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DRIVE TO CONSCRIPT LABOR RENEWED WLB Steel Panel Hears Facts

Amending the "Four Freedoms"

Union Proves Need **For Wage Increase**

By Joseph Keller

While the corporations have boosted their share of the national income 62 percent during this war, the relative share of the workers has actually declined almost 10 percent.

This was the startling fact exposed by Philip Murray last week in his testimony before the War Labor Board steel panel, which heard a mass of irrefutable evidence in support of the CIO United Steel Workers' demands for wage increases beyond the Little Steel formula.

Corporations which received 8 percent of the national income in 1939, raked in 13 percent during 1942. Farmers, which include corporate and bank landowners who got the major portion of the gravy, increased their share of the nation's total income from 5.9 percent to 7.1 percent, or a rise of almost 83 percent. Labor, the wage-earners who constitute over 80 percent of the population, received only 59.3 percent of the

national income as compared to 65.7 percent in the last pre-war

LABOR SHARE DECLINES is \$56.04. This is no "silk-shirt"

The decline in labor's share of era for them, especially in view the national income is even far of the 43.2 percent rise in the greater than these figures indicate | cost of living since January 1941, when it is considered that this as proved by the recent joint share is now being divided among AFL-CIO survey. These figures 12,000,000 more wage earners, were bolstered by the survey and that an enormous portion of of the Bureau of Agricultural workers' incomes is paid out in | Economics showing cost of living price rises and the 20 percent pay of farm families has risen 42.6 6 billion dollars in 1942, the couroll tax. percent.

The average steel worker ends What does the average steel in the red each week to the worker spend his frozen wages extent of \$8.44. This debt he for? Murray cited the budgets of \$994,035,000, which have expandextent of \$8.44. This debt ne for: Multray check the budgets of \$994,035,000, which have expand-makes up by redeeming war 1,000 representative steel work-ed by almost \$235,000,000 during fense Committee. He writes: tion of what the guarantees of free speech and free press mean bonds, digging into any savings | ers, whose earnings were paid | the war. out as follows:

Cost-Plus Hogs Steel Barons Grab Roosevelt's "Hold-the-Line" **Gigantic War Loot** order and the Little Steel formula have had no bearing on what the steel bosses have "Greed and profiteering of

paid themselves in fat salaries during the war period. Wartime salaries of steel corporation heads, who also own the biggest shares of

On Low Wages, Super-Profits

stocks, rose 36.2 per cent from 1939 to 1942. Some of the most vicious opponents of wage increases for the steel workers. did far, far better than this. Eugene Grace, president of Bethlehem Steel, upped his salary take from \$271,000 in 1939 to \$527,000 in 1942-a boost of 94 per cent. Tom Girdler, head of Re-

public Steel, snatched a 60.7 per cent salary raise for himself, bringing his 1942 salary to \$275,000. E. T. Weir, head of Weirton Steel, whose thugs are terrorizing and beating up CIO union men, netted \$275,400 in 1942, "only" 52.1 per cent more than his 1939 salary.

up to 200 percent this year. This These are the men who insist is in contrast to the 15 percent on a wage freeze. maximum wage increase over January 1941 which the workers pay now ranges from 78 cents to

\$1.21 an hour, the average being \$1.06. Their average weekly pay, before taxes and other deductions, SWOLLEN PROFITS

For the steel industry itself, the net profits before taxes from 1940 through 1942 averaged \$752,198,-000 a year, an increase of 244.5 percent, and "the 1942 profit showed an amazing increase of

War Labor Board steel panel.

ed at the panel by Murray.

all other costs, rose 175 percent

344.8 percent." From the enormously swollen steel profits, and assets of over pon clippers have sliced off 59.1

percent more dividends, holding in reserve as undistributed profits

Another third of a billion dol-



CRDC Launches Campaign For January 1941 which the workers are permitted under the Little **10,000 Signatures By July 1** Steel formula.

The National Office of the Civil Rights Defense Committee announced this week that an intensive national campaign was opened on April 1st to gather 10,000 signatures on petitions by July 1st. These petitions protest the imprisonment of the 18 and urge President Roosevelt to grant the 18 Socialist Workers Party and Minneapolis Truckdrivers Local 544-ClO members unconditional and immediate pardon. August Scholle, Regional Director, CIO Political Region 6,

National CIO Political Action Committee, denounced the im- of the Bill of Rights. My attitude

prisonments this week in a let-ter to James T. Farrell, Chair-with the ideology of the defenman of the Civil Rights De- dants; it goes to the larger ques-

tion of what the guarantees of "It is my considered judgment in th

DeLorenzo Indicted Thomas De Lorenzo, president of the militant Brewster Aeronautical Local 365, CIO United Automobile Workers, has been indicted by a federal grand jury for alleged misstatements contained in an application he filed with the Federal Civil Service Commission.

This is a continuation of the witch-hunt instituted by the government against the Brewster local when the House Naval Affairs Committee last year turned its investigation of the failure of the corporation to fulfill its contracts into a smear against the union.

to mobilize labor support be-

hind their president, who is

threatened with 10 years im-

prisonment and \$10,000 fine be-

cause of his refusal to knuckle

under to the corporation and

his defiance of the Congres-

A resolution issued by the

Local 365 executive board

states: "Local 365 recognizes

that the indictment of Thomas

De Lorenzo is nothing more

than a reactionary attempt to

sional labor-baiters.

Immediate action was taken by the Local executive board

Manpower Shortage Created **To Screen Reactionary Plot**

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Roosevelt Spurs Campaign for Labor Draft As Union Heads Maintain Silence on Issue

By C. Thomas

Under cover of an artificially created manpower shortage, he administration is campaigning to whip up public sentiment in favor of Roosevelt's forced labor proposal. The campaign was launched under Roosevelt's order of February 26, directing Selective Service to review the draft status of men between the ages of 18 through 37 who were occupationally deferred. It came to a head with the issuance of a directive by Major General Lewis B. Hershey, Director of Selective Service, to all draft boards ordering immediate pre-induction physical examinations for occupationally deferred men between the ages of 18 and 26. It was announced that 1.000,000 men®

in this category were to be in many sectors because of cutdrafted no matter what the ef- backs in war production. The fect on war production. Truman report recommended that Business Week, voice of the the output of civilian goods be money bags cynically announ- increased to absorb the unem-"'Manpower crisis in ployed and save many small March,' said Business Week on Dec. 11. Army and Navy have were terminated. The report precipitated the crisis right on condemned the "brass hats" reschedule.' sponsible for resisting conversion

The government announcement to civilian production. On January elicited a howl from the heads of 14, 1944 the N. Y. Herald-Tribune the various civilian agencies and reported the announcement of spokesmen for industrial groups the War Production Board that who contended that such blanket it had cut its estimated 1944 withdrawals of key men would munitions program by five billion create a manpower tangle which dollars. In a report made in would be "disastrous" to "some March, the Federal Reserve Bank of the nation's most vital war pro- of St. Louis, stated: "Wartime grams." Administration spokes- industrial expansion in the area men then countered with a has passed it peak," and while proposal to draft 4-F's and men many workers laid off in the between the ages of 38 and 45 recent period have been reemfor work in essential industries- ployed in factories producing those unfit for military service civilian goods, "future layoffs, who were not employed in "essen- however, cannot be absorbed fully tial jobs" to be drafted into Army by manufacturing and a conlabor battalions. The essence of siderable number of workers may the administration proposal is to move back to trade and service fill the vacancies created in establishments." The examples drafting men for military service cited could be multiplied a hunby a forced labor draft of civilian dred-fold. They tell a story workers. contrary to the legendary manpower shortage being drumned up

"LABOR" REPORTS

by Roosevelt and his agents. "Union chieftains," reports Even Paul V. McNutt, chair-Labor, official organ of the Rail- man of the War Manpower Comroad Brotherhoods, "voiced frank mission, testifying before the skepticism over the sudden hys- House Military Affairs subcomteria. They pointed out it came mittee on the draft, declared he at a time when, on the military was not in favor of a national side, over 4,000,000 soldiers are service act now. "I would have already abroad, and millions more | welcomed something of this kind at home, and on the industrial eighteen months ago," he added, side, thousands of workers are "but the job has been done on a being laid off daily due to cut- voluntary basis. It has been done. backs." Frank Fenton, AFL or- Why undo it?" However, if the ganizer, and a member of the brass hats want it, says McNutt, War Manpower Commission's "who am I to object?" That the labor - management committee, brass hats "wanted it" was made declared: "The whole scare seems unmistakably clear by the testito add up to a new effort to mony before the committee of drum up sentiment for the Robert P. Patterson, Underdiscredited 'national service act'." | Secretary of War, and Ralph A. Having failed in his initial Bard, Assistant Secretary of the attempt to put over a labor draft Navy. They informed the comunder the hysteria whipped up mittee that their preference was after General Marshall's attack for a "universal manpower on labor, Roosevelt is now ex- draft such as the Austin-Wadsecuting a flank attack, by manu- worth Bill," but "in the absence facturing a "manpower shortage." of prompt enactment" of such a Actually, the argument of a measure they would suggest manpower shortage is as full of "modification of the Austinholes as a Swiss cheese. A few Wadsworth bill to conform with weeks ago the Truman committee the 4-F plan." reported that the peak of man-In the face of the strong oppower requirements had been position to a "universal" forced DETROIT, Mich. — The passed, and, as a matter of fact, membership meeting of 2000 unemployment is becoming serious workers of Briggs Local 212

has put aside for a rainy day," and principally by borrowing from loan sharks or increas- housing, \$25.31 a month; \$16 a has been soaked away by the steel of 18 labor unionists stands as may think. This latter proposition Steel workers' straight-time (Continued on page 2)

(Continued on page 2)

one of the gravest present challenges to the continued efficacy

Stop Plot To Rehabilitate GPU Assassin Sigueiros In The US!

The long arm of Stalin's world-wide GPU murder machine is reaching out into the United States. David Alfaro Siqueiros, notorious GPU gunman, incendiary, self-confessed assassin and fugitive from Mexican justice, is preparing to enter this country with the diplomatic assistance of Nelson Rockefeller, co-ordinator of inter-American affairs.

This Stalinist gangster in 1941 skinned bail and fled from Mexico after confessing to the Mexican police that he had organized and led the GPU machine-gun and fire-bomb assault on Leon Trotsky's Coyoacan home on May 24, 1940, when Robert Sheldon Harte, Trotsky's American secretary and guard, was kidnapped. and murdered.

The news of this GPU hireling's projected visit to the United States was reported in Time magazine, April 3. Under the heading, "Siqueiros Rides Again," Time magazine states: "In Mexico last week David Alfaro Siqueiros . . . revealed that he is about to visit the U.S. . ." It then goes on to add that Siqueiros openly boasted of the assistance he had already received "from Nelson Rockefeller's coordinators of inter-American affairs" during his recent junket through Latin American countries.

It was only a few weeks ago that the sudden reappearance of Siqueiros in Mexico created a sensation and a public scandal. His presence was discovered ac-

Mexico City daily newspaper Excelsior who ran into this panied by his wife, Angelica "renowned fugitive from justice" on a bus. According to this reporter:

"The method by which Siqueiros | March 1.)



GPU Gunman Siqueiros

cidentally by a reporter for the reentered the country (Mexico)-On March 3, Excelsior recoming from Cuba and accom- ported:

"Since his (Siqueiros') arrival Arenal--is one of those things in this city seven or eight days which seem destined to remain a ago he has been seen widely and profound mystery." (Excelsior, has made no attempt whatsoever at concealment. It is obvious

Ofrom this that he 'does not fear the police' and that he doesn't care a hang about the charges still pending against him in the First Penal Court-charges of the crimes of attempted homicide, discharging of firearms, housebreaking, and property damage." The next day, the same paper reported:

"The judge of the First Penal Court has already declared that his order of arrest against the artist and fugitive from justice, although never carried out, still remains in force, but that it is outside his jurisdiction to see that it is carried into effect."

What is this mysterious power that renders a fugitive from justice immune, ennabling him to flee and reenter Mexico at will. during Mr. Novack's visit to that and to flout the courts? It is the city on March 26, wrote: power of Siqueiros' employers in the Kremlin, the power of Stalin's 18 Minneapolis prisoners con-

CRIME DETAILS

The details of this crime are matter of public record. The a thorough, unbiased rehearing in Little Steel Formula be broken" before-dawn attack on Trotsky's residence was made by 25 to 30 gangsters, who broke into the uncontested, it will not be long program and sends telegrams to building hurling incendiary bombs and spraying machine gun bullets. They burst into the bedroom of Trotsky and his wife Natalia, up charges, by groups whom we that the revocation of the noripping to pieces with machine gun slugs the bed on which the may depend upon me to assist in bring some of the uncooperative elderly couple had but a moment every way possible to seek the companies to terms." before been sleeping. The intended release of the Minneapolis prisonvictims awakened at the first ers." sound of firing and hid in a dark

RIGHT DENIED. corner of the room. They thus

miraculously escaped the assas-After the assailants, who were

(Continued on page 5)

that the unreviewed conviction in of all looms the proposition that For food per week, \$18.51; lars, representing hidden profits, the Federal Court at Minneapolis the law now covers what a man places the citizen completely under the domination of the judiciary, astounding as that point of view may seem.

SUPREME COURT

"I believe that this case is most definitely one in which the Supreme Court of the United States should have issued a writ of certiorari and rendered a decicrush labor. The executive sion on the constitutional point board goes on record to give involved. Its failure to do so Brother De Lorenzo all the established a precedent that necessary moral and financial stands from now on as a threat aid required because of the into freedom of expression and dictment." freedom of thought. The fear that a constitutional guarantee might **Briggs Local Calls** not be enforceable is just as much a restriction of liberty as the complete absence of the guarantee

For Revocation of itself. "You may use my name in support of any appeal made to the President of the United States No-Strike Pledge for full and unconditional pardons for these 18 persons..."

(Continued on page 5)

John M. Holly, President of the Future Outlook League, who spoke together with George No-UAW-CIO, held on Sunday, vack, National CRDC Secretary at the Cleveland CRDC meeting to request the International Executive Board to call a special

"After studying the case of the convention in order to rescind the no-strike pledge. The presi-GPU, whose assignment to victed for alleged sedition, and dent of the Briggs Local sent out assassinate 'Leon Trotsky this following my attending your notices to all the other UAW locriminal tried to carry out in meeting on last Sunday evening cals asking "that you follow our in the Allerton Hotel, I am example by petitioning the In-

thoroughly convinced that the ternational to call a special conmen and women involved are not vention for this purpose." The only entitled to, but should have letter further demands "that the

this case. . . If the case against and argues "that if every Local these persons is allowed to go Union gets solidly behind this before every group in America Brother Murray, this pressure will eventually suffer a similar will assist him in this very imfate on practically any trumped portant fight. We also believe may oppose or disagree with. You strike pledge is the only way to

This action of the Briggs Local is especially significant following as it does the statement issued by Wise W. Stone, Recording The San Francisco Committee Secretary of the Aircraft Unit of

Against Segregation and Dis-crimination this week added its Yost, President of the River

(Continued on page 2) prepared. County committees are

tion.

