FREE THE 18:

THE MULTANT PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

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National Pardon Campaign For 18 Gets Under Way Roosevelt Calls On Congress To Adopt Forced Labor Legislation

Unions Support Drive to Free SWP Leaders; Labor and Liberal Press Condemn Jailings

NEW YORK CITY-Signatures are beginning to roll into the office of the Civil Rights Defense Committee as its national petition campaign to obtain unconditional presidential pardon for the 18 imprisoned leaders of the Socialist Workers Party and of Minneapolis Truckdrivers Local 544-CIO gets under way. The New York Local CRDC committee reports that well over one hundred signatures were secured at a meeting of American Labor Party officials and members last week. Among the well-known trade-union leaders asking freedom for the 18 were Charles Zimmerman, Manager of Local 22,

a hearing, by a liberal court,

seems to us a shocking thing. For

in denying these defendants a

hearing, the court permits pre-

cedents to stand which seriously

I. L. G. W. U., Thomas DeLo- do not agree with what they say, renzo and Gabe DeAngelis, but we shall defend to the death President and Financial Secre- their right to say it.' Let our tary respectively, of Brewster Local march with them and sup-Local 365 UAW-CIO. of these eighteen."

The petitions, calling upon President Roosevelt to uphold the Bill of Rights by pardoning the class-war prisoners framed under the vicious Smith "Gag" Act, are being circulated in local trade unions, clubs, factories and meetings throughout the country.

NEEDS FUNDS

The CRDC urgently needs funds | United States . . . The record of this prosecution is one to shame to provide relief for the prisoners, their wives and families and every decent American . . . "We hold no brief for the Trot-"to mobilize all progressive" forces behind its fight to free the 18 and skyites and have differed deeply the reactionary Smith with them on most concrete is repeal "Gag" Act.

sues. But we think them unjust-This week's union contributors ly and unfairly condemned, the to the Minneapolis Prisoners Re- victims of a cheap bit of labor lief Fund include Locals 87 and politics. It is a crime to send 104, Textile Workers Union-CIO them to jail because they beof Paterson, New Jersey and lieve in the principles of the UAW-CIO Local 647 of Reading, Communist Manifesto. But a Ohio. Enclosing a check for one greater crime is the injury done hundred dollars, Kay Gentile, to the Bill of Rights by their prosecution and by the dangerou Local 647's Financial Secretary, this amount will help a good face."

LUCE PUBLICATIONS cause. All labor organizations and fighters for civil liberties are specifically and correctly states urged to send donations to James that the 18 Trotskyist leaders T. Farrell, Chairman Civil Rights "were convicted of sedition, not be-Defense Committee, 160 5th Avecause of any overt act, but because nue, New York City. they believe in the proletarian

In its Jan. 12 issue "Aero- revolution," its fellow Luce pub-Notes," the lively paper of Brew- lication, Life magazine, in its Murray, R. J. Thomas, Sidney "Full employment is the paraster Local 365 UAW-CIO, sharply Jan. 17 issue attempts its own Hillman, Walter Reuther and mount issue facing the nation," condemns the attack upon free dirty little frameup by bracketing Vice-President Henry Wallace, keynoted Sidney Hillman, chairspeech involved in the jailing of the Trotskyists with the recently

Framed Trotskyist Leaders Enter Jail



15 of the 18 Socialist Workers Party and Minneapolis Truckdrivers Local 544-CIO leaders pause for a moment on Dec. 31 as they approached the entrance of the Hennepin County Jail, Minneapolis, where they spent three days before final incarceration in federal prisons. The 14 men are now imprisoned in the federal penitentiary at Sandstone, Minn. Grace Carlson is confined in the federal prison for women at Alderson, W. Va. The other three prisoners are in the federal penitentiary at Danbury, Conn.

writes: "This Local is in deep sympathy to these men and hope which the court has averted its CIO Political Action Heads While Time Magazine (Jan. 17) Hold Do-Nothing Conference

statesmen" offered a solitary pro **By Art Preis** posal for effective political action

NEW YORK CITY-A bevy by the workers to achieve their of CIO big-wigs and Roosevelt- laudable aims. ian politicos, including Philip FULL EMPLOYMENT

Browder And J. P. Morgan From the Text of Earl Browder's Report to the National Committee of the Communist Party at its meeting in New York City on Jan. 7-9. "We shall have to be prepared to break with anyone that

NEW YORK CITY - Chase National Bank, world's largest refuses to support and fight for the realization of the Teheran Agreement and the Anglo-Soviet-American coalition. We must be prepared to

Unloads Upon Labor His Own Failure To Curb Inflation

267

President's 5-Point Program Like Former 7-Point Program Reveals Anti-Labor Bias

By C. Thomas

Roosevelt's message to congress requesting the adoption of "a national selective service act" to outlaw strikes was the culmination of weeks of a carefully planned campaign directed against the trade unions. The campaign was initiated immediately upon the President's return from the Cairo and Teheran conferences. Part of the build-up was Roosevelt's spectacular action ordering the army to seize the railroads. This contrasts with his previous actions in the coal strikes where he instructed a civilian agency, the

fuels administrator, to take over control.

He confronted the leaders of the AFL and CIO with the ultima-

Following the seizure tum: either to endorse a National Service Act or face drastic antiof the railroads by the arstrike legislation by Congress. my came General Mar-"The labor chiefs," says the N.Y. shall's infamous attack Post asked for associated the rest of the President's progu p o n organized labor ram--calling for higher taxes, control of profits, food price subsidwhich the Army and Navy ies, and continuance of the stabilization program - would be ap-Journal revealed was diproved. Mr. Roosevelt replied rectly inspired by Roosethat he was unable to give that velt. Then from one end assurance." Roosevelt, who can of the country to the other, day infant, was only too well aware in and day out, the kept press of the reception his "five-point spewed forth a steady stream of poisonous propaganda calculated of the reception his "five-point program" would receive in congress. to whip up a lynch hysteria

against the unions. With the AUSTIN'S AMENDMENT ground thus prepared, with "pub-On the same day that Roos-

lic opinion" thus regimented beevelt submitted his message to hind the "demand" for punitive Congress, Senator Austin introdaction against labor, Roosevelt uced an amended version of his delivered his message to Congress. national service act. The heart commercial bank and financial 5-POINT PROGRAM of the measure lies in the follow-

ing provisions: "Every person heart of the gigantic Rockefeller | In his message, Roosevelt presand Standard Oil interests, was ented a five-point program which assigned to service under this act indicted by a Federal Grand included: (1) "A realistic tax shall receive the compensation Jury in New York last Wedness law - which will tax all unreas. and work the hours applicable to "A continua. the kind of work which he or onable profits'

How many have paid indicted American fascists. The any heed to the fight against re-Socialist Workers Party imaction at home? As this is being mediately sent to the Life editors written, eighteen men and women a telegram of protest against this are enroute to federal peniten- | amalgam.

tiaries, three to Danbury, Connecticut, the others to Sandstone, ties published extensive news re-Minnesota. With their departure, ports and numerous photographs ican labor. one more step has been taken to of the circumstances attending the suppress free labor, one more jailing of the 15 prisoners who blow against the four freedoms were taken into custody at Minhere at home has been delivered. neapolis. They refrained however For freedom of thought and from editorial comment on the speech were sent to prison toconsummation of Roosevelt and day. . ."

LOCAL PLEDGES SUPPORT ist and teamster leaders. A con-

After describing the facts in spicuous and honorable exception the case, the article concludes: was the independent Negro news-"Thinking people concerned with paper, St. Paul Recorder, which the preservation of our own Con- reprinted PM's editorial protest stitution and its guarantee of against the refusal of the U.S. civil liberties, all over the coun- Supreme Court to hear the case could not be left to the Big Busitry are saying with Voltaire: 'We of the 18.

AMERICAN LABOR PARTY TORN **BY BITTER CLIQUE CONFLICT**

NEW YORK CITY - A bitter | ly than the Stalinists, who had a unprincipled clique fight for con- 22 month lapse during the period trol of the American Labor Party of the Stalin-Hitler pact. in New York has reached the

stage where rival gangs of labor OPEN WARFARE fakers now threaten to tear the | The move to precipitate open

party asunder, divide the political warfare through contending primstrength of the New York work- ary slates is the State Executive ers and discredit the very con- Committee's counter to Sidney ception of independent labor Hillman's ultimatum that the political action. party structure be changed from

The Rose-Dubinsky-Social-Dem- an individual membership basis ocratic wing, which controls the to a trade-union basis, with rep-ALP State Executive Committee, resentation in the leading bodies announced last Saturday that it. according to proportional memberintends to enter its own slate in ship strength.

the forthcoming April Party prim-Hillman's so-called "United ary elections to contest the slate Proposal" rests upon a formally of the Hillman-Stalinist faction correct organizational conception which is trying to seize the party's of how a labor party should be apparatus. built. However he and his Stalin-

No difference of program div- ist allies are motivated not by ides the two contending groups. consideration for strengthening Both factions have been equally the ALP structure but by reacservile supplicants for Roosevelt's tionary aims. Since Hillman and favor, vying to prove which is the the Stalinists control most of the most reactionary and most effi- state and local CIO unions, the cient in shackling the workers to acceptance of his proposal would the Roosevelt war machine. ensure his coalition's control of Aside from their rabid'y red- the ALP.

baiting opposition to the Stalin-Hillman desires to corral the ist, the only claim the Dubinsky-ALP machine for the benefit of Social-Democratic faction can his CIO Political Action Commitmake in its own favor is that | tee, established with the intent it has served the Roosevelt machine longer and more consistent-(Continued on page 3)

at a conference of the CIO Political Action Committee last Friday and Saturday in New bile Workers president, ponder-York's swank Park Central Ho-

regime.

