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STEEL DELEGATES THRONG CONVENTION

Novack, Billings Speak For CRDC In California

noted labor lawyer and member

He reviewed the legal aspects

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

Sunday afternoon, April 30, they addressed a memorial **Government's Role** meeting in honor of the martyrs of American labor, held under the auspices of the General Defense Committee of the IWW. The 'speakers reviewed the struggle and sacrifices of the great leaders of American labor who

were persecuted and murdered example. This frameup of workby the boss class: the Hay- ing class leaders must be for two days last week in protest smashed." market martyrs; Joe Hill, Upon the initiative of the workworking class poet and organizer Frank Little murdered at Butte, Montana; Wesley Everett murdered at Centralia, of the CRDC.

Washington; Sacco and Vanzetti; Mooney and Billings. the employers of San Francisco in collusion with police and of the National Committee of state officials put their frameup | CRDC, was the first speaker. machinery in operation against Tom Mooney and himself. "They of the Case. "This Case is of saw the war coming and, as they national importance," Rust said company's latest stall. always have done under circum- in his closing remarks. "It is stances, they saw their chance to most gratifying to see that fact labor activities."

the country." KNEW CANNON AND DUNNE

In the audience of 200 workers tailed evidence of this support. leaders who had known and work- by prominent people of the city, ed with James P. Cannon and resolutions and letters of local Vincent Dunne. In introducing unions lined the hall, together George Novack the chairman, with posters of the 18 prisoners. Henry E. McGuckin, recalled that Above them were, two large Cannon was the first to introduce streamers carrying the two main him to a workers' meeting in slogans of the Committee-Free Kansas City 34 years ago, the 18 and Repeal the Smith Gag in 1910

In his speech, Novack pointed Ernest Besig, Northern Cali out that the frameup of the 18 in fornia Director of the American the Minneapolis Labor Case was Civil Liberties Union, the next a direct continuation of the speaker, explained why his comframeups against the IWW lead- mittee had backed the Case from ers in the first world war.

"The capitalist frameup system opposed the passage of the Smith has been at work in this country Gag Act and will cor

NEWARK, N. J., May 6 1600 workers, members of the UAW-CIO, shut down the six plants of the Breeze Company, against the management's delib-

erate stalling over wage iners present, it was recommended creases. The Breeze workers that part of the collection should waited patiently for months for go to the Pardon and Relief Fund the WLB award, which finally granted them small wage in-The meeting of the CRDC was

creases. But the Company imheld on Wednesday, May 3rd, at mediately proceeded to appeal the Warren K. Billings tola how Red Mens Hall. Clarence Rust, regional WLB ruling. This deliberate company provocation was answered by a shutdown of the six plants, despite all the efforts of the union leaders to have the men docilely submit to the

By their action, the Breeze workers indicated that they, like put us in prison because of our being recognized by unions and millions of others, are fed up with other organizations, throughout the no-strike pledge and intend to defend themselves from com-

Canadian Auto Workers Fight The walls of the hall gave depany attacks. But the Breeze Ford's Union-Busting Drive workers struck under the illuwere several old time Wobbly Copies of letters of endorsement sion that the government would take over and settle things in their favor. This illusion was Climaxing its months-long soon to be dispelled by the campaign of union harassment spokesman of the government. and provocation, the Ford One Army officer correctly ex-Motor Company fired a union plained to the workers, "The Army takes only nominal charge committeeman and suspended and the workers still are the emfour union stewards. This last ployes of the present manageunion-busting act proved to be

Under pounding from the military authorities and the flagwaving of their union officials, the very beginning. "The ACLU the men finally returned to work. But the lesson they absorbed as tween Local 200 and the Ford inue to fight



- NURRE

with the union.

pany.

The 'Little Strait jacket' Formula

Murray Tries To Sidetrack Fight For 17c. Hourly Raise

Officers' Report Whitewashes Roosevelt; **Reaffirms Support of Wage Stabilization**

BULLETIN

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

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

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

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

By Art Preis

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

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

Dissatisfaction among the against the wage-freez-ing Little Steel formula, Brown acute, particularly during the course of the steel wage

for a long time - and the Minneapolis Labor Case is the latest

to the role of the government will not soon be forgotten. (Continued on page 5) Trotskyism And The European Revolution

Act.

