If a free world was mapped at Teheran then what are we waiting for? Let's get started! India might be a good place to start. There is a great market in India for freedom from fear and freedom from want. They have been in need of it for a long time. From there we could proceed throughout the world.

But here is where we run into a serious obstacle. The statesmen who met at Teheran have lost their power of speech. Is it a case of stage-fright at the sight of hundreds of millions of human eyes fixed upon them? But they have plenty of ways of speaking to the world without necessarily facing the anxious eyes of the people. They control the press, the radio, the movies. They are not at all camera shy. Why shouldn't they speak out?

The impenetrable veil of secrecy which shrouded the deliberations of Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin at the Teheran conference, is in itself a clue to the character of those deliberations. The thick veil over Teheran hides a visage so ugly that it could not be shown to bleeding humanity which waited anxiously for the three heads of the allied powers to evolve the formula that would give them peace, freedom and an abundant life. The hopes and aspirations of mankind were betrayed at Teheran. They planned not freedom but slavery there.

There is no other possible explanation for the secrecy of Teheran.

And then, on December 7, a brief statement appeared in the

## CRDC Drive Planned

(Continued from page 1)

a complete going over by either the Supreme Court or a congressional investigating committee."

Both the Nation, which characterized the convictions as "unfair" and "shocking," and the New Republic which called the action of the Supreme Court "inexplicable," pinned their hopes upon the third petition filed by the American Civil Liberties Union requesting a hearing. On Monday, Jan. 3 the Supreme Court again dashed the hopes of these liberals by refusing for the third time to consider the case of the 18. The "liberal" Justices played their Pontius Pilate role

in the frame-up through to the end. Typical both of the perplexity and protest of liberal opinion was the editorial in the Catholic weekly, The Commonweal (Dec. 31): "Hitherto it has generally been American practice to consider that expressions of this sort came under the constitutional guarantee of freedom of speech . . . It is incomprehensible that on so important an issue the Supreme Court should have refused a review . . . The Supreme Court's refusal sets a grave precedent which Americans should note. Preventing the disaffected from expression of their disaffection does little but promote what it seeks to suppress."

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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.

## Dissolution Of The Communist Party

(Continued from page 1)

forms is the prospect open to all. Who will bring this heaven on earth? Capitalism! "It is beyond question that the post-war reconstruction, like production for war at present, will be carried out under the system of free enterprise."

As the working class is beginning to move away from the two capitalist parties and the reactionary program of Wall Street that they represent, as leading labor sections are demanding the building of an independent labor party, the Stalinists turn to the workers and sternly warn them that they must continue to back the two capitalist parties. "It is equally evident," they state, "that the political issues of the time will be decided within the form of the two-party system."

The American Stalinists perform a distinct service in thus brazenly stating their pro-capitalist, anti-socialist, anti-labor, anti-trade union views and aims. They help clear the atmosphere and dispel illusions. The American working class will better learn to understand the Stalinist betrayers, misleaders and finks; will better learn to spurn them; will better learn to wipe out their influence inside the labor movement.

The Socialist Workers Party turns to the honest working class militants inside the ranks of the now dissolved American Communist Party and says: If you want to fight for labor, if you want to abolish capitalism with its oppression and hunger, its fascism and wars, if you want to defend the Soviet Union in the Bolshevik manner—the only way the Soviet Union can really be defended—, then you must break with Stalinism and join the ranks of our party: the only revolutionary Marxist party in the United States, the only party fighting against capitalism and for socialism.

## The Wage Freeze

Every section of the labor movement, almost without exception, recognizes and admits that the most urgent and immediate task before the trade unions is to smash the wage-freezing Little Steel Formula. But the reactionary policies of the trade union bureaucrats make impossible effective labor struggle.

During the miners' struggle, the Murrays and

Greens treacherously denounced the mine strikes. They stabbed the miners in the back.

Now, again, we witness an equally shameful performance. The leaders of two railroad brotherhoods split ranks in the very midst of battle and line up with the worst enemies of the rail workers.

At the same time CIO President Murray permits the steel workers to be jockeyed by Roosevelt into a position where they will be forced to fight for their demands without the support of the rail workers. Thus, both mighty bodies of workers are deprived of the added power they might command if they struck their blows together. Even the CIO unions themselves have achieved no unity in their fight against the wage freeze.