CBS, trumpeted:

United States.

ventions.

years in the Reich."

tel, churned the air with orato- people faced two alternatives, a The newspapers of the Twin Ci- ry deploring the depressing before or the "worst depression post-war prospects for Amer- and the longest breadlines ever seen in this country." He was For two solid days they beat ready to vote against the second their gums vigorously and at alternative.

man of the c

length, expounding their sundry Walter Reuther, UAW vice-presblue-prints for ensuring full | ident, who is long on blue-prints employment and security at the but short on methods of realizing termination of military conflict. them, presented his latest stream-They all agreed that cessation of lined scheme for getting labor, the Tobin's frameup of the Trotsky-

hostilities threatens the Ameri- corporations and their government can working-class with catasagents, into a cozy family circle. trophic economic breakdown and He called for "Peace Production unemployment. They all agreed Boards" of labor, management that "something ought to be done and government to work out plans about it," and that the problem for reconverting industry from

war to peace production without less masters of the country. loss of employment. The previous But in spite of all their windy "Reuther Plan," modeled on simalaver, none of these "labor ilar lines for speedy conversion of

peace-time industry into war prod-Who Comforts uction, gathered dust three years ago in the waste baskets of the Hitler? government Big Business agents.

MURRAY'S SPEECH Despite Gen. Marshall's slanderous anti-labor charge Touching on more current is-

that strikes and threats of sues, CIO President Murray manstrike have provided Hitler aged to pontificate at length with a powerful propaganda against Roosevelt's proposal for weapon, the Nazi radio has out so much as mentioning the maintained a studied silence President's name. about the coal, rail and steel wage conflicts. However, the

Murray's touching regard for Nazis not only anticipated Roosevelt's sensibilities and prestige was evoked in part by Italy are allowed full freedom of Roosevelt's Congressional message, but derived from it the presence of Vice-President public comfort and justifica-Wallace, Roosevelt's chore-boy, tion for their slave labor an honored guest of the conference.

Radio Berlin, as recorded on Just after Roosevelt had an-Jan. 11 in New York City by nounced his national forced labor plan, in the midst of his open and "Roosevelt is now going to ruthless drive to incite the armed announce details of the comforces against the labor movement. the CIO leaders could find pulsory universal service act no more appropriate figure from in his message to Congress and propose the introduction whom, in the words of Hillman, of universal service in the they could "take counsel," than this apologist for the Roosevelt "Thus Roosevelt once more regime.

tries to imitate a National Wallace unburdened himself of a lengthy white-wash of Roose-Socialist measure which has velt, who has had to do "many proven itself for more than ten things which some of us have Jealous Hitler does not innot been able to understand." tend to let "democratic" Roosevelt take credit for one permit his "farm agent" and office boy to spread some reassurthe Fuehrer's most prized in-

(Continued on page 4)

give the hand of cooperation R. J. Thomas, United Automoand fellowship to everyone who fights for the realization of ously opined that the American this coalition. If J. P. Morgan supports this coalition and goes down the line for it, I as a Communist am prepared to clasp his hand and join with him to realize it. Class divisions or political groupings have no significance now except as they reflect one side or the other side of the issue."

ON GUARD

Under the heading, "AMG Encourages Pro-Nazi Trotskyites," the Daily Worker. Jan. 10, publishes a violent diatribe against alleged "Trotskyites" in Italy, claiming they are aiding the Nazis

with "Anti-Soviet, anti-United Nations propaganda."

A careful perusal of the names of the alleged "Trotskyites" reveals some to be well-known Social-Democratic supporters of the Allies, while others are unknown to labor circles in this country. They are all, however, undoubtedly pola national forced labor draft with- itical opponents of the Stalinists. The article ends up with the following sinister note:

"If the democratic elements in expression and action through their united Committee of National Liberation, they will find a way to expose and wipe out all treasonous elements whether they parade under the banner of Benito Mussolini or of Leon Trotsky."

This is a none-too-delicate intimation that the Kremlin wants to unloose a GPU terror and assassination drive against anti-Stalinists in Italy, similar to the murders and frameups of revolutionists committed during the Spanish Civil War. The Italian workers and anti-fascist labor organizations must be on guardThus Roosevelt condescended to and prepared to repel with utmost vigor GPU terror and assassinations threatened against Italian working-class political opponents

of Stalinism.

day for violation of the Trading tion of the law for renegotiation she is required to perform in the with the Enemy Act and con- of war contracts," (3) "A cost place of employment to which he spiracy. of food law," (4) "Early reenact- or she is assigned," and the bill

The charges, brought by the ment of the stabilization statute then provides that every person Department of Justice, are based of October 1942," and (5) "A na- so assigned "shall have the right on evidence that this multi- billion tional service law." "These five to join any union or organization dollar financial octopus, whose measures," Roosevelt added, "to. of employes, but no such person direct and indirect control ex- gether form a just and equitable shall be obliged to join such union tends into hundreds of America's whole. I would not recommend a or organization."

biggest war industries and cor- service law unless the other laws If such legislation is enacted, porations, knowingly facilitated were passed to keep down the it is clear that every closed shop the transfer of blocked Axis cost of living, to share equitably or even modified closed shop unfunds to finance the sale and the burdens of taxation, to hold ion contract will be nullified. Unsmuggling of industrial diamonds the stabilization line, and to prev- der the act, workers can be moved

to Nazi Germany and Japan. ent undue profits." Although Winthrop W. Aldrich chairman of the bank's board of

(Continued on page 3)

Largest U.S. Bank

Trade Conspiracy

Indicted In Nazi

from one industry to another, After he had delivered his mes- from one section of the country

sage, Roosevelt summoned Philip to another, and will be compelled Murray and William Green to the

White House for a "conference." (Continued on page 2)

Browder's Speech And The Struggle For Socialism – By The Editors –

Many sincere Stalinist workers have reconciled themselves to the previous twists and turns of the Communist Party: the pact with Hitler, the kowtowing to Roosevelt, the policy of strikebreaking, etc., as maneuvers necessary to defend the Soviet Union. They may even have accepted the dissolution of the Comintern, the discarding of "The Internationale" as regrettable concessions to appease Roosevelt and Churchill with whom Stalin is allied. But they could swallow these criminal betrayals only because they assumed and were assured in private if not in public that they were temporary expedients and that the Communist party still aimed and fought for world socialism.

The projected dissolution of the Communist Party has undoubtedly given these workers a violent shock and raised serious questions in their minds about the nature and direction of the Stalinist movement. The cynical and brutal bureaucratic method by which the Communist Party has been liquidated, the total rejection of all socialist ideas and aims and the abject surrender to capitalism and its political parties serve to reveal the real reactionary features of Stalinism and to clear up false impressions. The dissolution demonstrated that the Communist Party is in no respect a genuine worker's party with any rank and file democracy determining its policies and controlling its leaders but solely an agency used by Stalin's bureaucratic clique

in a state of a state of the state of a

to promote the reactionary aims of its nationalist foreign policy.

Browder and Foster upon Stalin's orders simply announced at a public mass meeting the prospective burial of the party without bothering to previously inform or consult their members. The capitalist press received the news before the members of the Communist Party.

The Stalinist bureaucrats have become so crude and callous in their betrayals that they assume that their ranks will tolerate anything and everything they dish out. But they may find it more difficult to ram this new "turn" down the throats of thinking Stalinist workers. The American Communist Party is being dissolved at a time when the Soviet Union is scoring colossal victories and has gained enormous prestige among the masses everywhere; at a time when the employers and their agents have launched a terrific attack against the American workers. Thinking Stalinists must naturally be asking this question: Why must the Communist Party be given up now under these conditions?

The only explanation that can make sense. despite Browder's alibis, is that the Stalinist Party is nothing but a pawn in Stalin's deal with the Anglo-American capitalists. This is confirmed by an analysis of Browder's crude arguments or alibis for this new turn in Stalinist policy.

(Continued on page 2)



THE MILITANT

The Stalinists And The Fight For Socialism

(Continued from page 1)

Browder bases all his arguments in defense of the dissolution upon the agreements of Teheran, Cairo and Moscow. "The answer to all other questions will depend, in the final analysis, upon the judgment made of Teheran," he says in his Madison Square Garden speech. According to Browder, Teheran ushered in an unexpected new period in world history which will bring lasting peace, economic well-being and social reforms. "The Teheran Declaration which was signed by Churchill, Roosevelt and the great Marxist Stalin represents the only program in the interest of the toiling masses of the whole world for the next period. . . There is no other way for the world. . ." (Daily Worker, Jan. 13.)

This evaluation of the Teheran conference is false to the core. The parleys of Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin have been shrouded in such secrecy and silence that neither Browder nor the rest of humanity knows precisely what agreements were concluded. Whereas the Bolsheviks under Lenin and Trotsky not only condemned secret diplomacy but published the secret treaties of the imperialists, Stalin practices the most brazen kind of secret diplomacy and keeps hidden his deals with the Anglo-American capitalists.