(Continued on page 5)

UAW-CIO, held on Sunday, March 26 voted unanimously FLINT CIO ACTIVE IN NEW MICHIGAN PARTY

FLINT, Mich .- While the labor being organized in the industrial bureaucrats are helping white- centers-the first at Flint for wash the two corrupt old-line Genesee County. Commonwealth parties, especially Roosevelt's clubs are being formed wherever Democratic Party, progressive 10 members or more are enrolled. unionists of Michigan are push- Block affiliations of trade unions, ing forward an intensive organ- farm and other organizations are izational campaign to build the being sought. A number of local Michigan Commonwealth Federa- unions have already signified their intention to affiliate. Dele-

The MCF membership drive gates to the state convention will was launched at the first state be from Commonwealth Clubs and bloc affiliates, the latter committee meeting March 26, in having one-fourth the representa-Lansing, carrying out the mandates of the 415 delegates at the tion of member Clubs. Detroit study conference of

LANSING MEETING March' 4-5. Organizational rules

At the Lansing session the state were adopted and plans laid committee enlarged itself from for the combined constitutional-52 to 83 members, mostly union nominating convention to be held militants from throughout the probably in July at Grand Rapids. Meanwhile, petitions are being state, with a sprinkling of circulated to place the party on progressive farmers, small busithe Michigan ballot in November, ness people and professionals. if the convention so decides. The next committee meeting was set for April 30 at Flint. Membership forms are being circulated and other literature

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TWO-

THE MILITANT

SATURDAY, APRIL 8, 1944

increases from the present maxi-



TRADE UNION Campaign For 3,000 New 'Militant' NOTES NO Readers Off To A Flying Start

By Joseph Keller

When President Sherman Dal-| The UAW national leaders are rymple of the CIO United Rubber | very handy with fancy palaver, Workers arbitrarily suspended 72 conferences, programs, plans and members of the Akron General general big talk. But when it have the opportunity of introducing their shopmates and friends to Tire and Rubber Local 9 for comes to action, all of it is participation in a strike, he directed against the workers stirred up a real hornets nest. themselves, as witness the In-Among the key locals which came ternational Board's recent reto the support of Local 9 was the solution threatening punitive measures against members and important Goodrich Local 5, locals who strike or otherwise which issued a sharp resolution actively protest against company condemning Dalrymple's dictaprovocations and discriminations. torial action.

The resolution, reprinted in The capitalist press which gets Local 5's publication, Air Bag, charges that Dalrymple suspendwhipped up into a lather every ed the 72 Local 9 militants time union workers resist the without trial or hearing, in decisions of the pro-corporation direct violation of their rights as War Labor Board is displaying provided in the URWA constitu- heroic restraint with respect to tion," and that Dalrymple's the latest defiance of the WLB methods are those fostored by the by the open shop Montgomery corporations "to split the labor Ward & Company. John A. Barr, labor relations

movement by unjust and undemocratic discriminatory actions." director of the company, last Air Bag affirms that "our local week flatly informed the WLB gives solid support to the Gen- that the company will not comply eral Local 9 members who have with the Board's directive orderbeen wrongfully expelled by ing a renewal of the old contract fident that the membership of the ers pending an NLRB decision on to PRESERVE DEMOCRACY in | tion. Barr contended that WLB

the labor movement once the facts are known!" * * *

decisions are "merely appeals to public opinion." That's not the

The U.S. Supreme Court last way the workers "heerd it," since week in a 7 to 2 decision upheld the WLB increasingly invokes OTHER BRANCHES ACCEPT QUOTAS the findings of two lower federal punitive measures against unioncourts approving portal-to-portal ists and unions which resist the raw deals they have been getting pay for iron miners. This decifrom the WLB. As far as sion requiring that iron miners "Monkey" Ward is concerned, the be paid for underground travel WLB hasn't even resorted to time to the working face of a mine is also expected to affect favorably 530,000 coal miners who of-January 15. * * * last year fought four national "In the main, the Baruch plan

strikes to win portal-to-portal pay.

In the majority opinion, written to 'normalcy' and on its face is by Justice Frank Murphy, there merely another drive by free en- accept its quota of 200 new subscriptions in the national campaign. is a vivid description of the terprisers to 'get the government As a starter, will you send us cards to cover 100 subscriptions." hazards of underground travel. out of business' and the country The miners ride to their places back into the disastrous groove the quota of 150 new subscriptions to The Militant. We have agreed of work in "ore skips" and often of cartels and monopolies," are forced to jump several feet declares a resolution recently from the loading platforms into adopted by the National Exthe skip, which frequently reecutive Board of the CIO Textile sults in injuries. Workers Union.

The men have to ride bent over This resolution goes far beyond to avoid striking their heads the position of the Murrays and against low ceilings and beams. Greens that the Baruch monopoly "Thus they ride in 'spoon-fashion," with bodies contorted and heads it excludes them from its addrawn below the level of the skip ministrative set-up. The TWU top. Broken ribs, injured arms statement assails the Baruch plan and legs and bloody heads often as "a pattern for a return to result; even fatalities are not 'business as usual'" which "fails unknown." in almost every respect to meet

These long rides are made "in the social and economic needs of the common people of the U.S." the dark maloderous shafts" and "the exacting and dangerous conditions in the mine shafts stand

Woodpulp and chemical conas a mute, unanswerable proof that the journey from and to using German prisoners of war as we will do our very best." the portal involves continuous a source of cheap labor and to physical and mental exertion as undercut the union wage scales well as hazards to life and limb." of the CIO International Wood-

The nation-wide Militant Subscription Campaign launched April 1 for the purpose of obtaining 3,000 new subscribers is off to a good start. During the next three months our agents and readers will The Militant through this introductory offer of 13 issues for 25c.

Communications received from our agents show by their care-Branch ful and thorough preparation in getting local campaigns underway Akron that they are aware of the political importance of this campaign. Allentown Bayonne

READING AND FLINT FIRST TO SEND IN SUBS

Boston John, Organizer for Reading: "I am not going to try to say in Buffalo many words what we all think about our great six-page paper. As Chicago one worker expressed himself, 'Oh boy, a six-page Militant.' To us Cleveland that gives you an idea how we all feel about this great step forward. Detroit Not only do we accept the quota for 30 subs but we are going to pay | Flint Los Angeles you in advance for them. That is how much confidence we have in Milwaukee the six-page Militant.

Minneapolis "Enclosed are 12 subs. Please mail us the difference in cards." Newark J. Thorne, Flint Organizer: "Herewith is \$2 for two 6-month New Haven subs to The Militant. This gives us an early and we hope an auspicious, start on the Militant Sub Campaign." New York Philadelphia

NEW YORK LOCAL RAISES ITS QUOTA

George Grant, Organizer of New York Local, states: "The New York City Committee thinks the quota of 500 new readers in the STEEL BARONS GRAB national campaign for 3,000 introductory subs is too low. The New York membership can and will do better than that. The City Com-President Dalrymple and fired with the CIO United Retail, mittee, therefore, is submitting to the membership a city-wide plan from their jobs. . . We are con- Wholesale and Warehouse Work- of action recommending a substantial increase in the quota assigned to the New York Local. As soon as the membership acts upon the URWA will join us in this fight collective bargaining representa- New York Local sub campaign plans we will notify you of the quota we have set for ourselves and the details of our plan of action.

"We intend to tackle this national campaign with the same

energy and enthusiasm as was demonstrated in the \$15,000 - 15th 1942. Anniversary Fund drive."

A. Lynn, Literature Director of Los Angeles Local: "Please send us 400 self-addressed postage-paid 25c subscription cards. The card, by the way, is a most attractive one. Although ordering in this quantity immediately means that our bill will be quite high for a time, I feel that it is best to have all the blanks around so that there "public appeal" since its directive will be no delay caused by our having first to send you a request and then your sending us the additional cards.'

E. Logan, Literature Agent for Detroit: "Received your letter on the new 3-month subs for The Militant and feel we'll be able to is a blueprint for another return do really well in getting subs. We accept the quota of 300."

B. Forrest, Literature Agent for Chicago: "The branch voted to

R. Haddon, Literature Agent for San Francisco: "We accept to postpone our previously planned 'longshore' work in order to take an active part in this most important campaign. With our previous experience in 'pioneering' this trial sub work, we are confident we can come out on top in this campaign."*

L. Kelly, Organizer for Seattle: "Forward 150 sub cards imnediately.

B. Barber, Literature Agent for Boston: "We accept the quota tentions of the corporations, that Bethlehem Steel could get \$17,-"grab-all" plan is OK except that of 100 subs assigned to us as our part of the campaign for 3,000 new "to propose that wages should be 588,000; Republic Steel, \$11,616,subscriptions to The Militant within the next three months. Please send us 25 cards."

Harry R., Organizer of Newark: "We are accepting our quota of 80 subs, but we anticipate getting at least 150 before the end of the campaign. Four special branch mobilizations are planned which will be devoted exclusively to the sale of 25c subs in door-to-door the federal tax bills have "prowork and the visiting of shop contacts who have not yet subscribed to | tected the vast accumulation of the paper."

Albert S., Literature Agent for Milwaukee: "The subscription | many special privileges and benecerns in Michigan have been cards are very fine in appearance. While our quota is a bit stiff, fits. In spite of the hue and cry

SCOR	EBO	ARD

Quota	Branch
40	Pittsburgh
15	Plentywood
50	Quakertown
100	Reading
•50	Rochester
200	San Diego
50	San Francisco
300	Seattle
15	St. Louis
400	St. Paul
15	Texas
200	Toledo
80	Youngstown
25	Members-at-Large
	and Friends
500	1977 - A. 1977 -

30

(Continued from page 1)

mal" profits for two years after barons in the form of so-called the war, no matter if they oper-"reserves for depreciation, deple- ate at as low as 40 percent capation and amortization" which city and regardless of their losssoared 62 percent from 1939 to es. Post-war tax refunds ensure continuous big profits to the steel

The brief proves that the steel companies, even if half the steel corporations can pay all the wage workers are walking the breadncreases demanded and still make lines. more profits than in the pre-war

If U. S. Steel production deyears. Wages are part of costs, clined to 40 percent of capacity, THE 1939 THE 1943 (OCT · NOV- DEC)





paid before taxes, and the WLB | it can get \$49,200,000 from tax itself has stated in the Little rebates-that is, from the pockets Steel case, contrary to the con- of the workers who pay the taxes. 000; the industry as a whole,

ernment's impost on industry." Actually, as the brief shows specifically in the steel industry, corporate profits and preserved before taxes, and with large porthat corporations are being taxed

San Francisco Carmen Given **Quota** Run-around In Wage Dispute

By Robert Chester

15

150

30

3000

corporations are guaranteed "nor-

mum of 921/2c. to \$1.00 and over-SAN FRANCISCO, March 31time to begin after 40 hours San Francisco motormen and coninstead of the present 48. They ductors of the Municipal Railway claim that their wage scales are Line stopped work Sunday, March not as high as those in Detroit 26 to hold a "meeting" and and other cities in the middle discuss the refusal of Mayor west. The cost of living in San 50 Lapham to grant wage increases Francisco is as high or higher recommended by the Board of than any other major war center Supervisors. The men threatened to stay off the job and "meet continuously until everyone was

and the men have felt the economic squeeze heard from" in an effort to win PERMANENT CRISIS their demands. Only the promise When the Board of Supervisors of ten of the eleven supervisors

O'K'd the union's demands several to pass the wage increase over city, state and government the mayor's yeto prompted the bureaus voiced immediate opposimen to call off the "meeting" and tion. Mayor Lapham, former ofreturn to work. This apparently ficial of the American-Hawaiian clear-cut solution now appears to Steamship Company and a well be merely another maneuver in known supporter of the laborthe anti-labor maneuverings of hating Waterfront Employers Asthe city administration. sociation, attacked the recom-

The transit situation in San mendations. The Board quickly Francisco is, to put it mildly, backed down and approved a sochaotic. There are two trolley called compromise measure which systems, one privately owned and gave no gains whatsoever to the one city owned. Each system carmen.

charges a different fare, 5c for the The union reacted strongly. municipal and 7c. for the Market Henry Foley, President of the Street line. Salaries of the work AFL Carmen's Union Local 518 ers also vary, with higher wages immediately announced the "meetprevailing on the Municipal line ine" for Sunday to protest the The Market Stneet employes "double cross." Sunday morning conducted a long struggle to win the men came out solidly. Four wage increases equal to those of hours later after promises by the the Municipal line, an increase Supervisors to grant an increase amounting to 71/2c. to 10c. per of 5c. per hour instead of the hour. The case was brought beoriginal 71/2 c., the men returned fore the War Labor Board two to work. months ago, and was decided in

This action had another result. favor of the men. The company On Saturday, the day before the appealed the case on the grounds 'meeting," the Market Street Line that the raises exceeded the Little suddenly signed an agreement Steel formula. In spite of the with its workers granting a raise threat of strike by the men the to the level of the Municipal men. case dragged on and on through This was an obvious attempt to split the two carmen's unions and prevent further unified action.

TWO FACTORS

the courts.

Two other complicating factors MAYOR LAPHAM enter into the dispute. First the

Market Street Line has been dickering for the past few years | mains adamant against any raises to sell the line to the city. The for the men, although he is asking price has been so outrage- sponsoring a generous deal with ously high that all past attempts the Market Street Railway. His for ratification by the voters have | role as a representative of Big failed. The company has in the Business has been very clearly more than one and one-third bilmeantime allowed its equipment | exposed. He has been able to stall lion dollars in resources," conand facilities to run down. Second- off the recommendations of the cludes the USA-CIO brief, "earnly, the California Railroad Com- Board of Supervisors until after ing more than three-quarters of mission after investigating the the April 1 deadline for passage a billion dollars a year in profits company's financial affairs order- of the wage awards for the fiscal ed the reduction of the fane to 6c. | year 1944-45. tions of federal taxes refundable can surely meet the union's re-

Mayor Lapham however, re-

The company immediately took | The next move is up to the men. the case to the courts and is in So far the labor movement here meantime passing out Ic. has displayed much ingenuity in refund slips to each passenger to pressing its demands despite the be redeemed when and if the case restrictions of the Smith-Connally is settled. Needless to say the act and the threats of the Lapham majority of the slips will not be administration. Where men have redeemed. By this method the devised "meetings to discuss" and company is able to squeeze out go on "fishing trips" and hold an extra income of about \$2500 "prayer meetings to pray for a raise" we can expect many inday. Disputes have also been in novations. There will unquestionprogress on the Municipal Line. ably be more developments on The workers have demanded wage this case in the coming weeks.