Are the steel, the auto and rubber workers, all the millions clamoring to be freed of the Little Steel Formula chains, to be sacrificed like the rail workers and miners to the narrow, self-interested policies of the bureaucratic union leaders who impose this dangerous division and disunity upon the ranks of labor?

These reactionary policies play directly into the hands of Roosevelt and the bosses, whose conniving strategy is to deal separately with each group of workers; to isolate each group from the main body of organized labor. First, it was the miners. Today it is the rail workers; and tomorrow, it will be the steel workers.

It is up to the rank and file to take things into their own hands and teach the bureaucrats the meaning of the union slogan, "In Unity There Is Strength."

The rank and file must force Murray to stop making cowardly speeches about the no-strike pledge and instead live up to his responsibilities. As head of the CIO it is his duty to call a national conference of the entire trade union movement—CIO, AFL, Railroad Brotherhoods, Miners Union—to map out immediately and put into effect a fighting program of united action to smash the Little Steel Formula.

Such a conference and such a program would put a stop to the disgraceful and ruinous disunity in labor's ranks. It would frustrate the carefully contrived schemes of the bosses and government to dismember organized labor and hack each separate limb to bits.

The Little Steel Formula will be headed for the junkheap once such unity for action is achieved.

## General Marshall

According to an article appearing in the semi-official publication of the general staff, *The Army and Navy Journal*, General Marshall's vicious attack upon organized labor was directly inspired by the "commander in chief." This was confirmed by White House secretary Early, who informed the press that Roosevelt and Marshall were "thinking along the same lines." The attempt of the Roosevelt administration to shift responsibility for losses incurred in the war onto the American labor movement has provoked a storm of protest from all sections of organized labor except—the Stalinists.

Even spineless bureaucrats like Green and Murray were moved to protest. True, their protestations resembled more the yipping of curs which had received an unexpected kick than the authentic voice of 13,000,000 organized American workers. But even the plaintive whimperings of Green and Murray were seized upon by the boss press and denounced as an unwarranted affront to the honor and integrity of Roosevelt's chief of staff. The Stalinist *Daily Worker*, cawing like a carrion crow, rushed in to justify Marshall's attack and defend his right to slander the unions.

Big Business is pushing General Marshall to the fore. The notorious Captain Rickenbacker, mouthpiece for the National Association of Manufacturers, apostle (with Browder) of the incentive piecework speed-up plan, and Roosevelt's roving ambassador to the Kremlin, is now proclaiming Marshall as "the type of man who should be the next president of these United States."

Trotsky pointed out a long time ago that the military general staffs of the capitalist "democracies" are veritable nests of fascist intrigue. This truth was verified in Germany, Italy, Spain and France, where the military officer caste conspired with the fascist demagogues to crush the labor movement and impose dictatorial regimes. Similar plans are being openly espoused by the most authoritative spokesmen for American imperialism. And every day the kept press continues to howl more loudly for criminal penalties against all strikers.

A concerted effort is being made to drive a wedge between the men in the armed services and the organized workers. Hate propaganda, previously reserved for the imperialist rivals at war with this country, is now spewed upon the American working class. Nothing short of complete destruction of the organized trade union movement will satisfy the profit-mad plunderbund which controls the economic and political life of the nation.

The bankrupt policy followed by the blind trade union bureaucrats in keeping the workers tied to Roosevelt and his generals can lead only to disaster. Only a decisive break with the boss-controlled Democratic and Republican political parties and the building of an Independent Labor Party can successfully mobilize the masses for the defense of their democratic rights. Such a party can enter the lists in opposition to all contending boss parties for political power wielded on behalf of the immense majority against the reactionary capitalist minority. Only such a power organized as a Workers and Farmers government will put an end to fascist intrigue and ensure the defeat of fascism both at home and abroad.

## It Is Time to Build An Independent Labor Party

# Anti-Semitic Assaults Increase In New York

(Continued from page 1)

reported from Boston, Baltimore and other large cities.

Within the past three months this city has been the scene of more than 200 physical assaults, including knifings, on Jewish youngsters and aged people and vandalistic acts against Jewish synagogues and cemeteries. The New York City Police Department, notoriously infested with members and "ex-members" of the fascist "Christian Front," has failed to give any protection against these assaults or to arrest the perpetrators of these criminal acts.

### "HUSH-HUSH"

Following weeks of "hush-hush" inaction on the part of city and police officials, Mayor LaGuardia this week was forced into an appearance of action by recent revelations in such papers as *PM* and the *New York Post*.