Secret Diplomacy

By Marvel Scholl

The three operating railway | Workers Union released a few

unions which had refused to sub- figures on profits in the steel in-

mit their wage dispute to Roose- dustry. Figures which give the

velt for arbitration, have reached lie to Mr. Fairless and prove that

an agreement by direct negotia- the industry can "afford" a 17

tions with the railway carriers. cent increase for the workers-

The agreement embodies the same without an additional bonanza

signed by the two operating from 1940 to 1943 the profits in

brotherhoods who had broken steel were \$1,206,000,000 of which

ranks and submitted to Roose- \$650,000,000 were excess profits,

velt's ultimatum. The agreement i.e. over and above the average

is also retroactive to December 27 yearly profits for the period be-

from home and vacation pay, the four years they almost tripled

time to change basic rates of pay from \$75,480,000 between 1936-39

vision is a protection against the tripled its profits over the 1936-39

wage freezing clause contained in period. During these pre-war

Roosevelt's arbitration award to years they made "only" \$31,180,-

the other two operating unions, 000. From 1940 to 1943 they

ment.

or to amend existing rules or to to \$159,409,000 between 1940-43.

During the four-year period

U. S. Steel made \$186,000,000

from 1936-39. During the next

Bethlehem Steel's profits rose

Republic Steel also almost

General Casting Corporation,

down strike in the company's of-

the Leechbourgh mill of the Al-

legheny-Ludlum Steel Co. at Pitts-

* * *

At the McKee's Rock plant of

the Pressed Steel Car Co. the

workers struck last week against

a speedup scheme introduced by

The Militant

may now be purchased at

242 Broadway, San Diego, Cal.

with the work schedules.

the company.

one of the smaller concerns, net-

those profits to \$431,584,000.

tween 1936 and 1939.

scooped in \$83,104,000.

wage, overtime and vacation pro- from Roosevelt's OPA.

visions contained in the contract

and in addition contains a clause

which provides that with the ex-

ception of overtime, expense away

contracting "parties are not re-

stricted from taking action at any

propose new rules." This last pro-

and represents a vindication of

their refusal to abide by the orig-

inal award.

refused to publish their diplomatic decisions? Because they cannot stand the scrutiny of the peoples of the world. The rulers of the capitalist powers plotted with Stalin, not freedom and prosperity for the peoples of the world, but their further impoverishment and enslavement. They conspired to preserve, strengthen and stabilize capitalism and to strangle and suppress any revolutionary movements in Europe and Asia. As a guarantee of his pledge Stalin has already junked the Communist International and now he has ordered the dissolution of the American Communist Party. This is the real meaning of Teheran. This is the real motive behind the dissolution of the Communist Party.

Lenin On Capitalism

Browder however insists that as a result of Teheran "Capitalism and socialism have begun to find the way to peaceful coexistence and collaboration in the same world." This is the absolute opposite of Lenin's view that the two social systems are fundamentally antagonistic and are engaged in life-and-death struggle with each other. In November 1918 Lenin wrote: "Anglo-French and American imperialism will inevitably strangle the independence and freedom of Russia unless world-wide socialist revolution, unless world-wide Bolshefrom war to peace. But we have not forgotten that war will come again. So long as both capitalism and socialism remain, we cannot live in peace. Either the one or the other in the long run will conquer. There will be a funeral chant for the Soviet Republic or for world capitalism." This is written as if to answer Browder twenty three years in advance.

The underlying and irrepressible antagonism between the Soviet Republic and the imperialist world has already begun to manifest itself anew over the Polish border auestion.

National Unity

The reactionary policy of the Communist Party has been sold to the Stalinist workers on the assumption that it was dictated by the needs of defending the Soviet Union and would only last for the duration of the war. Now Browder declares that support of the capitalist system and submission to Big Business is no temporary emergency measure but a long term program and perspective. He calls for "the continuation of national unity into the post-war period for long terms of years."

As every advanced worker knows, Big Business, under cover of "National Unity." has launched through its governmental agents, a ferocious offensive against the labor movement. It has already imposed pressive legislation and wage-freezing upon the workers while the corporations pile up unprecedented profits. Big Business is even beginning to subsidize fascist groups as did the monopolists in Germany and Italy. Marxists know that fascism is a product of decaying capitalism. This truth has been verified by the experiences in Germany and/ Italy. In the face of these terrible threats to labor, Browder proposes "national unity" with Big Business. He thus helps monopoly capitalism in its campaign against laborand the labor movement, let it be remembered, is the main bulwark of democracy in the United States and the best safeguard of the Soviet Union.

Free Enterprise

Browder calls upon the workers to support "free enterprise," that is the new fancy name for monopoly capitalism. Although pre-war experience has taught the workers that Big Business cannot prevent mass unemployment, Browder looks to the capitalists to "find the solution in order to keep their plants operating." Any worker familiar with the ABC's knows that Marxism teaches and scientific socialism bases itself upon the truths that capitalism cannot give prosperity, peace and progress to the working masses but inevitably produces exploitation, unemployment, wars, reactionary dictatorships, impoverishment of the many for the

was organized by Lenin and Trotsky and the American Communist Party was founded in order to disseminate these ideas and to struggle for socialism as the only way out of the crisis of the capitalist system.

Every intelligent Communist Party member must ask himself: if capitalism can give full employment, insure progress, prevent wars, then the fight for socialism is a utopia, then Marx was wrong, then Lenin's whole life-work was a mistake. But advanced workers know that Marx was right, that Lenin was right, that capitalism is in a blind alley and cannot solve the problems of humanity.

Servants of Capitalism

Paid

75.00

1,250.00

 $27.50 \\ 100.00$

25.00

1,000.00

100.00

2,354.00

1.830.00

282.00

257.50

240.00

617.75

50.00

100.00

100.00

460.00

122.00

75.00

25.00

9.00

0

0

0

1,437.00

1,119.38

All that has happened is that the Stalinist bureaucrats have crowned their betrayals and infamy against the working class, by now openly proclaiming themselves as servants and supporters of capitalism, by openly avowing their aims to attempt to rescue a bloody and bankrupt capitalist system.

Browder's proposals, exclaims the Daily Worker (Jan. 12), are the result of "a creative Marxism, unhampered by ritual and mechanical orthodoxy-the free Marxist mind at work." They are certainly not hampered by any loyalty to the working class or the struggle for socialism. In reality, they are nothing but eyewash to hoodwink the workers and to smokescreen

Percent

150

125

110

100

100

100

100

94

94

92

86

80

77

72

67

56

50

50

46

41

38

25

the shameful Stalinist surrender to Big Business. They are a repudiation of Marxism, of Leninism.

The revolutionary doctrines of Marx. "the legacy of Lenin" which Browder hypocritically refers to, as well as the revolutionary traditions of the pioneer years of American Communism are today the ideas, the legacy and the tradition only of our movement. We Trotskyists not only preach these ideas, we practice them.

The same week in which Browder announced formal dissolution to the CP and pledged allegiance to American capitalism, 18 leaders of the Socialist Workers Party were put behind bars by Roosevelt because, as their indictment states, they propagated the ideas of "The Communist Manifesto," because they believe in the doctrines of Lenin and the Bolsheviks, and fought to establish a Workers and Farmers Government in the United States. That is the difference between Stalinism and Trotskyism.

We do not believe that the sincere Stalinist workers want to go back to capitalism, to become speed-up artists and strike breakers. We believe they want to realize the ideas of Marx and Lenin. To these workers, we say: only the Trotskyists stand for these ideas and fight for them. Join with us in the fight against capitalism and for socialism.

TRADE UNION IN THE SWP of the SWP

versary Fund is coming along." Then he adds: "You should be careful not to crowd the branches too hard on this matter.'

I wish prison regulations permitted me to write at length, NEW HAVEN telling him of the wonderful work each branch is doing in this SAN FRANCISCO

campaign and explaining that the "crowding" is being done by the membership itself-not by us; that the individual pledges are being fulfilled eagerly in the spirit of a demonstration to the world that the SWP is a combat party; a serious party; a party in which each member considers himself a soldier in the proletarian army for socialism. As evidence, I will quote from the following letters:

FROM THE BRANCHES

Reading: "We are sending \$20 on our pledge. The blows dealt us by the ruling class cannot halt the tidal wave of the proletarian army. We pledge our solidarity with the 18 hercic fighters." Toledo, A. West: "Enclosed find \$65 to fill our quota. We are glad to be able to do this ahead of time, and if possible we shall send some more. The response to the Fund Campaign by the other branches is gratifying and we look forward to a continued rise of the thermometer." Akron, A. Swenson: "Enclosed find payment

on our quota. I expect that we will reach 50% or more by next week. The comrades here feel that we will fulfill our quota by or before the expiration of the Campaign. Please send us the outline for the series of lectures on the History

The 15 non-operating unions ted \$496,000 during the four preof Trotskyism."