65.7 % LABOR

affected by profits after taxes is to propose that labor's return \$122,153,000. "An industry, like steel, with

should be conditioned by the Gov-

workers Union. Now, according Delegates from the aircraft to the International Woodworker, locals of the CIO United Auto-March 22, the German prisoners mobile Workers recently held a have put "squarely behind the national conference in Chicago eight-ball. . . the bosses who to draft a wage program for the thought they saw a source of industry. Presiding at the con- profit in cheap prison labor." ference was UAW Vice President According to the articles of the Richard T. Frankensteen, direc- Geneva conference, these prisontor of the union's aircraft diviers must be paid regular wages sion. He came to national noto- for labor performed, the rate in riety when he supported the use the area being fixed at 84 cents of federal troops against the average of the superior fixed at 84 cents of federal troops against the average of the superior fixed at 84 cents of federal troops against the superior fixed at 84 cents of federal troops against the superior fixed at 84 cents of the superior fixed at 84 cents of federal troops against troops against the superior fixed at 84 cents of federal troops against troops against the superior fixed at 84 cents of federal troops against troops against the superior fixed at 84 cents of federal troops against t of federal troops against the a day. "Theoretically, such striking North American Aircraft prisoners . . . will produce wood workers in 1941 and is now on amounting to several times that the extreme right-wing of the much in a day's work, which national leadership in an alliance would represent a tidy profit for with the Stalinists. the employers," reports the Wood-

The conference adopted a sixworker. "To the dismay of local point program of wage demands, operators, however, the Germans, including a general industry-wide who rapidly acquired the knowlwage raise. The only thing the edge that 12 'sticks' a day conference didn't do is draft a amounts to 84 cents, have emprogram of effective union action phatically declined to cut any more than that amount." to win the demands.



The variety of activity covered have about twenty left of all by reports from our agents has those you sent us recently." made this week's correspondence

one of extreme interest. The Newark: "Our latest Red Sunmain activity of the branches, of day netted unusually good recourse, has been preparation for sults. Two comrades canvassing the Militant Subscription Camin territory where sample copies paign. This material will appear of The Militant had been disin the campaign column, but we tributed brought in eight new pass along some of the other insubscriptions. In addition, two teresting reports. comrades selling in 'new' terri-

* * *

Toledo: "Please double our time Crimes of Big Business' present Militant bundle order as while another team canvassing we will need more for the coming among sympathizers reported one sub campaign and expansion of renewal and several promises to renew. Thirteen assorted pamphsub work here. . . We are glad to know of the restoration of lets were sold. They report that second-class mailing rights which one colored sympathizer is so comes at the time of the new sub enthused with The Militant that ceived the two six-page issues of he requested sub blanks 'so I can campaign." sell The Militant to my friends'."

San Pedro: "Increase our Militant bundle order by 200 more copies a week."

Seattle: "Please send us The Militant for the last several the International and a strong the corporation heads have voted regular Militant sub blanks. We months is really good. The variety British Section."

tory sold fifty-one copies of 'War-

A. West, Literature Agent for Toledo: "We accept our quota of 30 subs and request you to send us 30 self-addressed postage-paid 25c sub cards. We plan to offer a prize such as a new book, possibly

Cannon's 'History of American Trotskyism' to the one obtaining the most subs in the 3-month campaign. Of course, this isn't all worked out yet but we want to make the campaign interesting among ourselves."

WITH THE SPIRIT AND DETERMINATION EXPRESSED IN THESE LETTERS, THE MILITANT SUBSCRIPTION CAM-PAIGN PROMISES TO BE AN ACHIEVEMENT OF WHICH WE CAN BE PROUD.



ation and price freezing.

A year later, although Congress month for utilities, ice and fuel; \$16 a month for household mainhad kicked out of the window all tenance and equipment; \$2.70 a measures to limit profits and week for transportation, all but salaries or hold down prices, 42 cents for going to and from Roosevelt issued his infamous work: \$1.66 a month for recrea-"hold - the - line"

tion, mostly for newspapers and order. the date for a special meeting at "The economic events since the Cass Technical High School magazines; \$2.75 a week for April 1942, reveal the most to implement this vote. obacco and liquor; \$10.82 per

nonth for medical care. shocking injustices perpetrated on There is growing sentiment in The steel workers' brief American workers," charges the other UAW Locals for the revocatressed particularly the failure USA-CIO brief. "Wage stabilization of the no-strike pledge which was foisted upon the unions by

of the administration and Con- tion, as one point of the program, gress to fullfill the promised was immediately put into effect stabilization" of profits and by the National War Labor prices, as well as wages. The Board. By executive order and the prief recalls that the Little Steel administrative policies of the formula was based upon Roose-Board, wage stabilization was velt's 7-point program before studiously transformed into a na-Congress in April 1942, which tional wage freeze."

included stiff taxes on corporate In addition to the general 17 cents an hour wage increase, the

* * *

union is seeking a number of of the articles and the increased other improvements, including; echnical beauty of the paper 1. a guaranteed weekly and nave made it more readable and annual wage; 2. a bonus for steel nteresting for popular distribuworkers in the armed forces; 3. tion. I also notice that the dismissal pay; 4. sick leave with writing has become simpler pay; 5. a shift differential for (whether consciously or not) and those on night shifts; 6. six holithink this tendency is good." days with pay; 7. liberalized vacations with pay; 8. equal pay

England: "Please convey to the for equal work throughout the Socialist Workers Party our industry; 9. minimum pay for leepest revolutionary solidarity learners; 10. improved health inwith the imprisoned leaders. This surance; 11. maintenance of meminspires us with great confidence bership and the dues check-off. for the future. As soon as I re-A particularly strong case was made for the guaranteed yearly The Militant I passed them wage and dismissal pay, in view around the tool benches in the of the guaranteed profits the govfactory where I work and the ernment will provide the corporaboys thought they were great tions for two years after the war Chicago: "I wish to say that stuff. Yes, we are going to build and the big retirement pensions themselves.

quested wage adjustment of less beyond endurance, the facts demthan a quarter of a billion dollars onstrate that corporate profits, and the other requests of the after taxes, are beyond any peaceunion which amount to approxtime level.' Under the present tax law, the imately 104 million dollars."

RESCIND NO-STRIKE PLEDGE

(Continued from page 1) the top officialdom. Signs are

multiplying that other local Rouge Credit Union urging a conunions are ready to follow the ference of all UAW-CIO locals example of the Briggs and Ford in the Detroit area to demand a workers. The UAW bureaucrats special UAW Convention to re- are becoming panicky before the rising discontent of the rank and scind the no-strike pledge. The stone-Yost announcement follow- file. They have placed this quesed a stormy meeting of the Ford tion as one of the main topics of Aircraft Unit which adopted the discussion at the special meeting of the full Executive Board to be demand to rescind the no-strike pledge after the Ford manageheld in New York City. The rank ment victimized 121 union miliand file militants of the UAW are tants. beginning to realize however that

The March 26 membership they themselves must take the meeting of the Briggs local also initiative and coordinate their acvoted unanimously for a strike tivity for a united effort to break vote under the Smith-Connally through the straitjacket of the wage freeze Bill and designated April 16 as Little Steel formula.

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THE MILITANT

Trotskyists In Italy Issue Call For Socialist Struggle

Denounce the Betrayals by the Second and Third International; Summon Masses to Fight for Socia list United States of Europe

in this country. It is the Manifesto issued by the Italian Trotskyists in the name of the Provisional National Center which has been constituted for the building of the Communist Internationalist Party (Fourth International). The text of this document is the first definitive proof that the genuine voice of revolutionary socialism is beginning to make itself heard amid the crucial events in Italy.

Calling upon the workers of the world to "unite on the principles of the class struggle," the Manifesto begins by a forthright condemnation of the treachery of the Second and Third Internationals. It states:

"Comrades, we issue this Manifesto in order to make clear our political position and our tasks with regard to the war, and the direction and development of political events. Our task is to show the working class the road to the socialist revolution — the socialist revolution that has been betrayed by the parties of the Second and Third Internationals which, repeating the treachery of 1914-1918, have gone over to the imperialist war camp under the slogan of 'national unity.'

"It is because of this type of politics that the working class of all countries lack revolutionary parties, while the unleashed war continues to starve, convulse and drown the whole world in blood.'

Monstrous Deception

The Manifesto then goes on to expose in unambiguous terms the fraud that this is a war of "ideologies":

"It is a monstrous deception to explain the causes and aims of the present war as a conflict between democracy and fascism, in the manner of the parties of the Second and Third Internationals. It is a lie propagated all over the world, devised by the greed of world finance capital which seeks to divide the workers and the peoples, pitting them against each other in a war that is being fought solely for imperialist aims; a war that cannot solve but only aggravate the problems of the world crisis.

"The causes and aims of the war have nothing to do with an ideological struggle between democracy and fascism. The present conflict, a sequel to 1914-1918, constitutes the most dramatic event in modern history, and should be viewed within the framework of an entire epoch, an event predetermined by the insoluble crisis of world capitalist economy in its imperialist putrefaction."

The "democrats" and fascists alike pursue essentially the same aims. In the words of the Italian Trotskyists:

"The present war involves the clash of two powerful camps, both with well-defined aims. Both war camps are torn by internal conflicts which threaten with the further development of events to rip them apart, with each power struggling for its own interests, pursuing its own aims."

Hypocritical Pretenses

"Despite their hypocritical pretenses of democracy, the Anglo-American powers, basing

A very important document has just arrived to safeguard the remaining conquests of the October Revolution. The Manifesto leaves the false impression that Stalin is merely an agent of Anglo-American imperialism, while in reality the Kremlin bureaucracy pursues its contradictory aims. The text of this section follows:

Soviet Union

"The Soviet Union, in the United Nations bloc, is bleeding itself white, not for revolutionary aims, but for the aims of Anglo-American imperialism. The promises of a democratic peace, of economic well-being and of liberty made by these Anglo-American democracies and concurred in by Stalin's government, are a deception just as in 1914-1918, and cannot by any means constitute the aims of the proletariat either of the Soviet Union or of any other country."

Warning that unless the workers pursue their socialist goal, reaction will continue to reign, the Manifesto states:

"Whatever the democratic regime of tomorrow may be - it will pave the way for reaction unless capitalism is abolished - it will be merely a capitalist government with the velvet glove covering the mailed fist against the proletariat." The only way out is the road of socialism. The concluding section of the Manifesto calls upon the workers to resume their struggle for socialism despite and against the betrayals of the Social-Democrats and the Stalinists:

"The Second International has betrayed these socialist aims since 1914. The Third International has followed suit in the present war. Having organized and directed the defeats of the European workers, it has dragged the entire world proletariat including the Soviet Union into a useless war

"Workers! It is necessary to struggle against the war without let-up, in order to achieve a just peace for all peoples."

The key lesson, of our entire epoch — the urgent need and the paramount role of the proletarian party — is underscored:

"To accomplish these tasks a strong and disciplined Bolshevik-Leninist revolutionary party is necessary. Without revolutionary doctrine and a class party, the proletariat will come out of the war crushed by the treacherous politics of the Second and Third Internationals.

The Struggle

"The struggle for the building of the Internationalist Communist Party and for a Fourth International is the fundamental task of the vanguard of the proletariat; the sole con lition for guiding the workers in the struggle for power, in the abolition of the capitalist state, and the construction of a socialist economy in Italy and the Socialist United States of Europe.

"To the social-patriotic Committee of National Liberation of the 'Sforzas', must be counterposed class organizations, the councils of workers, peasants and soldiers. To the capitalist slogans against a king — with or without a regency — a policy that serves only to safeguard the financiers, the industrialists, the church hierarchy, the landowners - in short, capitalism — must be counterposed the demand for a



The strength of the French underground is well illustrated in this picture, taken when underground fighters marched through Oyonnax, France, on their way to hold memorial ceremonies. Faces of cheering townspeople are blacked out to prevent reprisals by the Nazis.

Kremlin Makes Plans To **Knife Italian Revolution**

By James Cowan

Stalinist policy in Italy, following upon Moscow's action in establishing diplomatic relations with the regime of Badoglio-King Victor Emmanuel, is taking shape in the sinister form of a reactionary plot against the revolutionary movement of the insurgent Italian masses:

M. Ercoli, general secretary of the Italian Communist Party and well-known as an agent of Stalin's G.P.U., has revealed the nature of the Stalinist policy. It follows the pattern made familiar during the Spanish civil war in which the Stalinist agencies combined with the most reactionary political cliques for the purpose of strangling the Spanish revolution. Upon his arrival in Naples 9-

last week, after having spent Italy, would long since have been prestige, to shunt off the strug-18 years in the Soviet Union hurled into the garbage can of gle of the masses and shackle where he performed every dirty history. task assigned him by the Kremlin bureauctacy, Ercoli an- Italy, Ercoli made a statement The Stalinists are attempting to nounced a program to be pre- in which he said: "I must first build a peoples' front in Italy position, including the bulk of the sented to the Italian Committee of Allied authorities who are giving to unite monarchists, fascist ofof National Liberation, calling me the possibility once more to cials, brass hats, capitalist politor: 1. A "united front of democratic,

liberal and anti-fascist forces." 2. Formal assurance that "the problem of state institutions" would be solved only by the entire possible! nation through the convocation of STALINIST AGENTS

a constituent assembly-after the war. 3. A new temporary govern-

ment "deriving its strength and authority from the support of the great mass parties" and "capable of organizing a genuinely great war effort of the whole country, including primarily the creation of a strong Italian army to fight the Germans."

NO EXPLANATION Abandoning without a word of explanation the previous opposition of the Italian Stalinists to Badoglio and the King, Ercoli declared that until after the war "we consider the King to be not a person but an institution and therefore there is no question of changing this institution now." The Italian workers certainly never regarded the King as just a "person." To them the monarchy and all its aides and supporters were also an "institution"-one which was and is symbolic of the capitalist system and of the fascist regime to which that system gave rise. In their fight against this symbol they have shown their determination to end that system and all it stands for. The Stalinists, however, have ranged themselves openly on the side of the monarchist clique which the workers have steadily refused to tolerate, and on the side of the Allied imperialists without whose aid the clique and

German

cow difficult."

Communists

dispatch from Stockholm which

them behind the military dictatorgratitude to the Italian working- | front" in Spain proved a noose class whose action in smashing for the Spanish revolution. Now Fascism made his return to Italy the Stalinists are attempting to resurrect it on Italian soil. The Italian workers have this

what they are about. Stalinism | in the back by Stalin's counterweapon in the arsenal of im- forewarned and thus better able perialism. Everywhere the Stalin- to defend themselves against the constituencies held by the Tories, only by the Tories and the capitalists can be relied upon to mislead foul plottings of the Stalinist and disorient the workers, to stab | machine.

them in the back and betray their **REVOLUTIONISTS' DUTY** just struggles. It is one of the

The Italian revolutionists now main preoccupations of the Kremlin to prevent social revolu- face the duty of exposing Stalintion, for a revolution anywhere ism before the Italian masses for would undermine, and help in the the counter - revolutionary force eventual destruction of, the that it is, they have the duty of counter-revolutionary clique which destroying all Stalinist influence rules in Moscow. The Allied im- in the Italian labor movement. perialists understand this. That | This is a necessary pre-condition | is why they facilitated Ercoli's for the health and the future The Italian workers desire an socialist revolution.

end to the imperialist war which | To the treacherous Stalinist ship.