– By The Editors –

ternational arena.

throughout the world is to solidify their ranks on the tested program and principles of Trotskyahead. The unification of the Workers Internaof a unified Trotskyist organization, the Revolutionary Communist Party, on the basis of the program and statutes of the Fourth International, is a sign of the times. It is an indication that the genuine Trotskyists are closing ranks.

The great resurgence of the class struggle that small reflection of the gigantic upsurge we will witness on the European continent on the morrow.

In the coming resurgence of the revolutionary movement, we can genuinely help the revolutionary workers hew their path to the revolutionary party, we can help them to build a strong Trotskyist organization, only by drawing a sharp line of demarcation between the genuine Trotskyists and the impostors and muddleheads. Nothing could be more fatal for the Trotskyist movement than to permit instinctive sympathyfor any insurgent groups fighting under the difficult conditions which exist in Europe today-to betray us into political conciliationism.

With this perspective in mind, we wish to that its authors attempt to straddle the Trotskyist position on the Soviet Union, the necessity for unconditional defense of the Soviet Union.

Should the Soviet workers support the war against Hitler, in spite of the fact that it is led and firmly to discharge that responsibility.

It is clear to all political observers that Europe by the reactionary Stalinist bureaucracy? The today stands on the verge of great events. The workers of Italy, of Europe, as of the Soviet European revolution which was begun by the Union instinctively answered this question in the Italian masses is sure to flame again. All the affirmative. The authors of this Manifesto, who so-called theories of the skeptics, the turncoats apparently wish to deny such defense, felt the and the renegades are being destroyed by the necessity of equivocating. No group can really march of events. Our ideas, our perspectives, our be Trotskyist if it attempts to straddle the Rusprogram are standing up to the test of history sian question. The Manifesto does not call for and are every day finding vindication in the in- the defense of the Soviet Union. It does not characterize the Soviet Union as a workers' state. What is necessary today for the Trotskyists Therefore the Manifesto is not an authentic Trotskvist Manifesto.

It is our solemn duty to point out to all revoluism in preparation for the great tasks that loom tionary workers that any groups arising in Europe today which take a false or ambiguous positional League and the Revolutionary Socialist tion on the Russian question, which attempt to League in England and the successful launching construct a program and organization apart from the Trotskyist International movement can accomplish nothing more than the creation of new degenerate parties of the POUM variety. Trotsky warned: "Those who cannot defend old positions will never conquer new ones."

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

The Trotskyist movement has a finished program, a tested cadre and a firm organization. We can aid the revolutionary workers in solving the herculean tasks they face only by remaining true especially call attention to the Manifesto recently to our program and banner. Such a principled issued by a group in Italy and published in part position will prove a far more effective weapon in the April 8 issue of The Militant for the in- in the struggle for building strong Trotskyist formation of our readers. The Manifesto reveals parties than any expression of sentimental solidarity at the expense of program.

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

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

WINDSOR, ONTARIO

the straw that broke the

camel's back. 14.000 workers

struck to a man on April 20.

The Ford workers were operat-

ing under the contract signed

Towards the end of March, the company decided to step up its union-busting campaign. Instruc-

tions were handed down to all foremen not to permit stewards to take care of union grievances during working hours. The company ruled that if any grievances arose, the stewards could take care of them during their lunch period, which in most cases is 15 to 20 minutes long. The company further ruled that all grievances must first be writtheir stewards. This company acas many of the union men are foreign born and would find it very difficult to write out their grievances.

UNION PROTESTS

The union immediately protested the violation of the contract but the company remained adamant. The union then notified the Wartime Labor Relations Board. The Board ordered continue the grievance procedure either side, the board would review the complaint within 10 days.

The union accepted the labor bell, President of the Ford Motor which had strenuously ob- lized, is at least as important as tuously replied that neither the bill in its present form, the union nor the board would run measure was railroaded through the plant. When he climaxed his the Senate almost without deanti-union campaign by the fir-|bate. ings, the men struck.