Quota 50.00 1,000.00 MILWAUKEE 25.00 100.00 SAN DIEGO ALLENTOWN 25.00 15,000 1.000.00 TWIN CITIES TOLEDO 100.00 New York 2,500.00 300.00 Boston 2,000.00 Detroit 13,000 Buffalo 300.00 300.00 Newark Members-at-large 800.00 and friends Los Angeles 2.000.00 11,000 75.00 Reading 2.000.00 Chicago Youngstown 200.00 200.00 Cleveland 9,000 1.000.00 Seattle Bayonne 300.00 200.00 Akron St. Louis 100.00 Philadelphia 150.0050.00 7000 Rochester 25.00 Quakertown 100.00

Flint

5,000

3000

1,000

East Chicago

Pamphlets by Leon Trotsky	
War and the Fourth International	
36 pages, paper	10
In Defense of the Soviet Union	
40 pages, paper	.10
Stalinism and Bolshevism 40 pages, paper	.10
Leon Sedoff	•10
32 pages, paper	.10
Their Morals and Ours	
48 pages, paper	.20
Books by Leon Trotsky	
In Defense of Marxism	
(Against the Petty-Bourgeois Opposition)	
240 pages, cloth	2.00
paper	1.50
Lessons of October 125 pages, paper	.50
My Life	.90
595 pages, cloth	5.00
3rd International After Lenin	0.00
327 pages, cloth	2.00
160 pages, cloth	.75
paper	.50
Other Books and Pamphlets	
Assassination of Leon Trotsky	
by Albert Goldman	
74 pages, paper	.15
Case of Leon Trotsky, The	

14,000

12,000

10,000

8000

6,000

4,000

2000

reached an agreement Jan. 18 war years. In the next four they with the railway carriers which provides for a sliding scales pay than ten million dollars in excess increase of 9 to 11 cents an hour, profits. Fred Vinson, Roosevelt's economic | General Sherman once said "War stabilization director, announced

ment. Roosevelt thereupon announced that he was notifying Secretary of War Stimson to withdraw governmental operation of the railroads.

The present wage agreement represents a marked improvement over the original governmental award of 4 to 10 cents an hour.

* * *

fices for the past ten days. They Last November when the Uni- are striking to force the removal ted Steel Workers Union announc- of a supervisor they find it imed that it was opening all con- possible to work under. On Jan. tracts with the steel industry to 14 the independent union to which demand a 17 cents per hour in- these workers belong threatened from now on." crease for 700,000 members, the a general utility strike in the city steel industry sent up a howl of unless their demands were met. poverty which might well have On January 14 the garbage wrung the heart of a stone. Bentruck drivers in Pittsburgh, memjamin Fairless, president of U.S. bers of the AFL Refuse Drivers Steel acted as spokesman for the Union, walked out for the seventh industry. He said that the indus- time in three years. They are detry, and particularly his own manding a three cents per hour company, was operating on a increase for themselves and their shoestring of profit, in order to | helpers. "maintain wage levels with the cost of living and to further the war effort." Roosevelt immediately assured Fairless that should the workers be granted any in- bugh, over wage demands, has creases, the OPA would grant caused the shut-down of the hot commensurate price increases for mill.

steel. Last week the United Steel Sixty three workers in the con-

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Send the zone number to: Business Manager. 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.

Detroit, Kay: "Although the enclosed check "earned" \$10,659,000. Or more does not bring us up to 100% we will keep pushing along and I am sure we will soon get there. We read the inspiring farewell speeches is hell." Apparently, he wasn't in the Militant, and they made us feel proud of that he will approve the agree- thinking about the steel kings. our party.' * * *

Minneapolis, Chester K.: "We are in the process of getting ourselves reorganized. As A wave of strikes in the Pittsburgh area is symptomatic of the you know some big gaps have been left here general unrest in the labor movesince our comrades had to go to prison. However, all the comrades are in good spirits and 350 office workers and meter I am confident we will be able to hold the home readers of the Duquesne Light Co. in Pittsburgh have been on a sit-

front and make a few gains. We already have two new applications and expect more. The enclosed check is for items listed-stamps, subscriptions, January Sustaining Fund and balance on our quota."

Chicago, Belle: "It just seems to take a while

to get started, but I think that the payments will come in much faster

Telegram from Bill Gray, Buffalo, N. Y. WE ARE OVER THE TOP. MORE SOON.



Our agent in New York reports | pers but we were able to sell rejection of slave labor with the that the New York Local took pamphlets as well.

full advantage of the two special "The dissolution of the Com-6-page issues of The Militant munist Party has had a deepgoing effect on the ranks of the both notorious Stalinist stooges, which contained material on the C.P. and to make the most of this hastened to proclaim their suptinuous annealing department of imprisonment of the 18 comrades: "The two 6-page issues on the case are historic ones. and we burgh walked out last week to decided to distribute them to as * * * protest the company's juggling many New York workers as our San Francisco continues its forces would allow. The first

phenomenal subscription drive. wage freezing. week we doubled our bundle or-The agent writes: "With great pleasure I enclose a money order ers of the CIO and AFL to a der. These distributions were so covering thirteen subscriptions ... conference AFTER his message successful that the second week We certainly couldn't expect any was delivered to Congress revea's we more than tripled our regular

ten.' "We distributed most of the papers at plant gates, but we also On January 14 the striking em- distributed at New York Univer-

ployes of the city of Philadelphia sity, at Negro organizations, in from England: "Thank you so rays, Hillmans and Greens cannot water and highway departments the garment area, and at the Madmuch for the copy of 'Socialism break with the war machine. voted to stay on strike until their ison Square Garden meeting that on Trial' and the very interesting | They remain the labor lieutenants demands are met. They are de- the Stalinists called to announce 'Militants' which contained mat- of the capitalist class. Despite manding a ten cents per hour in- the dissolution of the Communist ter on the Minneapolis Labour the flagrant union-wrecking pol-

> Trial. "Incidentally, since becoming in- offer no better program to the "The response reported by the terested in this famous trial. I workers than continued support of comrades on these distributions was excellent. At the Mad- have severed my relationship with Roosevelt. ison Square Garden and other the Young Communist League and ned CPers not only took the paism.

Roosevelt Wants and scuttling every move of workers toward the organizati of labor's own political party. T **Forced Labor Law** hide-bound bureaucrats who r the roost in the AFL have no ing better to offer than a no (Continued from page 1) edition of Gompers' "company

TOTALS

100.00

ion" politics. to labor under working conditions, hours and wages, establishevelt knows he has little to fe ed by the government bureaufrom the cowardly union offic crats and the bosses. The open dom. He takes their support shop will again come into its own, granted. In an obvious atter the boss will be master of his to broaden the base of his dwin slaves, profits will soar to new ing support, Roosevelt incluastronomical heights, the unions in his message a demagogic will be immeasurably weakened. peal to the "fixed income" grou The rent hog, price gouger,

"Increased wages or pr sweatshop operator, banker and will," he says, "have a part speculator will have entered Roosevelt's capitalist heaven resting larly disastrous result on all fit upon a hell of the "blood, sweat income groups," groups which and tears", of worker-soldiers, clude "teachers, clergy, policem worker-slaves, worker-wives and firemen, widows and minors mothers. That is the program of fixed incomes, wives and depe the National Association of Man- ents of our soldiers and saile ufacturers, now brazenly cham- and old age pensioners. The and their families add up to c pioned by Roosevelt himself. Even such bred-in-the-bone bur- quarter of our 130,000,000." Wa eaucrats as Murray and Green have been frozen and Roosev has had, under the Stabilizat gagged on Roosevelt's proposal and found it impossible to swal- Act, the power to control prilow. All sections of the labor It is precisely his failure to c movement are unanimous in their trol prices which has resulted the continued rise in the cost living and made of his "stabili

exception of the Stalinist finks. tion program" a monstrous he Harry Bridges on the west coast He now demagogically tries and Curran on the east coast, shift the blame onto the unions. As the Roosevelt administrat opportunity, we are increasing port of the President's "five-point swings further to reaction, the our regular bundle order again." program" of forced labor just as that now separates the top un they had previously supported officialdom from the rank and of will widen into a yawning cha the "seven point program" The lower sections of the lea

ship, under the direct press Roosevelt's act in inviting leadof the ranks will come more more into conflict with the eaucrats on top. This prowill impel the die-hard fakers better results than we have got- his utter contempt for the spinelean more heavily upon the less lackeys who stand at the ernment in order to maint head of the unions. In spite of The strength of our ideas is ex- being buffeted, insulted, kicked their positions of power and pr lege against the increasing pressed by the following letter around and humiliated, the Murtility of the ranks. Roose sprang to Tobin's aid in Minn polis by his prosecution of militant leadership of Local But the American working cla which has shown such bound icy of the Administration they initiative, courage and imagi tion in countless strike strugg will bring forth a new leaders

and a program that will inevita Hillman, head of the CIO Poli-Stalinist concentrations, the stun- I am now a student of Trotsky- tical Action Committee, tours the sweep the bureaucratic leec country stumping for Roosevelt into the limbo of history.

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nd scuttling every move of the vorkers toward the organization	paper	1.00	
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o broaden the base of his dwindl- ng support, Roosevelt included	Founding Conference of the 4th International		
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nd their families add up to one- uarter of our 130,000,000." Wages	by Frederick J. Lang		
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t is precisely his failure to con-	16 pages, paper	.05	
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nto the limbo of history.		San Area	200



order.

Party.