IN CHICAGO

BOOKSHOP

Churchill Vote Reveals Growth Of Social Crisis

By Ralph Graham

ment suffered its first parlia- firmed by the London correspondmentary defeat last week when ent of the New York Times who the House of Commons, by a reported on March 30 that "few vote of 117 to 116, passed an even among his (Churchill's) amendment to the government's most ardent supporters could fail Education Bill which provided equal pay for men and women teachers. Churchill's cabinet met

l and violations of the political truce on a local scale are conclu-Winston Churchill's govern- sive proof of that. And it is conto see he had lost ground as the nation's leader."

SUSPENSION OF TRUCE

and decided to make the issue Driven into opposition by the one of "confidence" in the govgrowing pressure of the dissatisernment by resubmitting it to fied workers, the Labor Party is the House, which then proceed- now reported to be seeking a pared to adopt the bill minus the tial suspension of the electoral amendment by a vote of 425 to truce with the Tories. According to Frederick Kuh, London corre-

spondent of the Chicago Sun. Taken in conjunction with other "this is the first move toward the ecent developments, particularly break-up of the coalition governthe coal miners' strike and the ment under Prime Minister election of independent left-wing Churchill, which may nevertheless candidates, this parliamentary in- | remain in office until after Gercident shows the extent to which many's defeat. Labor's decision, Britain's artificial national unity however, reflects growing popis breaking down before the realiular restiveness, not with the ties of the class struggle. At the | Premier's conduct of the war, but same time. Churchill's demand for with the slowness of social change vote of confidence upon a relaand doubts regarding the cabinet's ively minor domestic issue indicates the fear of the British capitalist class that the smallest breach in the structure of their rule may release the pent-up

floodwaters of social discontent. **"CONFIDENCE" VOTE**

Churchill made clear the importance of the issue when he threatened to resign unless Parliament reversed itself. The op-Labor members, promptly tucked their tails between their legs and voted "confidence" in the imperialist government.

For more than four years the tied to the Tory war machine through the "political truce" beween the Labor Party and the capitalist parties. The truce is incomparable advantage over their expressed in the coalition govern-The Allied imperialists know Spanish brethren who were knifed ment and the inter-party agreement whereby it is understood has become a most valuable revolutionary mafia: they are that the Labor Party does not

and vice versa. however, the conditions of the British workers have steadily worsened, while the exploiters, the British capitalists, have continued their accustomed lives of luxury with but the slightest of inconveniences. The political truce workers have had to submerge the imperialists to prosecute a

qualifications to lead the country when peace is restored in Europe.' Translated into more direct language, this means that the workers are no longer prepared to submerge their own interests for the sake of the war, the im-| perialist character of which becomes plainer every day. It means, too, that they do not want to entrust England to capitalist rule. In line with their entire policy of collaboration with the British

capitalists, the labor misleaders are doing all in their power to sidetrack and halt this movement British working-class has been of the British workers toward class independence. To the proposal for a "partial" suspension of the electoral truce is attached a proviso that the Labor Party agrees to back only those candidates who support the imperialist war. Thus a genuine workers' representative who opposes the contest parliamentary elections in slaughter would be fought not ist class, but also by the bureau-

As the war has dragged on, crats who control the Labor Party machine.

TRICKS INEFFECTIVE

In essence, the move toward partial suspension of the electoral truce is designed to prevent a real break between labor and the Tory has meant, in effect, that the government. But tricks of this kind will not serve the intended their own class interests to enable | purpose for very long. All the conditions of life drive the workgrowth and success of the Italian war which has brought the work- ers forward in the direction of ers nothing but misery and hard- independent class action. In the further unfoldment of the struggle the workers will be compelled to break from the labor lieuten-The workers have lately been ants of capitalism, to create a new indicating their realization of the leadership devoid of any ties with solini had them harnessed to the workers' councils of action, to true meaning of the political the exploiting class, and to move onto the road of the socialist revomasses against the capitalist gov- ing were observed in a number lution in alliance with their class brothers on the European concandidates in Tory-held constitu-The British workers unquestionably desire the defeat of Hithands-down. Then came the great ler and the crushing of hated Nazism. Yet the truce with the ers fought for improvement of capitalists into which they were their conditions despite the dire forced by their "leaders" has warnings of the capitalists and served only to prop up Hitler's power. Pointing to the "unity" of These developments were un- the British nation, Hitler demandloubtedly in the foreground of ed and has largely been able to maintain the "unity" of the German nation for the accomplishment of his imperialist war aims. to resign. The fundamental ques- No greater blow could be struck tion involved is the growing dis- at Hitlerism than by a clean break content and rebellion of the work- of the British working-class from the leading-strings of the Torythe class war cannot be exorcized | capitalists. It is only along this by a parliamentary vote of con- road that both British and German imperialism can be vanquish-

In Algiers, while en route to ship of Badoglio and the King. take my place in my country and ticians-everybody except revoluin my party." No word of tionary workers. The "peoples'

themselves on their control of world markets. colonies and shipping lanes, are conducting with all their tremendous resources a war of conquest and for the establishment of their hegemony.

"The Axis powers - fascist to the marrow - are likewise fighting an imperialist war in a desperate attempt to upset the old balance of power, to impose a redivision of the wealth of the world and to obtain access to the world markets, colonies and shipping lanes."

Then follows a brief paragraph with regard to the Soviet Union. This part constitutes the vaguest and weakest section of the document. as it fails to draw a distinction between the reactionary program of the Stalin regime and the progressive struggle of the Soviet masses

constituent assembly on the basis of freedom of the press, of assembly, of the right to strike, increases in wages, bread, the right to work, land to the peasants, and other slogans to prepare the rising of the proletariat, to pave the way for the socialist revolution in Italy and in the world."

The Manifesto which bears the signature of Rolando, Secretary of the Provisional Center; and which is dated Bari, December 15, 1943, concludes with the following slogans:

"Down with Fascism! Down with Capitalism!

"Long Live the Socialist United States of Europe, United with the Workers of the World! "Long Livé the Workers Revolution in Italy! "Long Live the Fourth International!"

a strikebreaking attempt to send | Mine union officials only inten-

shambles. Ercoli takes on the job with Badoglio and the King, the of keeping them tied to the Allied revolutionary socialists must war machine as previously Mus- counterpose the demand for united Axis war chariot. "We are against anything which would weaken the sacred ernment of Badoglio and the struggle (read imperialist war) King. which we must carry on for our complete liberation from the shameful regime of Hitlerite oc-

journey to Italy. •

cupation," Ercoli told an interviewer. Here, written plainly for all to see, is an announcement that the Stalinists intend to conduct a campaign of slander. intimidation, threats and even murder against every opposiits supporters, the capitalists of

COUNTER-REVOLUTION

from a reliable source." Nor is it just "Communism" of the bowdlerized, socialpatriotic Stalinist type, for according to the dispatch "the new crop of German communists are convinced internationalists," which fact, it is pointed out, "may perhaps make cooperation with Mosfronted more and more with

This report is of the highest significance. It means not only that a decade of Nazi terror has failed utterly to extirpate the workers' revolutionary movement, but that the efforts of the Stalinists during the same period have likewise failed to uproot the ideas of socialist internationalism from the ranks of the vanguard.

The report goes on to state that the Gestapo has captured and executed some of the participants in this new revolutionary movement, but only "small fry." The movement, however, continues its activities through secret "cells" which "sabotage war industries and agitate among foreign workers.'

is reducing their country to a proposals for a people's from THE AWAKENING

> struggle for the needs of the truce. First signs of the awakenof by-elections where they violated the truce and ran their own tinent.

The Italian masses want bread, encies, winning the elections security and peace. They will win these objectives only in the strugcoal strikes, in which the workgle for the socialist revolution, against the Anglo-American imperialists, against the Italian Capitalist and Monarchist cliques their government.

and against their Stalinist agents. Churchill's mind when, on the is-**Buy THE MILITANT** sue of the Education Bill, he cracked down vigorously on the spineless opposition by his threat THE SOCIALIST WORKERS' Open Daily (except Sundays) ers, their refusal to remain passive objects of exploitation. And fidence in Churchill's government. Parliament may express their confidence in Churchill, but the feeling is not shared by the British

an end, and a vista of peace and plenty through socialism opened

The labor skates in the British ed. the frightful war brought to workers. The continuing strikes up for all mankind.

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· · ·			(

British Strike Wave Spreads As Workers Defy Repression

By LOUIS BONN

Britain's greatest militant la- thousands of them into the coal sified the wrath of their striking Britain's greatest militant la-bor upsurge of the past 18 years again threatens to spread, as the government to draft them into the total since the when they publicly order, has evoked the threat by termed the Yorkshire strike "sab-the government to draft them into the total since the when they publicly termed the Yorkshire strike "sab-ctage and stabbing the Governover 135,000 coal miners and the armed forces.

shipyard workers continue their The British capitalist press, strikes in defiance of the which at first described the strikes report that the miners had ac-Churchill government's army as "spontaneous" and "without cepted the grudging concessions draft threats and the frantic any definite leadership or pro- offered by the Churchill Fuel Minback-to-work appeals of their gram," have opened up a smear istry in answer to the miners' decampaign charging that the mands for rectification of their own traitorous union leaders. Last week some 45,000 ship strikes are being fomented by grievances rising out of the gov-

building workers employed in the "subversive elements," including ernment's Porter Commission huge Tyneside, Clydeside and Bel- Trotskyists, and report that Scot- wage awards. fast, North Ireland, shipyards land Yard detectives are seeking These wage awards, granted joined the strike ranks of the out the strike leaders. The threat last January, rejected all of the 90,000 South Yorkshire coal min- of a witch-hunt and prosecution miners' basic demands and instiers who walked out over two is intended to further intimidate tuted minimum wages which re-

weeks ago. the strikers. Government officials termed the INTENSIFIED WRATH current strike movement the

General Strike and spokesmen of miners' demands for nationaliza- current mine strikes have only the Fuel Ministry are voicing the tion of the coal industry, the made the miners angrier, since fear that the Yorkshire struggle real underlying issue of their they contained several shyster 000 British coal miners.

So far the government has been put forth a hastily drafted "Min- quiring payment for household powerless to lure the strikers ers' Charter" promising yearback to work with big promises round employment at a minimum ceived without cost. and miserly concessions. The weekly wage through a scheme government is now trying to comb- for rationalizing the coal indus- labor resulting from the condiine intimidation and still bigger try by concentrating it into the tions of the first World War did promises in order to break the hands of a private monopoly. The strikes without sacrificing the real purpose of the plan is to atprofit interests of the British own- tain increased production on the ing class. "American model" with hundreds

The strike of 25,000 Tyneside of thousands less miners, which and Clydeside shipbuilders and would result in wholesale unemengineers apprentices, protesting ployment.

sulted in actual wage cuts for many miners and no gains for

ment in the back."

cials last week spread the false

These offi-

most. The "concessions" offered "worst labor crisis" since the 1926 Meanwhile, as a counter to the since as a consequence of the re-

may spread amongst all the 700,- struggle, a group of 50 Conserva- pieces of additional chiseling on tive members of Parliament have the miners' wages, such as re-

coal the miners previously re-The last big upsurge of British

not begin until a year after the Armistice, culminating in the historic 1926 General Strike. Today, British labor has begun another bistoric struggle in the very midst

of World War II.

tionist element in the workers ranks. Such oppositionists will be branded as "Trotskvite fascists" if they refuse to fall in line. The Stalinist Daily Worker issued several months ago ominous Despite more than ten years threats against political opof effort by Hitler's Gestapo to ponents in Italy. Now Ercoli, one eliminate Communism from the of Stalin's GPU agents is sent to political map of Germany, the Italy, to personally direct operamovement still lives and carries tions. on a vigorous activity, according to a New York Times

quotes "private information potent to halt the resistance. The Allied occupation forces are con-

> active hostility and opposition. Now come the Stalinist misleaders; and attempt to use their

> > 48 Pages

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Italy is a gigantic attempt to disorient, disorganize and throttle the whole movement of the revolutionary masses, to deliver the masses, bound and gagged, to the forces of capitalist counterrevolution. Badoglio and his monarchist generals proved im-

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AND THE SECOND

WORLD WAR

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JAMES P. CANNON

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THE MILITANT

SATURDAY, APRIL 8, 1944

Seventeenth Anniversary Of Chinese Revolution Recalls Role Of Chiang Kai-Shek As Executioner Of The Masses

By Li Fu-jen

In these days when the magic wand of imperialist propaganda changes bloody dictators and reactionary monarchs into champions of democracy and liberty (provided, of course, they have entered the war camp of the self-styled "United Nations") it is well that we remind ourselves and the workers, of the real character of these men and the political regimes which they represent.

Chiang Kai-shek, butcher of the Chinese masses and head of a reactionary semi-colonial government, is a case in point. On April 12 it will be 17 years since Chiang, helped by the same imperialists who today have dressed him up in the garb of a "defender of democracy," staged a coup d'etat at Shanghai which was the opening assault in a savage campaign that exterminated a popular revolution of the Chinese masses. The entire history of Chiang's regime is written in the blood and agony of the Chinese people.

Driven by the direst economic necessity, and inspired by the flaming example of Bolshevik Russia, the oppressed of China had risen to take over the land and the factories and to drive the imperialist freebooters from their country. Stalin proved to be the grave-digger of their revolution and Chiang-the executioner.

From the spring of 1925, which was marked by the great strike movements at Shanghai, Hongkong and Canton, the revolution had proceeded in an ever-ascending curve. Workers who had never known what it was to belong to an organization flowed into trade unions by the hundreds of thousands. Peasants formed village organizations. Class-conscious proletarians by the thousand entered the youthful Communist Party.

This elemental movement of the masses took on the aspect of a tidal wave. The most advanced revolutionary ideas were caught up by the awakened Chinese toilers, who manifested the utmost determination to carry them into action. The imperialists trembled for their vested interests and sent their warships and troops to the principal ports. The native exploiters, who hoped to use the masses for the purpose of extracting concessions from the imperialists, viewed with misgiving the process by which a movement which began as a campaign against foreign domination, took on more and more of a class character, with the masses directing their blows at both foreign and native exploiters.

Capitalist Class Leader

FOUR-

Chiang Kai-shek, leader of the native capitalist class, sought to vanquish the regional military chiefs who were the puppets and agents of the various imperialist powers, and unify the country under a national capitalist government.

To liquidate the regional militarists Chiang needed mass support. The masses, however, would rally only to a party with a radical program, or which they believed had one. They were following the Communist Party. It was therefore necessary to use the Communist Party. Through his own party, the Kuomintang, Chiang entered into a so-called "united front" agreement with the C. P.

On the direct instructions of the Comintern, dominated at that time by Stalin and Bukharin, the Third Conference of the Chinese Communist Party, in June, 1923, raised the slogan: "All work for the Kuomintang!" And its Manifesto proclaimed that "the Kuomintang should be the central force of the national revolution and should stand in the leading position.'