The agitation of the liberal press, unions and civic and religious organizations "has centered largely around the Drew case. This case involves the reinstatement by New York Police Commissioner Valentine of Patrolman Drew, who was suspended last May as a result of his association with and support of the "Christian Front" and such elements as Joseph McWilliams, "Little Fuchrer" of Yorkville, and Mrs. Elisabeth Dilling, First Lady of American Fascism.

Drew, who was reinstated with full pay for the period of his suspension, is but one of over 500

city policemen who were found in 1940 to be connected with the rabidly anti-labor and anti-Semitic "Christian Front." Most of these 500—and others not revealed—are still on the police force. It is such vicious elements who are entrusted with the protection of the Jewish people.

### OFFERS REWARD

As a result of the belated exposure of these latest anti-Semitic outrages, which have been conducted almost openly under the very eyes of the police, and the pressure of the labor unions as well as various liberal and religious groups, LaGuardia has announced his appointment of a three-man board to re-examine the facts in the Drew case. He has also announced a \$500 reward for evidence leading to the arrest and conviction of anti-Semitic hoodlums.

While the removal from the police force of an individual like Drew is to be welcomed, this would not solve the situation. This latest revival of anti-Semitic outrages is part and parcel of the general outburst of anti-Negro and anti-labor incitement which has been sweeping the country. The failure of the "democratic" authorities to take any action against the perpetrators of the anti-Negro riots in Detroit and elsewhere, and the blows which have been hurled at the labor movement, have emboldened the New York fascist rats to come out of their holes.

### ANTI-FASCIST RALLY

Workers throughout the country will recall the demonstration of 50,000 anti-fascist workers, organized and led by the Socialist Workers Party, which in Feb. 1939 surrounded a public rally of the Nazi Bund and "Christian Fronters" at Madison Square Garden, and which taught the fascists a lesson they have long remembered. That night, it will also be recalled, LaGuardia's police, 6,000 strong, rode down with their horses and clubbed the anti-fascist demonstrators and protected the fascists.

Anti-Semitic attacks, just as anti-Negro attacks, will never be successfully fought by depending on a LaGuardia, by relying on the capitalists or their government.

### ALLIANCE WITH LABOR

The Jewish people can help to free themselves from these anti-Semitic attacks, can help to wipe out all these incipient fascist groups only in firm alliance with the Negro people and the labor movement. Only in such a joint alliance and by militant struggle, as demonstrated in Madison Square Garden in 1939, will they succeed in driving the anti-Semites back into their holes.

The labor movement, in its own defense, must likewise take up the struggle against all manifestations of anti-Semitism. For anti-Semitism, just like anti-Negro outrages, are aimed at destroying the unity of the labor movement and making it an easy prey for the capitalist foes of the labor movement.

# Stalin Sets Curzon Line As Border; Red Army Surges On

(Continued from page 1)

resolution of the Socialist Workers Party printed in the *Fourth International* (Dec. 1943) discusses this very problem. The resolution declares: "On the one hand, Stalin sets up 'Free Germany' and 'Free Poland' Committees and supports the Yugoslav Partisans and similar movements as counter-weights to Anglo-American influence. He plays with the hopelessly reactionary program of reconstituting pseudo-democratic regimes upon a capitalist basis with a 'friendly' orientation towards the USSR. On the other hand he concludes agreements with the Anglo-American imperialists to cooperate with them in the subjugation of Europe."

This hopelessly utopian "middle road" policy, which shifts from day to day on its foundation of quicksand, is the means whereby Stalin strives to save his own bureaucracy at the expense of the European socialist revolution and the interests of the world proletariat.

But Stalin will not succeed. The victories of the Red Armies are bound to provide a powerful

impulse to the European revolution, whose impending storm brings nightmares to Stalin, Roosevelt and Churchill alike.

## Teheran Conference

In the Jan. 3 issue of the *Progressive*, William Henry Chamberlin asks a few pertinent questions: — If China is entitled to the retrocession of Formosa which Japan took by force after the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-95 why isn't it also entitled to Hong Kong, which Great Britain took by force after the "Opium War" of 1839-42? If Koreans and Formosans are entitled to self-determination, what about Indonesians, Indo-Chinese, Malays, Burmese who formerly lived under the rule of British, French, and Dutch overlords? Chamberlin might also have included the Filipinos.