SATURDAY, JANUARY 22, 1944

The Real Teachings Of Lenin On The Role And Bankruptcy of Capitalist Democracy, FRAMEUP BACKFIRES AS DETROIT, Mich. – The at- and on their second visit to DETROIT, Mich. – The at- and on their second visit to DETROIT, Mich. – The at- and on their second visit to Detroit, Mich. – The at- and on their second visit to Prosecutor's office. They also DETROIT, Mich. - The at- and on their second visit to the

By John G. Wright

Since Lenin died, twenty years have passed, years marked by the triumph of blackest reaction, unprecedented in the history of mankind, culminating in the most destructive slaughter yet known

One of the chief reasons for these two decades of agony through which mankind has had to pass is this, that Lenin's teachings, the things he worked and fought for all his life, have been either trampled under foot[®]

or forgotten. For this work of in the way of organizing the distortion, falsification and destruction, Stalinism bears the above all of Germany, into a main responsibility. The betray- party capable of taking power ers of Leninism in the Kremlin have proceeded over the year's to destroy his teachings step by step, deliberately and ruthlessly. birth was confronted with the

Although the Stalinists prepared to 'celebrate' the twentieth anniversary of Lenin's death by formally burying the long-rotted character of this form of capitalcorpse of the Third International, and then by discarding as the the First World Congress of the national anthem of the USSR. the battle-song of the world proletariat, the Internationale, and, now, by dissolving the Communist Party in this country; although they have divested themselves of all of Lenin's heritage, they still try to use his name in order to direct betrayal of socialism, an peddle their vilest lies, in order to camouflage their surrender to the capitalists. In the endless catalogue of these lies, there is one to which they have devoted a great deal of their energy in at the historical moment when recent times, and that is the lie bourgeois reformism has crashed that bourgeois democracy holds into dust throughout the world, out a ray of promise to war- and when the war has created a ravaged mankind. In the last war revolutionary situation." the Social Democrats peddled the same lie in the name of Marx.

AGAINST BOURGEOIS DEMOCRACY

The maturest years of Lenin's life were devoted to a life-anddemocracy. In the first place, the victory of Bolshevism in Russia precisely under this same banner. As a matter of fact, the

hypnotic spell of bourgeois democracy and its traditions upon the mind of the European and world working class was one of the main obstacles confronted by the Bolsheviks in rallying the workers. The imperialists during and after the last war mobilized their entire resources to sustain this did the German masses get under hypnosis. Not the least important the "democratic" Weimar Repubcog in their colossal machinery of lic? Unemployment, h u n g e r, deception was the treacherous

revolutionary workers of Europe, after the last war? In large measure, it was the hypnosis of bourgeois democracy. The Communist International at its very necessity of educating the advanced workers to the counterrevolutionary role and bankrupt ist rule. Lenin's main work for Comintern was to draft the theses, directed to an exposure of For example, in his third thesis of 1919 Lenin flatly declared that defense of bourgeois democracy, under whatever guise, was "a actual desertion to the side of the bourgeoisie, the denial of the proletariat's right to its own, proletarian revolution, the defense of bourgeois reformism precisely

FACADE FOR DICTATORSHIP

Throughout its existence in

bourgeois democracy.

International never suspended for it is the prognosis of the class real road of social, economic and a moment this task of educating character and complete bank- cultural progress, the road to ernment. the workers to the fact that ruptcy of bourgeois democracy. death struggle against bourgeois bourgeois democracy was merely Furthermore, yesterday's theorea facade for the class dictator- tical prognosis is today's living capitalist democracy Lenin counship of the bourgeoisie; that with reality. The trend to totalitariannecessitated this. The Bolshevik the decay of capitalism this form ism is taking giant leaps literally state, though degenerated under Revolution would have been im- of rule became less and less from hour to hour. What have the possible without it. Moreover, the tenable; that if the proletariat "democrats" and their AMG, Russian counter-revolution in 1917 | limited its struggle to upholding allied with King Emmanuel and and later throughout the civil war this "democracy" not only would Marshal Badoglio, brought Italy? force on earth can destroy. rallied its main cohorts under the they renounce their socialist The British Tories, taking a leaf slogan of the "Constituent As- future of progress, peace and out of the pages of fascism, have prosperity, but would lose every drafted labor at home and openly Bourgeois democracy. The im- one of their elementary demo- envisage the continuation and experialist interventionists tried to cratic rights and find themselves tension of regimentation after under the most brutal dictatorship the war. Roosevelt tears up the

and barbarism. But aided by the Social Democrats, the capitalists suclabor, etc. ceeded after the last war in keeping the masses shackled to capitalist democracy. In 1918-19 the German workers gave the power to their Social Democratic leaders who immediately handed today? it back to the capitalists. What



LENIN LIVES ON of the European masses, whose Bill of Rights, outlaws the right revolution. On the morrow, other millions in Europe and throughto strike and now calls for forced

out the world will rally to Lenin's Bourgeois democracy is ganbanner.

MEMORIAL

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MEETING

grenous. If its perpetuation after the last war has brought mankind such evils and disasters, what can

LENIN

catastrophes and political reac- renewed courage and strength, forms of independent labor politi- as the "democratic" guardian of degradation, and the loss one by tion as long as capitalism for our faith is Lenin's faith. His cal action. one of their previous economic remains. It was under the leader- banner is our banner. And under Several weeks ago, Hillman totalitarians. The Rose-Dubinsky and political gains; next came ship of Lenin and Trotsky that this banner we march forward. reinforced his ultimatum to the group has itself used the most

Big Bank Indicted In Nazi Trade Plot

benindustries, German chemica (Continued from page 1)

trust, in order to divide and condirectors, issued an immediate trol the markets, raw materials denial of the charges claiming and industrial machinery of the world oil and petroleum, synthat the "acts complained of hapthetic gasoline and synthetic pened before Pearl Harbor," Bruno Schachner, assistant U. S. rubber industries.

Attorney who helped present the government evidence on which the the Chase National indictments is

The indictment charges that working for the American gov- of the facts which were admitted the local had been detained with-Chase National, through three of ernment in Spain as a buying in the courtroom under Rothe's out charges for hours by the pospirators but not indicted, illicitly Company, Government owned ing: rovided funds to finance a re- corporation set up to keep fugee Dutch diamond merchant, strategic materials out of Axis the complaint against Mazey did gin of the term "protective custoeonard J. Smit, in the sale and hands. Spain is a neutral center so only after they were taken by dy" to Hitler's Nazis. smuggling of war-vital industrial for trading with the Axis during the Assistant Plant Superintendcutting diamonds to Axis coun- the war, and where the agents of ent to the office of Fay Taylor, by Rothe that this case could tries in violation of the Trading the big American corporations Personnel Director. With the Enemy Act, the Export meet with the Nazi and Japanese Control Law and President Roosevelt's order of May 1940 freezing mutually-profitable deals directly funds of nationals of various over the battle-lines. countries who were directly con-

Aldrich's pious disclaimer that capitalists who are running the he Rockefeller interests wouldn't war and the war production think of dealing with the Nazis agencies do not hesitate to deal was disproved in the spring of with the fascist capitalists when 1942, when the Standard interests there is personal profit to be were indicted and convicted by a gained. They are coining gold Federal court for maintaining a from the blood of the workers on cartel with the giant I. G. Far- both sides of the war fronts.

LENIN LIVES ON Lenin lives on in the struggle **ALP IN New York IS TORN** already raised the banner of By Bitter Clique Conflict

(Continued from page 1) Rose-Dubinsky faction. His rep-

state CIO, openly espoused a f combating the idea of labor state CIO-sponsored slate for the Lenin lives on in another power, parties and in preparation for his coming April primaries. the power represented by the campaign to line up labor The opposing clique, threatened ideas, program and cadres of the votes for Roosevelt in 1944, with with the loss of its control, was attempts to perpetuate it bring Fourth International, the only the further aim of dumping the

genuine heirs and continuators of party after the election. The Stal- in a panic. It stalled and man-Lenin warned that no illusion his work and struggle. On this inists are equally avid to junk euvered about, screaming rabid could be more fatal than that of twentieth anniversary of Lenin's the ALP, whose existence violates denunciations of its rivals and ending imperialist wars, economic death, we Trotskyists gather their policy of opposition to all preening itself before the public the ALP against the invasion of

See

Lenin

Trotsky

Kerensky

Zinoviev

Kamenev

Wilson

Stalin

Kolchak

Bucharin

Balabanov

Kropotkin

John Reed

Clemenceau

Tsar Nicolas II

Kaiser William

tempt on the part of the Briggs Prosecutor's office. They also ad-Manufacturing Company to mitted that on the day of the trial frame Emil Mazey, President of they had not gone to the plant UAW Briggs Local 212, on an at all but had been picked up by assault and battery charge in their scheduled starting time and connection with a recent dues taken directly to the courtroom and membership drive at the and that they would likewise be Briggs plants has been defeated. paid for this lost time. Recorders Court Judge Joseph The fact that the names and

Gillis found Mazey not guilty and addresses of the 4 complaining dismissed the case on Decem- witnesses had been solicited by the police prior to the incident The frame-up nature of the case resulting in Mazey's detention,

was so clearly demonstrated by demonstrated conclusively the Nicho'as Rothe, attorney for Mapremeditated character of the zey and Local 212, that it was difprosecution. A significant development since ficult to render any other verdict. **ROTHE'S SUMMARY**

In the process of cross-examindictments are based, stressed a move to hold up the trial be- ination of the complaining witthat the conspiracy continued up cause of the absence in Spain of nesses, Rothe clearly established summary of the facts of the case, to the very time that the true Chase's alleged chief witness. He the fact that the entire prosecubills against Chase and its of- is Alfred W. Barth, second vice tion was initiated, aided and the police department for its part ficials were filed, only a few president in charge of Chase's abetted throughout by the Briggs in the case. He pointed out that Middle European affairs, who is Manufacturing Company. Some Mazey and two other officers of

ber 31.

its officials named as co-con- agent for the U.S. Commercial cross-examination were the follow- lice who issued a statement that The four women who had signed ive custody." He traced the ori-

COMPANY'S ROLE

corporation agents to arrange Following the meeting with the profit-hungry bosses. "The Taylor the girls were escorted by time, the circumstances. a company car and driver to the persons may differ, but it is the This case is but the lastest ex-

nected with or dealing with Axis ample of how the very biggest Percy Donovan. Only after this American capitalists, those who second conference did the four in defending itself against this

are coining billions upon billions women go (again by company car company attack, together with That Biddle's Department of from war contracts and are and driver) to the Prosecutor's the increased spirit of militancy Justice dared to bring such a boasting in full-page advertise- office to urge a warrant for Mazey which had developed among the on the assault and battery charge. Briggs workers has served to The girls further admitted that strengthen the position of the they had received full pay for all union in its current negotiations the time they had lost on this day for a new contract.