This classić reformist dogma, which Lenin fought against in Russia, meant loss of the political and organizational independence of the C. P. and the subordination of the class interests of the toilers to the class interests of their exploiters and oppressors. The C. P., instead of becoming the revolutionary leader of the exploited people, became a miserable political appendage of the Chinese capitalist class. Never before had a party with a great revolutionary



A common scene after counter-revolution had triumphed at Shanghai. Militant workers and intellectuals face an executioner's firing squad on the outskirts of the city. The white-gowned figure at the right is the magistrate. The helmeted men in the background are white officials of the Shanghai International Settlement.

letting of the workers. Later he rewarded this butcher with the command of one of his armies.

Trained Worker's Militia

However, the events of February 19-24 were merely the prelude to a vastly greater attempt by the Shanghai workers to establish their own power. They had been defeated but not crushed. Their organizations were still intact. March 21 was set as the date for a new strike and insurrection. The Chinese Communists, young, inexperienced were completely disoriented by Stalin's policies and instructions. They were carried along however by the surging mass movement and found themselves in a position where, despite Stalin's orders, they were forced to lead the insurrection, even though halfheartedly. They still planned to turn Shanghai over to Chiang after the workers had captured it.

The military nucleus of the insurrection was a trained workers' militia of about 5,000 men divided into squads of twenty and thirty. For arms, at the beginning, they had only 150 Mauser pistols-less than one per squad. The others fought against the police and soldiery armed only with clubs, knives and axes. But-testimony to their magnificent will to win and their matchless courage and ingenuity-by the late afternoon of March 22 all of the city-except the foreign concessions—was in the hands of the revolutionary workers who had fought down and vanquished (where they did not win over) the police and soldiers of the other side. A white flag over the North Station signalized the end of the last pocket of resistance to the triumphant workers. The sounds of rifle fire gave way to the crackle of fireworks and the shouts of workers celebrating their victory.

After it was all over, the First Division of Chiang's nationalist troops reached the city. Their commander Hsueh Yoh, despite contrary orders from Chiang, had been compelled by pressure of his own ranks to come to the help of the workers, but by the time the troops arrived, the workers, unaided, had done the job of sending Sun Chuan-fang into limbo.

Chiang himself reached Shanghai on March 26. His first caller was Hwang Ching-yung, gangster leader of the notorious secret society known as the Green Circle which was to play a leading role as executioner of the Shanghai proletariat. His next visitor was T. mission so shamefully abdicated its historic role. Patrick Givens, head of the political department of the imperialist police force of the Foreign Settlement, who presented the "anti-Throughout the years 1925-27 the Chinese Communists acted as a brake upon the developing revolution. When peasants rose up imperialist" Chiang with a pass for entering the foreign concesto seize the land from reactionary landlords, the Communists re- | sion areas and accorded him the privilege of traveling therein with strained them. Otherwise, don't you see, the landlords would be an armed guard. Chiang, for his part, assured Givens that he would antagonized and the "national united front" disrupted. When work- "cooperate with the foreign police of Shanghai" and then plunged n strike against Chinese capitalists, the Communists acted into conference with his aides and supporters to see how "law and similarly, for the capitalists, like the landlords, were not to be order" could be reestablished. While Chiang plotted against the workers, preparing to drown antagonized. in blood the new power which they had organized and which in every **Chiang Advances on Shanghai** respect was preserving order, the workers were being prepared by the Communist Party leaders to welcome Chiang as their liberator, In the summer of 1926 Chiang Kai-shek embarked on the great as the leader of the national revolution against imperialism. Stalin northward expedition from Canton to the Yangtsze, subduing local had declared Chiang to be "a reliable ally"-one who "will not bemilitarists who would not acknowledge his leadership, making deals tray." And although the Chinese Communists, with good reason, with those who did. To the accompaniment of this expedition, which had misgivings on this subject, they kept their counsel to themhad the effect of rousing more millions of the oppressed, the Chinese selves.

munist Party leaders would not take responsibility for asking Hsueh Yoh to keep his troops in the city in defiance of Chiang. Instead they addressed a humble petition to Chiang asking that the First Division be kept in the city. Chiang's answer was a peremptory order to the young general to move his troops out at once. The troops, lacking any other directive, and having confidence in the judgment of the Communists, departed. Workers' Shanghai lost a precious ally.

From then on Chiang moved swiftly. Piecemeal attacks on the workers by reactionary troops which had replaced the First Division ook place all over the city. Workers' pickets-the Chinese equivalent of the Russian Red Guard-were set upon in the streets by soldiers and gangsters. Raids took place on union headquarters. Even the city Kuomintang office, largely under Communist influence, was closed down. The workers were bewildered by these events and thought them due to some misunderstanding. For were they not told that Chiang Kai-shek was their true leader and liberator?

Chiang's Counter-revolution

The counter-revolutionary coup which was to smash the revolution opened on the morning of April 12 when attacks by troops, police and armed gangsters were launched simultaneously against the five proletarian districts of the city. The workers were caught unawares by the turn of events. Too late, their leaders issued a call for a general strike. More than 100.000 workers responded to the call and armed themselves to ward off the attacks of the counterrevolution. It was an unequal struggle whose tragic ending had been predetermined by the false and vacillating policy of the workers' leaders. The Communist Party leaders had done nothing to prepare for the counter-revolutionary stroke while the class enemy was making every possible preparation.

The workers' revolution was shattered and drowned in its own blood. The flower of the militant working-class was slain amid scenes of the wildest savagery. The Chinese bourgeoisie under Chiang's eadership displayed a relentless determination in pursuing its bloody at the next election. One might subject of an excellent resolution task-a determination that had been conspicuously lacking in the look for some evidence of this from Central CCF. But then fol-Communist Party leadership which left the workers unprepared and preparation in the agenda of the virtually defenseless in face of their mortal foe. Working-class vic- Ontario CCF Convention. It would to that resolution which are classtims were numbered by the thousands. Both in the number of vic- be a disappointing search. tims and the savage cruelty visited upon the vanquished, the defeated Chinese revolution ranks with the Paris Commune of 1871.

At Canton in December, 1927, the Communist organized an ad- the agenda are taken up with resrenturist uprising on the declining wave of the revolution which had been decisively broken at Shanghai eight months earlier. More thousands of victims were added to the lists. Reaction in its most vicious forms stalked the land from one end to the other. Those who did not fall in the first attacks of the counter-revolution were in subsequent years hunted down by Chiang's police. If they escaped summary execution, it was only to die from incarceration in foul dication anywhere else on the and deny four hundred million Inmedieval dungeons. Almost an entire revolutionary generation was wiped out. Among them were not only members of the Communist



Despite the fearful bloodbath to which Chiang Kai-shek subjected them, China's oppressed masses rose to their feet again when Japan's imperialist armies marched into their country. Pictured here is part of a crowd of 50,000 workers. students and small shopkeepers which gathered in Shanghai on Sept. 26, 1931 to protest the Japanese invasion of Manchuria and the treacherous policies of Chiang's government.



The final Agenda of the On- tions. It advocates immigration tario Canadian Commonwealth "limited to people from the Brit-Federation Annual Convention ish Isles." The Left Poale Zion which is being held April 8th amended this with the insertion week-end in Toronto, has been of "not" before "limited".

sent out to the. CCF clubs and The same Perth CCF calls for constituency organizations for reduction of the voting age in all discussion and instruction of dele- elections to 18. It will be interestgates. Scanning its thirteen pages ing to see just what kind of peoof resolutions and amendments, ple belong to the Perth CCF. even the kindest critic might be

pardoned one or two gasps of be-Just as the problem of the Youth was handled by one plati-Presumably the Ontario CCF tudinous resolution, so the other stands very close to the thresh- fundamental question of Internahold of political power in Ontario. tional Cooperation was touched on It is the official opposition. Only only by one resolution from the the loyal support of the defeated Kirkland Lake CCF. The Provin-Liberal Party and the spineless cial Council was too busy stopping ves-men of the alleged Labor Proup the mice holes in the Constigressives (Stalinists to you) gives tution to bother with either Youth the present government of Conor such a far-away thing as inservative George Drew a major- ternational relations. But even ty in the Ontario House. One the Kirkland Lake resolution might expect, therefore, that the talks, not of other socialist par-Ontario CCF would be girding its ties but of our "allies."

loins for the final tussle that Much, no doubt, to the horror should give it a clear majority of Kingston CCF, India is the lows three miserable amendments ics in capitulation to British Imperialism.

The resolution is worth reprint-Five of the thirteen pages of ing: "Whereas the leaders of the olutions on the new constitution Indian Congress and many other of the Ontario CCF. Much of the fighters for Indian independence have been imprisoned and slandered as Japanese spies and fifth Even apart from the Provincial columnists, and whereas this dem-

perialists to maintain their rule Constitution, there is no direct indians their inherent right to naagenda that the Convention recognizes the possibility of a sud- tional freedom, therefore be it reden crisis that may precipitate a solved that the Ontario CCF connew election and the CCF's as- demns these actions and demands the immediate release of all pocent to power. The whole flavor of the agenda is of polite and litical prisoners as well as the ladylike loyal opposition. The sub- immediate independence of India." jects that are dealt with specifically and which are provincial issues, show no imagination, daring, enough to make a socialist's hair stand on end.

"Provincial" in the very worst hand knowledge". Maybe the Kingston CCF club should be

moved in a body to Berlin or Cassino to get a first hand knowl-

vell?

'Industrial". They give the game way when they ask

* * *

new proposals may be classed as button-polishing. Council's new proposals on the onstrates the methods used by im-

vilderment.

Riverdale CCF would replace 'demands" with "urge", would not ask for the release of "all" and very little courage. Some are political prisoners nor Indian independence. Waterloo South would release only "anti-fascist

prisoners" and then only "as soon sense is the resolution sponsored as possible". Trinity asks for the by the Kingston CCF, deploring independence of India only "as the discussion of international is- soon as feasible." The Indians sues, on which we have "no first think it is feasible now, Trinity, haven't you heard?

Of course the Stalinists are on deck, with a variety of resolutions edge of the fact that there is an from "Leaside Industrial CCF" ---international capitalist war being good old proletarian touch, that waged. * * *

revolution moved toward its tragic climax.

On February 17, 1927, Chiang's forces had advanced to within easy reach of Shanghai, where they were expected to clash with the local militarist, Sun Chuan-fang. The workers of this great indus-



The scene above was typical of hundreds throughout Chinese cities in the bloody terror that followed Chiang Kai-shek's coup d'etat. The slain bodies lying on the street before a large textile mill in Shanghai are those of "suspected" workers dragged from the factory and shot dead. Their fellow workers stand by to pay their last respects, as a Kuomintang policeman, pistol still in hand, stalks arrogantly from the scene.

trial center greeted the approach of the nationalist troops with general strike. Within 48 hours more than 350,000 workers were or the streets. The city was stopped dead. The slogans of this great political strike reflected unfortunately the class-collaborationist character of the C. P. program: "Support the Northern Expeditionary Army!", "Overthrow Sun Chuan-fang!", "Hail Chiang Kai-shek!

Bound by their Moscow-dictated pact with Chiang, the Commu nists grew fearful of this great mass movement. They failed to give it leadership and facilitated the breaking of the strike by Sun Chuan-fang's police and armed gangsters. Many of the best workermilitants were captured and executed. The workers armed themselves and fought back against the police terror, and this defensive movement, rapidly passing over to the offensive, compelled the Communist Party leaders to make plans for an armed uprising. They had no intention however of establishing workers' power. They simply intended to crush Sun Chuan-fang-and turn Shanghai over to the "great liberator" Chiang Kai-shek.

The uprising took place on February 22 and was bloodily suppressed. Fighting in the streets continued until the 24th and then died out. Chiang had his troops halt some distance from Shanghai

Conspiracy of Silence

These C. P. leaders were engaged in a conspiracy of silencea conspiracy to conceal Chiang Kai-shek's counter-revolutionary role. Along the route of the northward march from Canton, Chiang had employed reactionary troops in a reign of terror against the peasants in the countryside and the workers in the towns, exterminating revolutionary militants by the thousands with brutish bestiality. Where elements of feudal reaction had been overthrown by the masses in advance of the arrival of Chiang's troops, Chiang restored these elements to power as his vassals-heedless of the fact that Stalin had assigned him the role of leading a national revolution which, among other things, was to liquidate these feudal elements.

The Communist Party leaders could not proclaim these facts, could not expose Chiang's reactionary role-because they were under constantly-reiterated orders from Moscow (which also knew the facts) not to break with Chiang and the Kuomintang, but on the contrary to do everything necessary, including crawling on their bellies before Chiang, to preserve the "national united front."

Trotsky demanded at that time that the Chinese C. P. break with the Kuomintang and assume complete political and organizational independence. That it lead the masses instead of restraining them. That it pursue its own independent program and prepare the workers for the nation-wide seizure of power. On April 3, 1927 Trotsky submitted for publication in the Soviet press an article embodying this program entitled "Class Relations in the Chinese Revolution." It was refused publication under Stalin's orders.

The workers of Shanghai, instead of being aroused to revolutionry vigilance against Chiang's capitalist counter-revolutionary stroke, were being lulled into a feeling of false security by their leaders. While their executioner stood at the very gates of their new citadel of power, the workers, kept in ignorance of Chiang's real role, were preparing to welcome Chiang-as their great liberator!

Chiang's First Division

The First Division of Chiang's army had arrived in Shanghai n March 22 under command of Hsueh Yoh. It was composed of seasoned soldiers deeply conscious of their bond with the revolutionary workers, which explains why they insisted that their commander take them to Shanghai to aid the workers' revolution. Chiang, withn a week of his arrival in the city, ordered Hsueh Yoh to remove his troops. The young division commander, himself sympathetic to the workers' cause, appeared before the Central Committee of the C. P. and confided to them his knowledge that Chiang was preparng a counter-revolutionary stroke. He offered to defy Chiang and hold his troops in readiness to aid the workers in crushing any attempt at a coup d'etat.

Demoralized by Moscow's conciliatory policy which called for to enable the Shanghai garrison commander to carry out a blood- preserving the "national united front" at all costs, the Chinese Com-

Party, victims of Stalin's monstrous policy of revolutionary betray-Lenin and Trotsky. Nor has Chiang's reactionary terror ended. It continues still. The prisons of Kuomintang China are crowded with workers, peasants, intellectuals whose only crime has been criticism of Chiang's bloody regime.

The crushing of the Chinese revolution meant a new lease on life for imperialism. It laid China open to attack by the Japanese imperialists and was no negligible factor in the preparation of the present world war. Chiang Kai-shek, the sinister agent of Chinese eaction, is being held up before the world as a "lover of liberty" both by the Allied imperialists and their allies in the Stalinist camp. But the false mantle of "democracy" cannot hide the infamous deeds of this Chinese Franco. The Chinese masses have not forgotten them. They are a part of history. Only the triumphant Chinese revolution can adequately avenge them.