## CONTROL FOR WORKERS'

What has happened to the labor-management committees which the Stalinists and the bureaucrats were yammering for not so long ago, and which they claimed would give the workers a greater say-so in production?

These class-collaboration committees, where they were set up, proved to be merely instruments for speeding up the workers; even many big corporations shied away from them. When Director General Quinn of the War Production Board's production drive division recently complained because Ford and General Motors managements were paying only "superficial attention" to the labor-management committee plan, the Ford officials replied that this plan was "a political vehicle designed a long time ago in an effort to push labor farther into the management of industry."

The only time the workers are going to have some real say-so about production is when the labor movement really moves to realize the slogan: For Workers Control of Production.

# International Notes

By PAUL G. STEVENS

The Nazi technique of "depopulation" has exploited both old nationalist prejudices and unleashed new outbursts of chauvinism. Mutual extermination, for instance, became part of the daily life of Croats and Serbs in the early days of the Nazi occupation of Yugoslavia.

The same technique has followed every trail of Nazi conquest. Eventually, when the means were at hand, it was bound to boomerang in chauvinist excesses against the German people themselves.

The Jan. 5, 1944 issue of *Poland Fights*, published in New York by the "Polish Labor Committee" reports with unreserved satisfaction:

"In the village of Sazarajewka, 100 persons were killed by the Nazis. In retaliation, the fighting squads of the Polish Underground burnt the model German settlement in Siedziska, near Mokre, and sixty Germans were killed in the action. The German garrison stationed in the neighboring town of Zamosc refused to respond to the German settlement's appeal for help."

The report is bare of any elucidating details. We learn nothing from it of the social composition of the German "settlers" or of the political character of the Polish attackers. Nor is there any indication as to whether the command or the rank and file of the German garrison "refused to respond."

Nevertheless, if we want to understand its broader meaning, the example of Yugoslavia can shed considerable light. The Croat

slaughter of Serb villages, instigated by the Nazis, was spurred on by the ultra-chauvinist Ustashi. The Serb reprisals against Croat villages were instigated by the Pan-Serbs who are entrenched in the Yugoslav government-in-exile and tolerated, if not approved, by British and American imperialism. In the end, a reaction set in among the masses of both Serbs and Croats. They have flocked to the Partisans on whose banner is inscribed "Down with Chauvinism."

It can be predicted without fear of exaggeration that the excesses of chauvinism in Poland will eventually be overcome in similar fashion. The Nazi policy of "depopulation" will be defeated not by nationalist Polish reprisals, but by a common struggle of the German and Polish people against predatory imperialism and its chauvinist helpers and for the Socialist United States of Europe.

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Evidence of the workers' active dissatisfaction with the class collaboration policy of their official leadership is abundant not only in the United States and England, but in the satellite states of Anglo-American imperialism as well. In South Africa, this development has been given poignant organizational expression. The Labor Party there, modeled after its British prototype and even more conservative because of its craft union base, is represented in the national government. As in the other countries, the government has emphasized national sacrifice only by anti-labor legisla-

tion. The result has been a ferment which has produced two wide splits. One occurred with the formation of an Independent Labor Party, the other with the organization of a Progressive Labor Party.

The former grew out of a national conference called by the Garment Workers Union. This union presented a motion against the official class collaboration policy at the annual meeting of the Trade Union Executive last February. The motion carried by a vote of 100 to 40. When the official Labor Party ignored this action, the union called a conference last May, attended by 120 delegates representing unions of factory workers, railwaymen, engineers, transport workers and others. The conference set up the Independent Labor Party and decided to participate in the elections against the existent parties.

At the same time, a conference representing 24 branches of the official Labor Party also met and formed the Progressive Labor Party.

Both organizations made immediate contact and are now in the process of unification. Their election platform, while not opposing the war, takes a progressive stand on labor's rights as well as on the important "racial issue," on which the official Labor Party holds a reactionary position.

The same force which has produced this organizational development will undoubtedly impel the new party to move further to the left politically as it increases in strength.

## Senate Report Discloses Huge War Profiteering

Universal Big Business war profiteering on a scale to make the notorious "killings" of the last war look like mere apple-snatching, was revealed last week in a Senate committee's minority report against the proposed amendments to wipe out the present war contracts renegotiations law.

The report, citing government figures, disclosed that the 1942 profits—after all taxes were paid—of 200 leading and representative corporations were on the average five to ten times greater than during their best peace-time years.