Billings Demands Pardon for Eighteen

Warren K. Billings, famous class-war prisoner who with Tom Mooney was framed up and imprisoned during the first world war because of his militant labor activities, has written the following letter to President Roosevelt on behalf of the 18 Trotskyist and Minneapolis Teamster leaders now serving prison terms on a similar frameup under the Smith "Gag" Act:

Franklin D. Roosevelt Washington, D. C. Dear Mr. President:

This letter is written to ask a pardon for the eighteen members of the Minneapolis Teamsters' Union who have been convicted under the Smith "Gag Law" passed in 1940. (Dunne et al vs. U. S.) I have sponsored the defense of these cases almost from the beginning, feeling that the defendants were being prosecuted for expression of opinion. I am now asking their pardon, as one who was himself released by executive clemency from an unjust imprisonment and is therefore interested in such cases.

These persons were convicted of expression of their opinions, and nothing more. (They were acquitted of another count charging them with overt acts.)

The indictment was filed in peacetime, and everything



-THREE

Mazey's attorney, Rothe, in his

delivered a blistering attack upon

they were being held in "protect-

only be considered as part of the

struggle between the workers and

The success of the Briggs local

same old pattern." he said.

the

German Social Democracy, led by Scheidemann and Kautsky. As proponents of "democracy" and fascism and then the horrors of even "pure democracy" they another world war. This same championed the cause of the pattern to one degree or another capitalists and the counter-revoluwas repeated in the rest of tion. That is why Lenin so merci-Europe. lessly attacked Kautsky, Scheidemann and other renegades of LIVING REALITY

If any prognosis of the Com-Marxism. What was a stumbling block munist International of Lenin and

PIONEER PARAGRAPHS

WAR IN THE FAR EAST AND **REVOLUTIONARY PERSPECTIVES**

The conflict in the Far East | The strivings of the military between China and Japan lays caste to keep intact its privileges bare some of the principal symp- and powers tend to complicate toms of the crisis of world capi- the main problem of the Japanese talism in its final, most highly ruling class as a whole, which is developed, imperialist stage, and to maintain over both the proleopens up perspectives of great tariat and the peasantry the revolutionary development in a present crushing system of exdecisive part of the globe. On ploitation with all the oppression the one hand, Japan, weakest link which accompanies it. Periodically, in the chain of world imperialism, this caste comes into conflict with is seeking to overcome the mala- industry and finance capital which dies of its decline by a war of seek to stem the drain on ecocolonial conquest. On the other nomy caused by the parasitic hand, by their invasion of China, needs of the military caste. Army the Japanese imperialists have revolts and the assassination of provoked a defensive campaign leading political representatives of which, despite its weakness and the industrial and financial bourinadequacy under the leadership geoisie are the sharpest expressof the Koumintang, assumes the ions of this conflict. These revolts character of a war of national lib- express, insofar as they are led by eration. the younger officers of lower rank,

At the same time, by the pur- the rebellion of the peasantry suit of their predatory aims in against finance capital. But since China, the Japanese imperialists all sections of the ruling class reahave accentuated the inter-im- lize the perils of class disunity, perialist antagonisms which are conflicts are finally settled on the forcing mankind to the brink of basis of mutual concessions, by a new world war.

erals and officers, superficially and by common agreement to emunited by the monarchy, is not bark on predatory military cama homogeneous body. While the paigns to enslave neighboring peolower ranks of officers are drawn largely from rural areas, from in the structure of the ruling class upper layers of the peasantry, the domination as a whole. tops fuse with the industrial and financial bourgeoisie. As a whole, the military caste strives to main- ference of the Fourth Internatain for itself the traditional priv- tional," pages 65, 67-68, published ileges and semi-independent posi- by Socialist Workers Party of tion which it occupied in the U. S., Jan. 1939, 128 pages, 25c. feudal era. For this purpose it is organized in such typically feudal institutions as the secret Black 116 University Pl., New York 3, Dragon society.

14

loading additional burdens onto The feudal-military caste of gen- the backs of the Japanese masses ples, thereby cementing the cracks

> (From "The Founding Con-N. Y.)

unscrupulous and bureaucratic methods to exclude the Stalinists from the ALP and particularly from participating in its leading bodies.

resentative, the head of the

For several weeks after Hillman's agent initiated the move for a state CIO slate in the primaries, the Rose-Dubinsky machine threatened to bolt the fight altogether and split the ALP wide open in its flight. But pressure from the capitalist liberal papers and politicians, including the N. Y. Post and Mayor La-Guardia, stiffened their spines sufficiently to venture on a fight The current unprincipled brawl, in an ALP already reduced to a shambles by dirty clique warfare, threatens to discredit the party altogether.

SUPPORT LABOR PARTY

The New York workers have shown by their past support of the ALP, despite its reactionary program and bureaucratic leadership, that they are eager for a real party of their own which will defend their political interests against capitalist reaction. Thousands of progressive unionists throughout the state have evinced their desire for the organization of a genuine independent labor party. The progressive Brewster UAW Local 365 is on national scale.

charged against them is said to have occurred during peacetime. I am informed that the Circuit Court of Appeals did not find there was any "clear and present danger" that violence or other crime might result from anything that was said.

This is the first conviction under the Sedition Act of 1940-a replica of the Sedition Act of 1798. Every school history book tells us that the 1798 Act was out of line with all American traditions, for which reason it was soon repealed.

I see by the press that the United States Supreme Court has refused to have anything to do with these cases. The New Republic of December 20, 1943, characterizes this refusal as "inexplicable" and as coming "at a moment when a demonstration of democracy in high places was never more badly needed."

Citizens of the United States have long been accustomed to believe that laws like the sedition laws of 1798 were bad and against the spirit of our democracy. We have been accustomed to think that every person has a right to say whatever he pleases so long as there is no clear and present danger that violence will ensue. In that, that is what I and all people whom I know, understand by "freedom of speech" which, as one of the Four Freedoms, has been made a war aim. Sending men to prison for expression of opinion involving no clear and present danger of violence is against every principle of American democracy. Since the Supreme Court has "inexplicably" washed its hands of these cases, there is now no way of doing justice except by a pardon from the president. "A demonstration of Democracy in high places was never more badly needed." I speak not only for myself but for many others when I say that in a war waged, among other things, for freedom of speech, a pardon should be granted without delay.

Respectfully yours,

Warren K. Billings

Wire Firm Found Guilty In Sale Of Defective Goods To The Army

A subsidiary of the giant improperly insulated wire past the Anaconda Copper trust, the government inspection.

Evidence showed the company Anaconda Wire and Cable Company of Pawtucket, R. I. and knew before accepting the con-tract that it was not equipped to four of its officials were con- make products up to government victed last Wednesday by a Fed- standards, but could not resist the the workers, the trade unions, and | eral Jury on all counts of an in- lure of juicy profits.

Sentence is expected to be defraud the government through passed this week, maximum These union militants must lead manufacture and sale to the penalties for the company being the way to unity of the ranks of Army of defective field wire and a \$10,000 fine, and for each oflabor against the disruptive cable. ficial a \$10,000 fine or 10 years

cliques who have turned the ALP More than \$1,000,000 of fraudu- in jail, or both. However, the company's Marion, Ind., subinto a battle-ground. They must lently inspected materials intendrepudiate these elements in the ed for combat use, some of which sidiary and officials, previously sharpest and most decisive found its way to the South Pacific, convicted on similar charges, were manner. They must turn the ALP was deliberately palmed off on let off with a total of \$31,000 back to the control of the work- the government. The convicted fines, a fraction of the profits ers, as a genuinely independent officials admitted to devising all reaped by a similar fraud which fighting political instrument of all sorts of schemes for getting endangered thousands of soldiers' spoiled, broken, water-logged, or lives. labor.

record for an independent labor party which has broken with both old line capitalist parties, not merely on a state-wide, but on a They want an end to companyunionism in politics in every sense of the word. They want a party that is truly labor's own, based on the genuine organizations of

controlled by the workers in a de- dictment charging conspiracy to mocratic fashion.

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THE MILITANT

militant struggle on the part of a considerable sec-THE MILITANT tion of organized labor. The UAW has taken the lead. But Thomas,

Addes and Reuther should not be allowed by the rank and file to merely rest content with the publication of this program. The best program in the world means little if no concrete steps are taken to fight for it. It is up to the UAW now to take the lead in calling a conference of all CIO unions, especially those now engaged in wage negotiations. Such a conference could become the first step in the organization of a united front of broad sections of organized labor for the purpose of smashing the Little Steel formula and fighting for the escalator clause, the rising scale of wages to meet the rising cost of living. That is the real answer to the threat of inflation.