Short-sighted and cowardly is "co-operation" with the Labor he resolution, sponsored by three Progressive Party, and call upon branches, Windsor Central, Perth the CCF to desist from "derogand North Essex, opposing the atory remarks" about said party. CCF's participation in municipal That's one thing about the Stalinelection, "as a result of the re- ists, they have a great sense of al, but many Trotskyists, faithful heroic bearers of the banner of cent failures of the CCF in the humor. While Tim Buck, Leslie

municipal field." Since the CCF Morris and the rest of the Stalinfailed to carry the country in the ists stump the country slamming last federal election, why don't the CCF, the Leaside Industrial they drop out of that field as CCF Unit, in a spirit of Christian charity asks, nay implores the

Sensitive to every breath of CCF to turn the other cheek. criticism from the right, Port El-1 We have not touched on many gin CCF deplores Sunday meet- | of the brighter sides of the picings. Capitalism makes a point of ture. There are several good res-Sunday meetings, by gathering olutions calling for steps that will the flock into churches to hear improve the effectiveness of the poison against socialism. CCF; notably a daily newspaper, Presumably the Youth are political training schools, a posifighting the present capitalist tive line towards returned solwar, but there is only one reso- diers. The resolutions on agricullution on Youth on the agenda, ture are practical for the most and that is sponsored by the part, as are many of the specific CCYM of East York. It is encourissues covered in the policy resoaging to find there is one section lutions.

But, in general, it is difficult of the Youth Movement still in o feel that the Ontario CCF unexistence, anyway. Perth CCF has the honor of der its present leadership can sponsoring one of the most reac- wage an effective struggle even tionary resolutions on the agenda, for the limited objectives of a as well as one of the best resolu- provincial program.

Introduce Your Friends to THE MILITANT Through Our Trial Sub Offer NOW OFF THE PRESS! WHY WE ARE IN PRISON Farewell speeches of the defendants in the Minneapolis Labor Case, with a special introduction on the background and the issues in the case. 56 pages, paper 10 conts **Pioneer Publishers** 116 University Place New York 3, N.Y.

SATURDAY, APRIL 8, 1944



The Role of the Stalinists

The American Communist Party | munism. Even Davis might agree in its early days was the most that to call that struggle "reckoutspoken champion of the rights less" would be treachery-yet this of the Negro people. perfidious lackey who admittedly The members were called at puts himself above "reckless

that time "reckless agitators" methods" has the undiluted gall and "provocateurs" by the reac- to call himself a communist. tionary Southern bourbons be-Speaking of Randolph, Davis cause their militant program in- states that "the leaders of this cluded a demand for complete movement - yielding to provocaracial equality. They were ac- | teur-Trotskyite influence-talked cused of attempting to stir up of starting a 'civil disobedience' "insurrections" among the millions of disfranchised and oppressed Negroes in the South. Many pioneer Negro Communists were beaten up and run out of town by gangs of Klansmen when they attempetd to expound their program of emancipation of the working class and suppressed minorities; when they advocated militant methods of struggle by the Negro masses to fight racial segregation and discrimination. In Tennessee, Misstarving Indians. sissippi and other Southern states these fearless Communist militants were jailed by the rulingclass time and time again for utilizing their right of free liar words used to be applied by speech.

Today, however, it is a known fact that the Communist party (in blind obedience to Stalin) has actually completely dropped the fight for Negro equality here in America.

This about-face switch in the party policy has been cleverly camouflaged, however, in an attempt to conceal this betraval from the Negro rank and file party members. Worse still, even though the Negro struggle has been forsaken, attempts are still made to enmesh and befuddle the political freshmen among Negro militants so that they may be sold down the river, all on the grounds of "patriotism" to the American and British imperialists who hold hundreds of millions of our darkskinned brothers in starving subjection throughout the world.

days of the kind of treatment he is receiving in this "democracy." He has found out through exequality under Capitalism.

to the Communists for salvation, imagining that they are naturally in the forefront in any fight for the underdog. Such is no longer the case.

The Negro Intellectuals are being used to do the dirty work in would the American Negro be this betrayal. For example, let us affected? examine some of the contradic-

campaign." Obviously this gutless brother considers "civil disobedience" too "reckless" a method for him but history proves to any one who reads it, (be he Trotskyist or not), that the real defect with such tactics consists in their pacifist nature: they are not militant enough to be successful. For example, look at the futility of Ghandi's civil disobedience campaign in India where the British imperialists are still exploiting over 400 millions Even from a local point of view

the reactionary ruling class to the militant Communists when they wonder of wonders, we witness by prominent national Negro orthe same slanderous terms employed by those who dare call

all people who advocate an wrote a personal letter to Presiaggressive fight for Negro rights. dent Roosevelt, declaring: Furthermore, these Stalinists are today repeatedly telling the interested in the minorities prob-Negro to forget his struggle now lem in this country. The treatand have "patriotic" faith in the ment accorded one minority is decisions of "Teheran." Nobody, likely to be accorded to others. A however, seems to know the right most important to every authentic details concerning this minority group is the right of its Although neither Stalin, Churchill nor Roosevelt have divulged man Ben Davis informs us that

The average Negro worker or these three decreed that "Socialsoldier is naturally resentful these ism and Capitalism would collaborate in the world of the future." Needless to say, such a paradoxical collaboration, even if perience that he cannot gain "decided upon" by these three men, could never endure because

He looks with hope and faith the two forces are incompatible. However, for the sake of argument, let us suppose "Teheran" could and did assure the continuance of Roosevelt's capitalism here in cooperation with

Stalin's regime in Russia. How

Knowing that American ory spewings of Ben Davis, Jr., Capitalism has relied on racial included known Stalinists, who Negro councilman of New York hatred as its best weapon to keep | confessed to their roles in the sudden death of a Cuban girl. City and member of the Stalinist the Negro and white worker in crime and pointed out Siqueiros party. In a recent article in New economic subjugation, it is cer- as the organizer and leader. Masses he states: "The Com- tainly logical to believe that in Siqueiros had meanwhile disapmunists identify themselves with its struggle to maintain the peared. Four months later he was the deep indignation of the Negro greedy profit system it will be discovered in hiding and immasses . . . supporting the forced in the future to keep the prisoned on charges of homicide according to his own words the 230 Maywood Calif., Amal. Cloth- leave such jobs without permisdemands of these masses for the Negro in his present secondelimination of jim-crow." This is class status and even to draw the secondary charges of unauthoriz- the US State Department. This SWOC, Local 2715, Reading, Pa., a modified version of Roosevelt's color line, as Bilbo said "tighter | ed use of uniforms, robbery, same agency, under Nelson Rocke- | Amal. Lithographers Women's forced labor proposal. and tighter." Therefore we must housebreaking, damage to pro- feller, is now contemplating the Aux., N. Y. C., Worcester, Ind. In the same article, the be- conclude that anything which perty, criminal association, etc. next step for the rehabilitation of Union Council, Worcester, Mass., It was impossible for Siqueiros the Communists have, however, proportionately impedes the to deny his guilt. He confessed, So even if we accept Ben Davis' | murderous attack with machine- | cover. vaporings as to the meaning of | guns, incendiary bombs etc., as Washington Movement) . . . and "Teheran" this ritualistic mumbo- intended for purely "psychological we oppose these methods as jumbo that is being repeated by effects." He does not deny it to acquainted with Siqueiros' record the Stalinists is prophetic only of this day. According to Time How can this politically anemic | the Negro's doom, not his salva- | magazine, Siqueiros now tries to | part of its deal with the Kremlin, dismiss it as "an unfortunate bit Hence this amusing-if it were of political sniping on my part." not so tragic-phenomenon of the Stalin's GPU made itself felt from liberational banner of Communthe moment Siqueiros was originally apprehended. In March 1941, the Mexican judge who tried Siqueiros simply dropped the

THE MILITANT

Sign This Petition to Free the 18 Free The 18 Minneapolis Prisoners

FIRST TO BE CONVICTED UNDER THE SMITH "GAG" ACT FOR THEIR IDEAS AND UNION ACTIVITIES

PRESIDENT FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT WHITE HOUSE, WASHINGTON, D. C.

The undersigned respectfully petition you to grant unconditional pardon and immediate release to the 18 members of Minneapolis Truckdrivers Local 544-CIO and of the Socialist Workers Party now serving twelve and sixteen month prison sentences

These trade-union and socialist leaders have been persecuted solely because of their opinions and their activities on behalf of labor. The U.S. Supreme Court in an unprecedented action refused to review their case even though the infamous Smith "Gag" Act under which they have been convicted clearly violates the constitutional rights of free speech and free press

We believe that the unjust imprisonment of the 18 provides a dangerous precedent that is a threat to the democratic liberties of the American people.

We therefore urge you to uphold the Bill of Rights by pardoning the 18 Minneapolis prisoners,

Please return simed polition to CHIM PLANE TO THE PLANE T	

CRDC Begins Campaign RENEWED BY ADMINISTRATION the Stalinist terminology is en-lightening. "Reckless methods," "provocateur"—these same fami-

(Continued from page 1) denied, we see a legal weapon | Sunday night. Auto workers, steel pointed against us. . . The Minworkers, Negro workers attended called for Negro equality. Now, voice to the numerous protests neapolis convictions are out of the meeting. I spoke after John

line with every principle which M. Holly, President of the Future ganizations, in a resolution to the has led minorities to support this President. In addition, Mr. Joseph | administration." themselves communists to deride James, Committee Chairman. "As a Negro I have long been secure support for the CRDC defense of the Negro economic campaign in the Minneapolis and social rights and has branches Labor Case. From Cleveland, Mr. Novack neported on March 30:

CRDC TOUR

"Everyone was pleased with mysterious pact which is sup- members to express themselves the attendance and results of the posed to 'deliver us from evil' on for the purpose of bettering their meeting held by the Local Comsome indefinite date in the future. conditions. When that right is mittee at the Hotel Allerton, on



(Continued from page 1) | being built by the Mexican gov-

disguised in police and army by the same government from were mostly auto workers and railroad workers-in fact all uniforms, had left, it was dis- whose courts he was a fugitive! were one or the other. They covered that Sheldon Harte was During his sojourn in Chile, Siistened attentively, asked quesmissing. Several days later his queiros was placed under arrest tions, bought literature to disbody, with a bullet in the base for having skipped bail in Mexico. tribute among their friends, and of the brain, was found in a Thereupon the Mexican am- contributed to the collection that shallow lime-filled grave next to bassador to Chile promptly innight.' a cabin that Siqueiros had rented tervened to obtain his release.

and used to prepare the attack. Just prior to his return to Mexico CONTRIBUTORS Most of the murder gang were he went to Cuba, where accord-

Among the recent trade union plan into effect. Those classified quickly rounded up. They largely ing to Cuban and Mexican papers contributors are: Painters & Dec- as 4-F, unqualified for any mili-

Outlook League. This is the lead-

in a number of other cities. Holly,

who has himself been put in jail

because of his fight for equal

rights for his people, pledged the

out Ohio.'

ing Negro organization in Cleve-

Flint Militants Active In New Michigan Party It is significant that a goodly however, must be registered mem-

(Continued from page 1)

portion of these CIO Democrats bers, having paid the \$1 registra-This was obviously in recognition are really prominent Stalinists, tion fee, either to a club or to the of the labor party pioneering efadvocates of piece-work speedup, state committee. Offices are at forts of Flint auto militants. strike - breaking and complete 606 Hofmann Bldg., Detroit 1. submission to the war machine. Mich. The phone is CAdillac 3085. To counter the growing strength of the MCF, the CIO bureaucrats The old parties welcome such Commonwealth Clubs may be "labor representation," hoping it are spreading the story that they organized within a trade union or have practically captured the will help corral the labor vote. It other group or on a neighborhood is doubtful, however, that many Democratic Party of Michigan. basis, by counties, cities, wards, In reality they have only pro-Michigan workers will be deceived precincts, etc.

vided a labor veneer to this again. discredited machine especially CAMPAIGN ON after the exposure of the wholesale bribery scandal in the

Michigan legislature. Democratic tion campaign is proceeding. The MCF is enrolling charter memleaders are only too anxious to replace some of their indicted bers at \$1 up to 31 days before legislators with CIO stooges. the convention. Charter member CIO politicians boast of over- clubs will be those formed within quart, educational director of Ford whelming CIO majorities in the the same limit. Clubs will retain Local 600, UAW - CIO, River Detroit and Flint delegations to half the fee and half will go to Rouge; by-laws and constitution, the coming Democratic State con- the state office at Detroit, for Philip Lutgen, president of Local vention. Just for good measure organizational work. Unions and they also have a few CIO other groups may affiliate on a delegates to the Republican con- bloc basis, paying 1 cent per of West Side Tool and Die Local capita. Convention delegates, vention.

DRIVE TO CONSCRIPT LABOR IS (Continued from page 1)

labor bill, it is obvious that the strategy of the Roosevelt ad-

ministration is to impose its program piecemeal. The "4-F plan" would be an entering wedge for Roosevelt's universal labor draft. How the 4-F plan would work was revealed by Col. Francis V. gained by the labor movement in Keesling Jr., legislative represen-George Novack, National CRDC land, numbering, according to Mr. tative of Selective Service who Secretary has visited two more Holly, 23,000 members. It is an announced that measures had cities in his national tour to organization dedicated to the already been taken by the Selective Service system to put the

plan is nothing but a tactical adaptation of the forced labor draft intended to disarm the opponents of the latter measure and provide an entering wedge for a further extension of slave labor. The imposition of a labor draft, modified or not, will cancel at

one stroke, the social legislation decades of struggle. It will undermine the unions and make the labor movement easy prey for the Big Business tycoons who rule the roost in Washington and Wall Street. Every union local must take action immediately to force the "top labor leaders" to speak out against any and every form of forced labor. Break the silence of the labor leaders by adopting resolutions demanding that they voice the unrelenting opposition to forced labor.

The state committee meeting at Lansing set up four committees to prepare for the convention with Meanwhile the MCF organiza- the following chairmen:

-FIVE

Platform, Willard Martinson. educational director of Bomber Local 50, UAW-CIO, Ypsilanti; economic principles, Frank Mar-47. UAW-CIO; electoral activity, Blaine Marrin, financial secretary 157, UAW-CIG, Detroit.

The Genesee County Committee at Flint is headed by Chairman, Francis R. Palmer: vice chairman, Bert Boone, and secretary, Andrew Michelson, all of Che-vrolet Local 659, UAW-CIO, of which Boone is president. Boone headed a "labor party" slate that swept all the Chevrolet local offices but one in the February-March elections.

PROFITS FIRST

The Army accepted 250 defective engines from the Wright Aeronautical Corporation despite their previous rejection by civilian Army inspectors, it was revealed on April 4 at a court-martial of three Army Air Force officers on charges of neglect and conspiracy. William J. Ratchford, one of the inspectors, testified, "The company did not repair them and we did not accept them. Then the company said it could not meet its monthly quota and they were all accepted in that condition."