These cases, which the committee declared "are not exceptional instances," show that the big corporations realized 1942 profits ranging between 50 and 1,000 per cent of their entire net worth.

The report was aimed at combatting the corporations' high pressure drive to kill the war contracts renegotiations law, through which a few corporations have been compelled to return to the government some crumbs from their colossal war profits.

Four corporations were cited by name in the report. These four have been particularly vociferous in their demands that they be relieved of the "injustice" of the war contracts renegotiations requirements.

The Timken-Detroit Axle Co., whose parent corporation has been running big patriotic advertisements in leading papers, made a 1942 net profit 400 per cent greater than its best pre-war take. The Elastic Stop Nut Corp. made 122 per cent profit on its net worth, about 900 per cent more profit than in 1939, its best peace-time year. The Harnischfeger Corp. raked in \$2,795,000 net profit in 1942, 500 per cent higher than in 1940, best previous year of its history.

The committee report summarizes: "Similar profit figures are general. . . In 1942, the profits (after taxes) of 19 companies making perishable tools were eleven times their pre-war average. The 1942 profits for 25 woolen textile companies had increased ninefold. Profits for 10 lumber companies for the same period quadrupled. Fifty-three cotton textile companies realized eight times as much profit. . . These figures represent profits before renegotiations."

These are some of the corporations which have been yelping "treason" when workers, made desperate by rising living costs, strike for a few dollars more pay.

## Ickes' Aides On Payroll of Big Oil Corporations

Secretary of the Interior Harold L. Ickes has been boasting that his Petroleum Administration for War, unlike the War Production Board, contains no corporation dollar-a-year men, but only government officials on regular government salaries.

Recently a transcript of hearings on the petroleum situation by a House Naval Affairs subcommittee disclosed: 1. At least three leading officials of the PAW are receiving pay from private oil corporations while drawing government salaries; and 2. that the PAW refused to give the investigating committee a list of other PAW officials receiving corporation pay.

Ralph K. Davies, deputy in charge of PAW, testified that he is "on leave of absence" as vice-president of Standard Oil of California, and while not drawing a Standard Oil "salary as such" is still getting "compensation" from Standard of \$47,000 yearly while on the government payroll for \$10,000.

Edwin D. Cummings, director of refining in the PAW, admitted he had been affiliated for 20 years with Shell Oil from which he now draws "a so-called termination pay" of \$18,000 a year. Donald R. Knowlton, PAW Director of Production, testified he is "still on the pay roll of the Phillips Petroleum Company. . . as compensation for past services rendered" at \$16,380 a year, in addition to his \$8,000 annual check from the government.

The conclusion of the subcommittee's report stated: "The Petroleum Administration for War was criticized by nearly every witness for . . . favoritism to the big oil companies, whose employees predominantly man the PAW."

## Capitalists Predict Mass Unemployment After War

No less a capitalist figure than Alfred P. Sloan, Chairman of the board of General Motors, one of America's largest corporations, at the recent National Association of Manufacturers convention painted a roseate picture—an ad-writer's dream—of the lush living the workers can anticipate in the post-war era of untrammelled "individual enterprise."

The GM spokesmen painted a much more sombre and realistic picture before a Detroit panel of the War Labor Board last week, when they admitted under pressure that drastic unemployment will follow at the conclusion of hostilities.

This confession was wrung from them by their violent opposition to the CIO United Automobile Workers' demand that GM set up a post-war security fund from its monumental war profits, to be used to supplement the income of unemployed and partially unemployed GM workers, including ex-servicemen. The corporation officials argued that unemployment would be so extensive that GM would be unable to finance such a fund.

Walter Reuther, UAW vice-president and head of the union's GM division produced official GM profit figures proving that Sloan, the duPonts, GM president C. E. Wilson and other leading stockholders, have salted away enormous reserves to keep them very cosy during the post-war economic collapse.

Capitalism's real attitude toward unemployment is one of calculated brutality. Before a recent session of the Investment Bankers of America, John F. Fennelly, executive director of the New York State Committee for Economic Development, bluntly stated:

"Full employment would be incompatible with the free enterprise system which carries with it the right to a normal flow of unemployed."

That is, "free enterprise"—a sweet-sounding title for capitalism's unhindered robbery of the masses—desires and requires a huge reserve of desperate, starving unemployed who can be converted into a permanent army of scabs to be used against striking workers and to drive down living conditions. That is the heart of capitalist "post-war planning."