The Army Press

The Jan. 10 CIO News publishes a small news item under the head: "Anti-Labor 'Trib' Prints Army Edition." The item reveals that the rabidly reactionary Chicago Tribune is now publishing a "special edition for servicemen and is shipping it overseas with the cooperation of the U.S. Navy." This special edition for the armed forces is "being published in Honolulu, with Naval priorities permitting printing plates to be flown to the islands."

Arrangements are also being made by the Tribune to "publish the overseas edition once a week in England, North Africa, Sicily and Italy. The CIO News, speaking on behalf of over 5,000,000 members publishes the item without comment!

It is common knowledge that the Chicago Tribune is a vicious labor-baiting sheet. Colonel Mc-Cormick, publisher of the *Tribune*, is notorious for the aid, comfort and protection he is giving to the native fascist groups. The brass hats could have hardly selected a better instrument for spreading the hate-labor-campaign among the armed forces. Colonel McCormick's venture is obviously part and parcel of the whole vicious campaign, now openly stimulated by Roosevelt and General Marshall, to drive a wedge between the conscripted servicemen and the labor movement.

mere printing of a news item in its paper. Why isn't the CIO planning to publish a servicemen's edition? And while they're at it, why doesn't the tion that will fight for the rights of the servicemen now as well as after the war? That would certainly be a more effective challenge to the labor baiters and reactionaries than just printing news items about McCormick or whining about General Mar-

The New Slavery

shall.

Roosevelt's War Manpower Commission and the measures employed against the Negro slaves

CIO Political Action **Heads Hold Conference** For all their "viewing with ers could only point like a weath-

movement initiated by leading

Michigan unionists for the build-

ing of an independent labor party.

The American workers will have

to hew out their own independent

political road to a decent future

in spite of and against the type of

leadership that held sway at this

CIO Political Action Committee

mediation by Gandhi, a company-

with the intention of getting rid

of the strike leaders. But six

weeks later when rehiring was

scheduled to begin, not a worker

showed up.

(Continued from page 1)

ment, and labor.

official darkness and to get even

which lights the way of the work-

Aucland (Commonwealth Party)

last week in favor of an amend-

Aucland, who moved the amend-

is a vote of censure. It will be

tion of common ownership."

ers' international struggle.

reports:

er-vane caught in the breeze of alarm" about the post-war fate ing pap about the future of post- capitalist politics. They proposed of labor, the actions of the CIO war "prosperity" before these in effect, to mail their program leaders have all been directed palpitating labor flunkeys, while, for adoption, to the Republican against those tendencies in the at that very moment, his chief and Democratic parties, where labor movement which give real blood-hound Attorney General it will no doubt get the tradipromise of carrying through an Francis Biddle began sniffing at tional reception which these Big effective program of action. They the trail of the CIO Political Business political machines have shadow-box with the capitalists Action Committee to uncover always accorded proposals in the and their political agents. But alleged violations of the Smith- interest of labor. they use a club against such progressive tendencies as the

Connally anti-strike law in the AGAINST LABOR PARTY use of political funds. But the conference, undaunted As the conference bore out, the by these new blows from the ad- very purpose behind the CIO Polministration and its Southern itical Action Committee is to poll-tax Democratic colleagues, frustrate the desires of American continued to rake around in the labor for independent workingmuck of company union politics. | class political action, to stifle all To the fundamental question of movements for the establishment now to realize all their schemes of a labor party, and to channelfor the future - including the ize these tendencies back into the very sound demand for an annual slimey sewers of capitalist party security wage — these labor lead-politics.



In 1922, twenty thuosand |dians would reap in living stand-| By George Schraum ards through industrial developworkers walked out after an A STEEL MAN IN INDIA ment. Nevertheless, the author's American engineer cursed and By John L. Keenan; Duell, own account of the difficulties and kicked a Moslem worker who had Sloan and Pearce, New York; circumstances attending the buildstopped to pray. Three weeks ing of this concern shows that later this same engineer was ac-224 pages, \$2.50. it was an exceptional case, and cidentally killed, an event many

The Tata Iron and Steel Com-pany is the dominant industrial belies the author's optimism as to the ability of a native capitalism bution. enterprise of India. It hires ap to develop widely under British In 1925, partly as a result of

proximately 70,000 workers, is the control. largest and most modern steel mill When Tata conceived his plan, union set-up was recognized by in the British empire, and the British steel men were not inter- the management. Later Manech welfth largest in the world. Over fifty years ago, one of the ested in India. Above all, they Homi, an Indian who had gradumembers of the wealthy Indian considered that "Indians were all ated from Carnegie Tech, turned right in their place, but steel mak- to building a union. For three Tata family saw the industrial importance of steel and started plan- ing was a cut above them." They months in 1928, various groups ning for the development of this certainly wanted no native com- of key workers were pulled off industry in India. In 1911 the petition. Indians had been prac- the job, tying up production while Company began operating with tically prohibited from any min-allowing the rest to draw their foreigners for skilled labor and ing in their own land. Tata was pay which was shared with the technical aid. Today the enter- unable to obtain any British strikers. The management retaliated by locking out the workers, capital to invest in his enterprise, prise is Indian in capital, manage-

but did secure enough native capital to get started. The author of this book is one The first world war brought of the foreign experts who came in the early period. Starting in the company large profits and ex-1913 as general foreman of the pansion. But after the war, the

blast furnaces, he stayed 25 years life of the company hung by a The company was then forced to become general manager of the thread for a long time. A group to grant concessions and recogwhole works during the last eight of British coal mine operators nize the union. The union, howyears of his stay. He tells the bought up the Indian coal supever, had to register under the plies and charged Tata monopoly Trades Union Act which made it story of the growth of the enterprise in a rambling style interrates for coal. But British imperpossible for the government to spersed with many entertaining | ialism, realizing the strategic im-"scrutinize the procedure, finances portance of this company for its and expenditures" of the union anecdotes.

imperial plans suffered it to live With this weapon the government The author's experiences have made him an enthusiast for the by granting a protective tariff. found that the affairs of the unlevelopment of Indian industry by Tata had supplied steel when the ion had been conducted "loosely" the native capitalist class. He free- U-boats had cut off shipments to during the organization period. y affirms the fact that the Indians the east, and in 1919, Lord and threw the leaders in jail. The as a people are quite capable of Chelmsford, then Viceroy, had ad-strike leaders reorganized the un learning all aspects of modern in- mitted, "I can hardly imagine ion after their release. dustry and are not at all inferior what we would have done if the The author describes how the

in abilities to Europeans. He found Tata company had not given us Indian workers that the caste and religious dif- steel for Mesopotamia, Egypt, bargaining rights in fifteen years ferences - of which so much is Palestine, and East Africa." It had taken the British workers The Tatas began their company from 1825 to 1871 to win such made by reactionary apologists for imperialism - caused no difficul- with paternalistic measures for rights. ties in the operation of this giant their employes. But despite the No worker reading this book plant, although the workers were huge profits and price inflation even though it is written by a drawn from many sections of In- of the war years, workers received management official, can fail to only a 10% raise in 1917. The gain confidence that the Indian dian life. He also points out the industrial workers struck in 1920 when workers will play the outstanding potentialities of India based upon faced with a wage cut. They were ts wealth of natural resources, forced back to work after troops role in the coming fight for and paints the benefits that In- had killed 13 of them. India's freedom.

Profiteers Try To Incite Soldiers Against Labor

"Patriotism is the last refuge of a scoundrel," bitingly wrote the English author Samuel Johnson in the 18th century. This observation fits like a sausage skin the Timken Roller Bearing Co. of Canton, Ohio.

This super-profiteering corporation has been one of the most vigorous participants in the Big Business high-pressure lobby to kill the war contracts renegotiations laws. To perfume its self-seeking activities, it has been burning incense on the altars of patriotism through a series of full-page advertisements in leading newspapers and magazines. One of these advertisements several weeks ago featured a huge portrait of Gen. MacArthur; the other, last week, featured a similar picture of Gen. Marshall.

This corporation published an advertisement on Jan. 6 of a truly sinister type-a full page hypocritical appeal to the soldier ranks, obviously intended to help drive a wedge between the members of the armed forces and the workers.

With a screaming headline, "They Offer Their All! Can We Offer Too Much?", the advertisement states "The Timken Roller Bearing Company proposes seniority rights to every employe for double the time spent in military service."

This corporation, which was recently cited by name in a Senate committee report as one of the worst war profiteers, in the name of "rewarding the sacrifices" of the ex-service men, proposes to destroy the established seniority provisions of the unions, which protect the seniority of all servicemen. It is a proposal to play the soldiers against the workers by offering to fire workers with high seniority and give their jobs to those with less seniority.

That this proposal is motivated by vicious anti-labor considerations, and not solicitude for the soldiers, is made clear by one section of the advertisement which states:

"Most of these men and women now-get from Uncle Sam—with their lives as possible forfeit—the sum of \$50 a month. On call, and subject to service 24 hours a day-this figures out to 7c. an hour. No overtime-

no double time-just plain 7c. an hour." (Original emphasis.)