10 Years Ago In The Militant

APRIL 7, 1934

LUXEMBURG - Expelled from Holland by the Dutch government, representatives of independent proletarian youth organizations reassembled in Euxemburg to discuss the lessons of the German events, of the crisis in the international labor movement and its youth sections. Delegates from Holland, Belgium, France, Sweden, Czechoslovakia, Switzerland, Roumania, Greece, Spain, Australia and the U. S. participated; four of the representatives from Germany had been deported by Holland to Hitler Germany, and no word of their fate had been received.

The conference issued a call for the following campaign:

Relentless struggle against Fascism; Against war, chauvinist

complete support of this organization to our Committee and its work. He gave us permission to visit any of his branches through-1A From Toledo, Mr. Novack reported: "The Toledo public meetng on Thursday night was equally encouraging, held in the new headquarters of the Toledo CRDC in the Roi Davis Bldg. Newly- painted, newly-furnished, contrally located, it was a very attractive meeting place. There

the juicy bait intended to hook the unsuspecting Negro.

trayal is exposed. It reads: "Now prolongs American Capitalism sharply dissociated themselves Negroes' struggle for equality. from reckless methods (Davis is speaking here of the March on harmful to the Negro. . ."

-

hypocrite "dissociate" himself tion. from "reckless" methods and yet even pretend to "support the demands of the masses"? And Stalinists marching under the speaking of necklessness, the unexampled methods of struggle ism but actually traveling in the that had to be used by the Rus- exactly opposite direction is one sian masses to free themselves of the most dangerous and from autocratic tyranny sym- pernicious influences affecting bolize the heritage of real Com- the Negro struggle for equality.

PIONEER PARAGRAPHS

SOURCES OF STRENGTH WHICH SUSTAIN MARXIST MOVEMENT

Our party is built on correct | a bond of unity and solidarity. ideas and therefore is indestructi- Our comrades are devoted to each ble. But, in addition to that, I be- other and trust each other. That the slave state of Virginia came an intangible power which rein-that will yield great results in Brown, "Young man, what brought vou here?" Watson

is the spirit of the party-its | The grandest figure in the Brown answered him in two times shrink from using the word diction, never in conflict. When word "comrade" has acquired a of young men with him, among socialist society and were under the members of our movement, to Harpers Ferry where they perin the class struggle, but also could do no other. They felt re-

GPU AID

the self-confessed assassin - a SWOC 2058 Maywood, Calif., junket through this country, with | ILGWU, 160, Bayonne, N. J., Uniseeking to explain away the mural painting as a convenient ted Shoe Workers Local 56-A, St.

There cannot be the slightest doubt that Washington is fully and his role as GPU agent. As the administration is apparently willing not only to shut its eyes The powerful intervention of but actually to give aid to the activities of the GPU-Siqueiros, the self-confessed murderer is to be invited and feted. . .

This is contemplated at a time when world-renowned anti-fascist fighters, men and women of ungravest charges. In May 1941 he impeachable character and repuwas released on bail pending trial tation, are being denied visas to on the relatively minor charges. enter this country. Among them Less than a month after his is the aged Natalia Trotsky, release he skipped bail, fleeing the country with all his papers widow of Leon Trotsky, who has been denied even a temporary He next turned up in Chile permit to secure special medical treatment. where, it was announced, he was

SINISTER IMPLICATION

The presence of Siqueiros in this country is pregnant with the Buy 'The Militant' The presence of Siqueiros in most sinister implications. It cannot be regarded as anything else than a move to rehabilitate the reputation of a GPU assassin. The rehabilitation of Siqueiros

will go a long way toward strengthening the hand of the GPU, and untying its hands in the United States in preparing new blows against the Kremlin's political opponents.

Every union leader, every liberal and progressive must rally to halt this brazen GPU move. The most vigorous and indignant protest must be raised against this attempt to extend the GPU Carries full stock of Pioneer Pub-

costs and despite all hazards. We terror apparatus to this country. The cynical diplomatic agents of the Roosevelt administration must

became implicated in the orators No. 1309, Reading, Pa., tary duty, as well as those in Amalgamated Clothing Workers Class 1 A-L, fit only for limited Local 198, Passaic, N. J., SWOC service, will be permitted "to Local 1339, Jersey City, N. J., remain in civilian life as long as It now turns out that during Brewers Local 2, Newark, N. J., they hold jobs deemed important his flight from justice he received United Packinghouse Local 15, by Selective Service," but will not only the aid of the GPU but Kansas City, Kans., UAW Local be subject to induction, "if they

and attempted homicide, and "greatest help" from an agency of ing Workers Local 169, N. Y. C., sion of their draft boards." Just

LABOR BUREAUCRATS

The most disturbing aspect of the campaign to put over a "modified version" of the forced Louis, Mo., Waiters & Waitresses, labor bill is the reported conversion of the labor bureaucrats Recent Workmen's Circle conto the support of such a measure. tributors are; Branches 182, The N. Y. Herald-Tribune reports Bronx, N. Y., 250-Y Bronx, N. Y., on March 24 that "top labor 493, New Haven, Conn., 198 Ho-leaders, representatives of the boken, N. J., 581 N. Y. C., 43 War and Navy Departments and N. Y. C., 297 N. Y. C., 294 Bronx, proponents of the Austin-Wads-N. Y., 95 Perth Amboy, N.J., 461 worth national service bill were Linden, N. J., 818 New Haven, disclosed to have held last Conn., 111 Detroit, Mich., 179 Thursday the first of a series of Cincinnati, O., 140 Paterson, N. J., talks as to possible modification 760 Brooklyn, N. Y., 62 Passaic, of the proposed act to make it N. J., 664 Sioux City, Ia., 39 New acceptable to those who wholly York City, 87-B Brooklyn, N. Y., oppose it." The same source 485 Toronto, Can., 184 Hartford, reported the following day the Conn., 261 Bronx, N. Y., 559 announcement by Senator Warren Cleveland , O., 88 N. Y. C., 277 R. Austin, co-author of the Bronx, N. Y., 108 Lakewood. N. Austin-Wadsworth national ser-J., 244 Bronx, N. Y., 257 Atlantic vice act, "that the second of a City, N. J., 224 Bronx, N. Y., 320 series of conferences was held to-Albany, N. Y., 99 N. Y. C., 122, day to modify the Austin-Wadsworth national service bill and make it more acceptable. He said William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor, was present, and expressed belief

and military propaganda, and the militarization of the youth; For the defense of democratic rights of the proletariat; For. shorter working hours with no cut in pay; Against forced labor; For the defense of the USSR as a workers' State. Delegates present represented the following groups: Union of Young Socialists, Holland; Revolutionary Youth Union, Hol-

land; Young Socialist Union, Germany; Young Workers Union, Norway; Youth Group of Communist League of Struggle, U. S.; International Communist League Youth (Trotskyist), Germany, France, Belgium, U.S.A., Canada, Switzerland, Spain, Greece, Czechoslovakia, and Australia; Mot Tag Group, Norway; Federation of Young Communists, Sweden; Federation of Young Socialists, Roumania; and Unitary Federation of Young Workers. France.

- NEW YORK --- Trotskyist leaders participated in the Anti-Fascist Committee formed to aid Anthony Bellussi, militant Italian trade-unionist. The Militant reported Bellussi had "won the right of voluntary departure from the United States. . . sentenced to deportation to Fascist Italy, Bellussi is now enabled to escape from the clutches of the Mussolini regime."
- NEW YORK The second general strike of the New York taxi drivers was defeated, The Militant demonstrated, by "the combined forces of the companies who imported gangsters from Chicago to supplement the home supply, the police who drove. scab cars and rode in them to provoke attacks by pickets, the yellow press which tried to frame up bombings on the union, the Mayor and his mediators, the NRA doves of peace. . . the Socialist party which sabotaged the strike and went in for a vicious red-baiting campaign in the union, and (by) the mistakes of the leadership."



working on murals for a school head resting on an old pair of overalls, the great governor of

strangely in order.

comradeship, its solidarity. You whole history of America was words: "Duty, Sir!" know the word "comrade" has John Brown. In John Brown of I believe that is t I believe that is the case with been so long abused and so bad- Osawatomie the word and the jus. I believe that we have been unly defiled by self-seekers and pre- deed were always in harmony der the same compulsion as John tenders that honest people some- with each other, never in contra- Brown's young men were. We were obliged to tell the truth. We saw any more. But in the movement the old warrior went to Harpers the abomination of the imperialthat has been created under the Ferry, to "interfere", as he said, ist war and we were under cominspiration of Trotsky, with his against the abomination of chat- pulsion to tell the people the truth example always before us, the tel slavery, he took a small group about it. We saw the vision of a

new, fresh meaning that animates them some of his sons. They went compulsion to fight for it at all not only in their political work ished, because like Luther they have done our duty. (From "Why We Are in Prison."

in their daily lives and in their quired to do it. When Watson Speech of James P. Cannon, pp. be stopped in their conspiracy associations with each other. It Brown, the son of the old man, 13-14; 56 pages, 10c. Order from to rehabilitate the GPU gangster is not any more, not with us, a lay dying in the firehouse, bleed- Pioneer Publishers, 116 Univer- and self-confessed murderer, Siformal and conventional word, but ing from his wounds, with his sity Place, New York 3, N. Y.) queiros.

at NEWSSTAND

(opp. STERN'S) NEW YORK

that the 4-F plan establishes a lishers Pamphlets; also other U.S. compulsory labor system designed and foreign Marxist Literature. to freeze workers to jobs selected for them by Roosevelt's agents. The only "modification" so far

Ask Your Shopmate to discernible is that, for the present, women are not included Subscribe to The Militant in the draft. The so-called 4-F

N. Y. C.

Local 1, N. Y. C.

BRYANT PARK 46 WEST 42nd STREET

deadly enemies of the union movement and what "objectives"

bill."

of the forced labor draft are they now in favor of? The union members have a right to know what bitter stew their "leaders" are now cooking up! Why have these so-called leaders remained silent in the face of the campaign to put across the "modified version" of labor draft? It is already clear

SIX —

THE MILITANT

SATURDAY, APRIL 8, 1944

Treasury Official Calls

Contract Agents 'Thieves'

Officers of the armed forces responsible for issuing

war contracts totalling billions "are dishing and shov-

eling out Government money with reckless abandon"

and "some of them are plain crooks and thieves," ad-

mitted U. S. Comptroller General Lindsay C. Warren

last week before the House Naval Affairs Commit-

Warren revealed that as the so-called "Watchdog

of the Treasury," even he is not permitted to look

vicious, most damnable form of business imaginable,"

declared Warren. "We expect big figures for war-

but every dollar should show a dollar's worth in re-

No one is in better position to know the real mag-

nitude of the war contracts robbery than the Comp-

turn, and it doesn't."





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

- LEON TROTSKY

JOIN US IN FIGHTING FOR:

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

fourth term. As far as these clique leaders are concerned, the ALP was going to continue its subservience to the capitalist parties and to be tied to Roosevelt's apron strings.

The task of class-conscious workers in the primary campaign was to raise the banner of independent political action in the unions and the ALP clubs against both cliques in the ALP. This continues to be the task today after the primaries. They will proceed with the solid spade work which is the necessary precondition for the building of a new militant leadership in the New York City trade union movement and for the building of a genuine labor party.

Such perspectives never appeal to opportunists in the labor movement: they do not promise any miraculous results overnight. They involve too much programmatic intransigeance; too much hard, prolonged, sustained and systematic Jimmy Higgins work.

By now, it has become a commonplace in the labor movement for individuals, outraged by the crimes of Stalinism, to clique up with anybody, any force, any faction, any reactionary, under any program, for the ostensible purpose of fighting Stalinism. In the ranks of the Dubinsky-Social-Democratic faction are to be found not a few ex-radicals and renegades who have so completely lost their political bearings and integrity that they stand ready to join even with red baiters under a red baiting program provided it is against the Stalinists. In practice, of course, these "anti-Stalinists" only furnish grist to the Stalinist mill. They can't fight the Stalinists by counterposing to the Stalinist fink program a militant program of labor action. They espouse the same fink program themselves! So, they fight the Stalinists by bureaucratic expulsions, by exclusions, by trying to outdo and outshout them in their submission to reaction. All they accomplish is to antagonize thousands of workers by their bureaucratic high handedness and build up support for the Stalinists.

We witnessed this phenomenon in 1938 in the faction fight of the auto union. Homer Martin, then President of the UAW, by his red baiting, his bureaucratic high-handedness only built up Stalinist strength. At that time, a group of petty bourgeois opportunists, the late unlamented Lovestoneites, cliqued up with Homer Martin and excused everything on the grounds of the "Stalinist menace." They accomplished little more than to disgrace themselves. We witnessed an equally disgraceful performance today on the part of a group of pettybourgeois opportunists-ex-Trotskyists, who alibied their support of the Dubinsky-Social Democratic clique on the grounds of the "lesser evil."

But the struggle for a genuine independent labor party in New York goes on. The growing militant movement, spearheaded by the unionists of the eastern auto and aircraft plants, taking inspiration from the accomplishments of their fellow workers in Michigan, will push for the building of a genuine labor party in New York. They will do this in struggle not only against the Stalinists and Hillmans, but the Dubinsky-Social-democratic crew as well. They will do it by outlining a militant program of independent labor action and launching a principled and hard-hitting fight for this program.



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

to control the fate of the small-

Steel Convention

Editor:

est grievance in the mill or in the Editor: army. Labor must move ahead. In the coming CIO Steel Con-Murray cannot afford to see it go vention of May 9, President Murray will be forced to dodge every important problem. He will however, have to attack the War Launion. Therefore I throw out this bor Board for its anti-labor position. He will have to say a word for the soldiers. Murray is right in the middle, between a rebellious labor movement on his left and his "friends" in Washington on his right.

There is an opportunity right 10w, for all local unions to send many resolutions of a militant and progressive nature to the

convention. Locals can get consideration for very timely resolutions and action if enough of them send in resolutions of the same content, for in this case even the

hand-picked resolutions commit-

final suggestion, spread the press- soldiers and civilian workers ure by each local communicating with every other local as to these resolutions as well as all important matters. Eventually we may force district conventions with power to express the will of the CIO membership, between International Conventions.