That's the real grievance of Timken, having to pay overtime, having to pay the workers more than 7c an hour.

This is the outfit whose board chairman, Willard F. Rockwell, is also chairman of the board of Timken-Detroit Axle Company which recently refused to accept War Department contracts for much needed truck parts until it was given guarantees of staggering profits. This is the outfit included in the Senate committee minority report listing 200 super-profiteering corporations-and one of only four actually cited by name. Its profits after taxes in 1942 were 400 per cent higher than in its best pre-war year. And it was Willard F. Rockwell who filled two whole columns of the Jan. 13 N. Y. Times, loudly complaining against the "injustice" of the renegotiations law as applied to his firms.

This corporation, whose profits are soaked in the blood of American soldiers, is part of the plunderbund that hopes to use the soldiers as an anti-labor brigade to smash the trade unions.



other federal agencies are helping to enforce decrees against millions of white and Negro agricultural workers which have their closest parallel in

before the Civil War. Regulations are now in force which deny these

Obviously more is required of the CIO than the CIO adopt a program for independent labor ac-



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

- LEON TROTSKY

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ting its contributors to present their own views

in signed articles. These views therefore do not

necessarily represent the policies of THE MILI-

TANT which are expressed in its editorials.

Saturday, January 22, 1944

- 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.

Escalator Clause

An important section of the union movement, the powerful United Automobile Workers Union, has proposed a realistic and effective wage policy as labor's answer to inflation: the escalator clause, a rising scale of wages to meet the rising cost of living.

This slogan has been carried on the masthead of the Militant for many years. In fact, as far back as 1938, before the outbreak of the second world war, the Founding Conference of the Fourth International included in its program a section dealing with the problem of inflation: "Against the bounding rise in prices, which with the approach of war will assume an ever more unbridled character, one can only fight under the slogan of a rising scale of wages."

The UAW leaders, under heavy pressure from their membership, forced by bitter experience to the conclusion that Roosevelt cannot and will not deliver on his promises to stabilize the cost of living, have finally offered this solution to the problem of inflation. At its last meeting, the International Executive Board voted to demand the escalator clause in their union contracts. Addes proposed in the Dec. 15 United Auto Worker that all local unions include the following points in their new wage agreements:

"1. That all wage agreements entered into should contain escalator clauses calling for higher hourly rates if living costs go up.

"2. That escalator clauses contain the provision that wage rates should be reviewed every three months so that when living costs reflect an increase a corresponding increase in hourly rates shall become immediately and automatically effective."

Addes further states "that greater pressure could be brought to bear on Washington if all of organized labor and certainly every local union within the UAW-CIO made similar and simultaneous demands." This is an excellent proposal. Implicit in the proposal is recognition of the fact that this program cannot be achieved by pitting one union at a time against the organized might of the bosses and their government.

As is well known, the miners had to call four general strikes in order to breach the Little Steel formula and win a modest wage increase. Certainly the escalator clause will not be won without

terribly exploited workers the right to leave the areas where they have been employed, even when they are jobless, without release certificates from the local county agents, who are the spokesmen for the big landowners and growers.

The intent is to freeze these workers in fixed areas for the benefit of the rich planters and landowners who want a large reserve supply of starved and desperate labor that can be forced to work for starvation wages.

In New Jersey, for instance, the local War Manpower Commission aided the rich farmers in preventing southern Negro and white migrants from leaving the area after they found there were no jobs and were forced to live in the employers' hovels and tents without water and sanitary facilities. They had been lured to New Jersey by false employer promises of good housing and steady work.

The pre-Civil War slave holders of the South turned the federal administration at Washington into their agent to protect their exploitation of the chattel slaves. Federal and state bodies were converted under the Fugitive Slave Laws into bloodhounds to prevent the slaves from running away. The Roosevelt administration, in the midst of its war' for "the four freedoms" has similarly converted itself into an agent of the Southern Bourbons as well as the Northern millionaire landowners and growers, in their drive to enslave and starve the agricultural workers.

The treatment of the agricultural workers is a warning to the labor movement as a whole. It provides a preview of what the capitalist masters have in store for all of American labor. It further casts a revealing light on Roosevelt's proposal for a National Service Act.

The united labor action of farm and urban workers is necessary to put a halt to the reactionary campaign of Big Business. The labor movement can achieve farm-labor unity, not by relying on Wallace, or any other capitalist politician who pretends to speak for the rural districts, but by organizing the agricultural workers into the trade union movement and by organizing labor's own political party, which can command the support of all the exploited, both in urban and rural America.

It is Time to Build An Independent Labor Party



By PAUL G. STEVENS

We can gauge the measure of no-strike pledge here - in un-| the Japanese-mandated islands in lying and suppression of the truth precedented profits for big busi- the Pacific. Why didn't the Cairo ness and unprecedented misery conference amounce this agree that this war has brought with great difficulty. Censorship and parliamentary plane a far deeper Roosevelt told an untruth when the restriction of the normal sentiment among the British he said in his last message means of communication make it masses. extremely difficult for the revo-* * * lutionary press to penetrate the

that no secret commitments were made at Teheran or Cairo?

The growing radicalization of the faintest gleams of that truth the British workers was further The Allies invaded Sicily last demonstrated last week by the July. Plenty of time has elapsed sensational victory of the candifor the fruits of this "democratic" Thus, for instance, the Ameri- date of the newly formed Comblessing to at least show vague can press has carried nothing monwealth Party against the blossoms. But in December the whatever about a newsworthy ac- Tory-Labor coalition candidate. British Tribune quotes the foltion of the British Independent The British workers obviously lowing from Sicilia Liberata, the Labor Party and the Common- want to break the truce between only (yes, only) newspaper perwealth Party. The British New Labor and the Tories. They voted mitted to appear in the Sicilian Leader of December 18, 1943, for the Commonwealth candidate capital: which has just reached us, because that was the only method

"The situation demands the open to them in the by-elections restoration of democratic rights "Nine Labor M.P.'s voted with to express their wishes. The freedom of speech, press and the I.L.P. parliamentary group (3) district last time elected a Tory assembly and above all, the removal of all Fascists from The Commonwealth Party, positions of responsibility in govfounded by Sir Richard Aucland, ernment agencies. . . This is the ment to the address on the King's espouses a "Christian Socialist" appeal we make to the Allied speech calling for the end of program and makes its appeal to authorities. This is no time to private ownership and the institu- the middle class. It was the vote take a middle course. To entrust of the coal miners however that positions of authority to those elected the Commonwealth candiwho tomorrow would become our executioners wuld be a grave and The Commonwealth candidate unforgivable error. The time has pressed to a division in order to campaigned on a program which come to assume the responshow the House that we want a called for the nationalization of sibilities for our own future."

> If that's the way the only paper permitted by Amgot to appear, speaks-what must be the feeling

of the millions of Italian workers and the arch-capitalist Tories of Navy Journal states that all of whose voice the Allied "libera-Winston Churchill - a "truce" the Big Four Powers have already tors" do not want to hear or be which has resulted there, as the agreed that the U.S. is to acquire heard?

A blistering denunciation of the War Department's Canol oil-piping and refining project in Northern Canada, in which over \$100,000,000 has been sunk, is contained in the report of the Truman Senate Investigating Committee issued on Jan. 8.

Although undertaken two years ago on the pretext that the project was essential to supply oil and petroleum supplies to the armed forces in Alaska as speedily as possible, the Truman report reveals that it will not be completed until the spring and summer of 1944.

Chief beneficiary of the project, according the Senate committee findings, will be Standard Oil, whose Canadian subsidiary, Imperial Oil, Ltd., holds the "improvidently drawn" contracts to supply the oil. The report charges that the project was ordered by Gen. Somervell, chief of the Army Service Forces, "without adequate consideration or study."

It further charges that after he and the War Department had been repeatedly warned about continuing the project, he "continued insistence on the project," an action which the committee declares was "inexcusable."

Several alternative proposals had been made to get the oil to Alaska more cheaply and quickly. The report states:

"Standard of California estimates that the cost of a tanker to transport oil products to Alaska and the distribution and storage system, including 931,000 barrels of 100-octane gasoline would have been \$44,-456,509. When the White Horse refinery (part of the Canol project) starts operations in the Spring or Summer of 1944, it will take 65 months, or more than five years of full year-around operation to produce an equivalent amount of 100-octane gasoline." The full cost of the project, if completed, will be over \$134,000,000.

Part of the project calls for an expenditure of \$17,224,860 for oil prospecting and well development in Canada. "All of the wells will belong to Imperial Oil or Canada, and the U.S.A. will have no right to any of the oil after the war.

"All of the expenses of prospecting and developing the oil wells are to be borne by the U.S.A. However, the U.S.A. has contracted to pay Imperial Oil \$1.25 per barrel of oil."

At the end of the war, according to the contracts, Imperial Oil will be the only agency in position to buy up the refineries and pipe-lines, which can be dismantled or sold only by consent of Canada and at "a valuation based upon the then commercial value of the pipeline and refinery." That is, Standard Oil will get them for a song.

FREE THE 18!

* * *

new Government and in order to mines and other key industries, show the country that we want self-government for the colonies

members) and Sir Richard candidate by 5,000 majority.

ment, declared: "This amendment date, Lieut. Hugh Lawson.

and independence for India. a new House of Commons." This action is part of a movement to break the treacherous

truce between the Labor Party The authoritative Army and