Youngstown

government is gradually coming | Returning Soldiers

Negro Struggle Editor:

tee cannot evade the pressure. personal criticism of the "Negro and that is good. But what is Here are my suggestions: resolu-Struggle" column of March 18, the solution, if fascist blackshirts tion No. 1: Labor members resign from the pro-employer War Laare to be avoided? 1944, entitled "The Preacher Takes a Back Seat." The idea The American Legion has por Board immediately. No. 2: that we have to take the religious Scrap the No-Strike Policy. No. 3: definite plans to corral every sol-Encourage the building of strong dier, sailor and marine into their question and discuss in our press shop steward committees in every in the manner set forth in the ar- super-patriotic, 100% capitalistic plant. No. 4: Incorporate the Noticle, brings us to the conclusion order. They are facing the prob-Strike repudiation and the shop that we must make atheists of lem with a vigor and intelligence steward systems into the new people before they can become which puts the labor leaders to steel contracts. No. 5: Emphasize revolutionists or sympathetic to shame. The American Legion is the importance of Guaranteed our party and its program. certainly a true fore-runner of

Annual Pay, which Murray is a fascist movement. What could The Negro people in St. Paul by their actions have proven this be better than to control ten milconveniently forgetting. No. 6: Carry out in practice the official s not true. I am sure that many lion misled and hungry men to policy of No Discrimination of them who are friendly to us, set at the throats of thirteen milagainst Negroes and Women. No. would resent this article. They lion union workers? : Adopt the program of a con-And within the armed forces,

probably wouldn't say anything stantly rising wage to meet the to us about it but I am sure it Murray and Green at last disrising cost of living-the "escavouldn't help the situation any. cover the anti-labor policies of lator clause." No. 8: For the or-I am a long time member of the the brass hats-union literature ganization of grievance commit-St. Paul branch of the N.A.A.- is frowned upon, anti-labor ees in the armed forces. No. 9: C.P. and find that there is a real propaganda is dished out, and in A union scale of wages for the cross section of religious and non- general commissioned officers are armed forces. No. 10: Organizareligious people here, conserva- exactly parallel to superintention of soldier-affiliated organizative and radical preachers, and | dents in the plant-and they don't tions by the CIO, for returning all the things that you might find love unions

soldiers. No. 11: Changing the But with all the protests of the in a white neighborhood. To treat CIO Political Action Committee labor "leaders" to the army ofthe question as purely a Negro nto a committee to organize an ficials, the labor movement has question is, in my opinion, a mis-Independent Labor Party. No. 12: proposed very little, at the top, take. When there are so many Officers' Training of Workers unquestions in relation to the Negro o actually solve this problem. ler trade union control, to elim-Recently the Ohio State CIO race which can be and have been inate the reactionary power of Convention passed a resolution treated in this column, I see no the brass hats. No. 13: No conreason why we should discuss presented by several Youngstown idence in government agencies the question of religion. We don't lelegates, that the CIO organize and boards-reliance only on have to make an issue of it in the soldiers into affiliates of the union strength. No. 14: Rank-andthis country in the same manner CIO. Such a resolution should be file election of union organizers that Lenin had to treat it in backforced to the top of the agenda and representatives. No. 15: ward Czarist Russia. I think the of every CIO, AFL and Brother-Preparation for a nation-wide primary purpose of this column hood meeting all over the nation. steel strike to win the proposed should be to say what we are And the unions must go further: for. I am sure that the editors they must fight for the democratic It is difficult to arrange these of this column would not be in rights of the men in the armed

at the records on which final contract payments by the contracting agencies of the armed forces are What is to be done about the based. The Comptroller General's testimony was given returning soldiers? This problem during a hearing on a bill to allow Navy officials behind, but neither can he force is alneady becoming acute as full authority to make final contract settlements. it to go ahead because he fears thousands of workers are being for his position. But a tree that released from the armed forces. In a press interview the day before, Warren charged does not grow, dies. So does a And with the certainty of unemthat war contracts have been drafted in the spirit of "greed and avarice" so "shocking" that he feared ployment after the war, are the major scandals when some of the full facts are made going to fight for their rights public. side by side, rather than as two The notorious cost-plus-fixed-fee contracts, one of artifically separated social forces the chief devices for guaranteeing super-profits on Are the soldiers going to be orwar production, are "the most extravagant, most

tee.

ganized into a militant group affiliated with the labor movement or will they be scattered into hundreds of frantic bodies with A Steel Worker conflicting programs that can bring only frustration and despair; or will the capitalists deceive them into one large antiunion Storm-Troopers Legion The CIO and perhaps sections of the other large unions are show

troller General, who signs all U. S. Treasury warrants for expenditures. Thus, the latest testimony concerning the looting of profits billions with the connivance of Army and Navy officials comes from I would like to present some ing concern for this probleman unimpeachable source. The generosity of these military officials toward the corporations stands in sharp contrast to their agitation for wage freezing, the labor draft and repression of the unions.

> **Vast Food Stores Withheld To Create Scarcity Prices**

The price-gouging meat trust, corporate dairy interests and processed food monopolies are holding in storage or letting rot hundreds of millions of pounds of meat, butter and other food necessities in order to sustain artificial scarcity and force up food prices.

This fact is implicit in the recent revelation by the N. Y. Times that "the major part of the huge food stockpiles with which the nation's storage space is crammed is available for civilians who cannot get it because they lack the requisite ration points."

The Times admission is contained in a story quoting F. D. Cronin, regional director of the Office of Distribution of the War Food Administrator, who disclosed on March 18 that "the Federal Government owns only a fraction of the total amount of food in cold storage." Of the total of frozen meats being held in storage, 676,111,000 pounds on March 1, the WFA was reserving only 4.6 percent.

In his disclosure of the stupendous stockpiles of food being held because the workers "lack the requisite ration points," Cronin stated: "There are three major categories of food inventories in commercial storage today-the largest being that privately owned and destined for distribution to civilians."

Warehouses and storage space are jammed with food-food the government doesn't want. Why isn't it released, and rationing reduced? Because the food profiteers want high prices which mean big profits. They would rather let the food spoil than t

The ALP Primary

The primary fight is over in New York's American Labor Party. The Stalinist-Hillman bloc won by a big majority and proceeded to take over the state machine. The Dubinsky-Social Democratic faction has made good its threat to walk out of the ALP.

Thus the curtain has been drawn on a performance which by its sheer obscenity must have revolted every class-conscious worker, every honest unionist, every sincere labor progressive. The primary fight between the two factions hit a new low in the methods of political warfare.

The issues agitating the American workers were completely ignored. Not a word was so much as whispered by either side about Roosevelt's proposed labor draft, about the wage freeze, about the attempt of the army brass hats to incite the military forces against the workers, about the war profiteering, and soaring prices. None of these problems interested Browder, Hillman, Dubinsky or Counts. The campaign was fought over one single question: Who would make the best lackey for Roosevelt.

Dubinsky, Rose, Counts, and Co. fought for this "honor" on the basis of greater seniority. Hillman and the Stalinists, on the other hand claimed greater zeal. For a worker striving to create a genuine labor party independent of the capitalist parties there was no choice between the two contending cliques inside the ALP.

The Militant took the only correct position when it advised workers that no progressive purpose would be served by the victory of one or the other faction, that the task for class-conscious workers therefore was to lay the "foundation for the reorganization of the ALP into a genuine labor party... not by backing one bureaucratic clique against the other, but by solid educational and organizational ground work in the trade union locals and the ALP clubs."

The Militant has consistently supported the ALP in every electoral contest in which it nominated its own candidates separate and apart from the candidates of the capitalist parties. Thereby we served the needs and the aspirations of the workers for an independent party of labor.

The primary fight between the two cliques inside the ALP was not in the least concerned with the need for independent labor political action. Both cliques campaigned in the primaries on a program of unconditional support of Roosevelt for a for 3,000 new Militant readers.

3,000 New Readers

The campaign for 3,000 new regular readers of The Militant is now under way. For the period up to June 30, readers of the paper are offered a special introductory subscription to the enlarged sixpage Militant for 25 cents for 13 issues. This offer is made possible, first, because of the magnificent response of our comrades and sympathizers to the \$15,000-15th Anniversary Fund Campaign. Secondly, by the restoration of our second-class mailing privileges, regained after a vigorous fight for the democratic rights of the workers' press.

One of the most important tasks of The Militant in the days ahead is to penetrate the fog of silence with which the capitalist press has attempted to envelop the Minneapolis case. The Minneapolis case represents far more than an injustice to 18 leaders of the Socialist Workers Party and Truck Drivers Local 544-ClO, who have been railroaded to prison for speaking out against exploitation and tyranny, against capitalist oppression and war. It represents more than the violation of the Bill of Rights. The Minneapolis case represents in this war what the Debs' imprisonment represented in the first world war. It is the spearhead of the campaign of the plutocrats, the reactionaries, to housebreak and terrorize the labor movement, to smash its living standards, to destroy its democratic rights, to Prussianize America and to regiment its people.

The Militant has a tremendous task to perform. It must bring the news and significance of this case into thousands of workers' homes. The ideas for which the 18 have been railroaded to prison are the ideas of Socialism. These ideas, this program, represents the only hope for suffering humanity.

The campaign for 3,000 new subscribers to The Militant constitutes a task of first class political importance. Of course, it helps strengthen our press and extend its influence. It spreads the message of revolutionary Socialism. This is important enough. But even further, the subscription campaign represents a campaign to smash the conspiracy of silence of the capitalist press, to bring home the true significance of the Minneapolis case to ever-wider circles of workers and thereby to organize the struggle of labor against the conspiracy of Big Business to silence all opposition to its dastardly rule, to its plots to throttle the unions and to totalitarianize America.

It is with this understanding and on behalf of these great aims that we call upon all of our friends and sympathizers to put their shoulder to the wheel and put over the subscription campaign

in order of importance because favor of repudiating any help and forces. In the "fight for demoespecially in war-time, all proassistance that we might get from cracy," would not a little fighting gressive demands are of one patmilitant Negro preachers. for democratization in the army ern. The entire basis of these be in place? J. P. suggestions, (to which many J. W. and C. P. St. Paul, Minn. thers can be added) is that the

International Notes

distant when the separate move-1 when Allied troops enter Hun-SWITZERLAND In tiny Switzerland, still for- ments in these countries will gary. The last thing to be considered will be the wishes of the mally a neutral in the imperialist coalesce into a single, united and overwhelming upsurge of the Hungarian people, who, after the conflict. the working - class is masses which will smash the Nazi Nazis are thrown out, may well showing a leftward tendency in find themselves continuing under tyranny and project all Europe line with the radicalization of the along the path of the socialist the heel of the murderous Horthy European masses already obregime-the only difference being revolution. served in a number of countries. that the regime will rest on In the Basle cantonal elections

March 12, the Swiss radio re-

ported, a new proletarian political of State Cordell Hull urged the Incidentally, since when does group described as "more to the people of Hungary to rise against any nation have to "demonstrate eft than the official Socialist Party" gained 19 seats. Identified the Nazis. He declared that "only its right" to independence? Is this by firm resistance to the hated not supposed to be guaranteed merely as a "Labor List," the invader can Hungary, the first of unconditionally, by the Atlantic new group scored at the expense the Axis satellites to feel the Nazi Charter? of both Socialists and indepen-

whip, hope to regain the respect COLOMBIA and friendship of free nations

Although thus far spared the What the Associated Press and demonstrate its right to innorrors of actual warfare, dependence." described as a "paralyzing gen-Switzerland's economic life has eral strike" in Cali, fourth largest Considered in the light of what een badly disrupted by the imity of the Central American state perialist conflict. To the Swiss has happened in Italy, this appeal of Colombia, came to an end on is grotesque in the extreme. The workers it must become more and March 30 when the united action nore evident that for them. as for Italian people rose against Musof the workers compelled the City solini and the Fascists many, the whole tortured European con-Council to expropriate the promany months ago. But this does tinent, there is no way out of the perty of the American-owned not appear to have qualified them morass of destructive war except Compania Colombiana de Elecalong the path of the socialist for the "respect and friendship" tricidad, a subsidiary of Electric of the American imperialists for revolution.

POLAND

dents.

demands.

In Poland, just as in all other the Allied armies, the Italians occupied European countries and have been given little freedom monopolistic power corporations in Germany itself, the Nazis are and no independence. They are in this country, had been gouging having increasing difficulty in not permitted to choose their own keeping the lid down on popular government. In fact, in the teeth | the people unmercifully through of the opposition of the overmass movements directed against their hated rule. The Polish whelming mass of the people, the Felegraph Agency reported last Allies are propping up and foistweek an admission by Hans ing on the country the hated rule plant, but in every other enter-Frank, Nazi governor-general of of Badoglio and his king, who prise as well, brought the matter Poland, that German police could only yesterday adorned the Fascist regime of Mussolini. no longer guarantee "order." Preparations have been com-He enjoined the Germans in that country to organize self- pleted for a repeat of the Italian of the company's franchise, was defense units against "the danger performance in France, as that threatens German colonists" evidenced all too clearly by Hull's in order to supplement the ac- refusal to give sole recognition tivities of uniformed policemen. to de Gaulle and the instructions It is essentially the same story to Eisenhower to deal with what-

in Scandinavia, Belgium, Holland, ever authorities he deems fit when France, Czechoslovakia, Yugo- his armies land on French soil. It slavia, Italy. The day is not far will be the same story if and Subscribe to The Militant people to have it at the lower prices which would exist with plentiful supplies on the market.

Miners Journal Exposes Operators' Propaganda

Big Business always lards its dirtiest crimes with stinking hypocrisy. A recent example of this is contained in the self-laudatory advertisements issued by the big coal mine operators through their Bituminous Coal Institute. Among other vicious misrepresentations, was the following:

"American coal mines are the safest in the world . . .Fatal accidents in the mines have been reduced approximately 40 per cent in the past 15 years."

The United Mine Workers Journal thoroughly exposed this lie. It listed the last available figures from the U.S. Bureau of Mines, for the year 1935, which show "that the fatal accident rate in the U.S. Coal mines is from 2.50 to 3.75 times that of any of the European coal producing countries. The tabulation follows:

U. S. Great Britain France Belgium Germany 3.67 1.29 .96 1.10 1.45

"In 1942, the last year for which figures are complete, the records reveal that 500,000 men were employed in American coal mines. There were 1,482 fatal accidents. Approximately 3 men out of each 1,000 employed in U. S. coal mines met death.

"On the face of it, this shows a slight improvement over 1935, but the facts are that non-fatal accidents and permanent disabilities are on the increase ... There was an increase of 11,000 non-fatal accidents between the years 1940 and 1942, more than 7,000 between 1941 and 1942. . ."

Speedup, lack of safety devices, dangerous but profitable "fast" processes are exacting an increasingly high death and injury toll among the workers generally. But in coal mining the hazards are 6 times as great. "Right now, coal-mine casualties are running at the rate of 75,000 per year, or 16 percent on the basis of 500,000 men employed."

The UMW paper points out that the money spent for the lying advertisements of the coal operators "is dug out of the ground by the coal miners." It also points out that these advertisements aren't intended merely for public "good will". The operators are out "to repeal the protective labor laws on the statute books."

The government permitted the operators steep price rises before any wage increases were granted. The miners were forced to strike four times for a meager raise. Now the operators are scheming to grind even greater profits out of the workers by knifing even the few existing legal protective measures won by decades of labor struggle.

whom Hull speaks. In the south-

Bond and Share which provides Cali with its electric power. ern part of Italy, controlled by The company, in line with the profiteering practices of the

> excessive rates, which it stub bornly refused to reduce. The workers, not only in the power to a head by a strike which stopped the city dead. The City Council, unable to vary the terms forced to expropriate the entire property. This action shows what organized labor can do when it is united, militant and determined.

Ask Your Shopmate to

HUNGARY 'democratic" instead of Nazi In a recent statement Secretary bayonets.