Campbell thereupon announced

of spring. The text of this new revelation of Stalinism follows:

Apart from Stalin's order of the Day on May 1, Moscow

has released virtually no news concerning the celebration of

May Day in the Soviet Union. The Stalinist bureaucracy is

now trying to root out every revolutionary tradition. Its

efforts in this direction are illustrated in part by the article

written in connection with May Day by Ilya Ehrenburg, one

of the Kremlin's publicized pen-prostitutes. The theme of

this article is that May Day is rooted not in the class

struggle at all, but in seasonal changes, to wit, the coming

New Stalinist Revelations

On Origins Of May Day

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

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

contract and refused to negotiate huge picket line daily patrolled serve the true effects of Roosethe plant, not to keep scabs out velt's labor policies, the role of The major points of policy negotiations going again bebehind the Ford strikers. A num-The solidarity of the men in

the strike was exceptional. A (Continued on page 5)

the course of the steel wage the no-strike pledge, the negotiations. The steel wage attitude of labor to the demands have now been stalled through six months of red tape War Labor Board, in- and palaver, and have been hopedependent labor political lessly bogged down in the WLB swamp since February. There action, etc., will be care- are reports that a number of locals have sent resolutions to fully watched by union- the convention calling for ists throughout the coun- rescinding the no-strike pledge. But how strong and well-or-

ganized the militant opposition to Philip Murray's program of Two years ago the steel union retreat and surrender will be at held its first constitutional conthe convention cannot be gauged vention in the same Public Audiin advance. It is certain that torium where they will now in advance. It is certain that convene again. During the past two years the steel workers the convention and will seek two years the steel workers the convention and will seek two years the steel workers have had the opportunity to ob-tion sentiment at a minimum.

uction face bleak prospects."

ten out before the men could see Senate Grants Billions To Wall Street: tion was a deliberate attempt to destroy the grievance procedure the unic procedure

try.

(JAS)

By R. Bell which provided for the payment | the period of reconversion to | cal controversy over the definiof unemployment compensation peacetime production. The res- tion of "free enterprise."

A bill providing for the pay- to discharged servicemen and ment of billions of dollars in workers laid off by the closing never been as high as they are to- capitalism, "free enterprise" has cash to war contractors upon down of war plants, as well as day. American workers, on the and will be defined according to the termination of their government contracts, was jammed through the Senate last week was summarily rejected. in record time. The measure

In a letter sent to all Senators, was sponsored by the governthe Ford Motor Company to ment's "Post-War Planning the heads of the AFL and CIO of the AFL and CIO was given more careful scrutiny in the Sen-Committee" headed by Walter pleaded in vain that some consid- scant attention by the Senators. that had been in use for the George, poll-tax Senator from "You will agree," stated the joint that supplementary legislation by Sonoton James F. Munary previous two and a half years, Georgia. It provides for the letter signed by Green and Mur- providing safeguards for dis- by Senator James E. Murray payment of huge sums of ray, "that every contract termoney to large war contractors minated means the discharge of ployed workers would be taken as a friend of small business and whose contracts are cancelled workers. Certainly, provision for up some time in the indefinite a watchdog for the little man."

by the government. Over the these workers whose resources future — maybe! The bill to board decision. But Mr. Camp- protests of organized labor must be conserved and fully uti- plunder the public treasury for and labor fakers is that this the benefit of Big Business was Company of Canada, contemp- jected to the passage of the settling the financial claims of based on the Baruch-Hancock as so many other "friends of lawar contractors. plan which has previously been

"We wish to stress again," the endorsed by Roosevelt. The core letter continues, "as we have of the Baruch report was the preservation of the "free enterpointed out in our public testiprise" system. The George-Murmony, that the preponderance of An amendment to the bill, war contractors are in a suffi- ray bill adopted by the Senate

that he was cancelling the union known as the Kilgore amendment, ciently strong position to weather should end once for all the farci-

erves of American industry have | Under the rule of monopoly other minor safeguards for labor contrary, enjoy no such favorable the dictionary of Wall Street, in the period of reconversion of position. When contracts are and not the meaningless jargon industry to civilian production, terminated, the soldiers of prod- of the Stalinists, liberals and "labor statesmen." "Probably the The letter from the top officials legislation would have received ate," reports the N. Y. "liberal" eration be given the workers, aside from some vague promises daily, PM, "except that it was charged servicemen and unem- (D., Mont.), who has been known What is so painful to the liberals "watchdog" didn't just fall asleep bor" do when the interests of the workers are involved, he actually turned and bit them! "Murray's action," says PM, "came as a bitter disappointment to labor and

(Continued on page 5)

The labor board immediately (there were no scabs) but to his WLB and other agencies for which Murray and his machine sent two representatives to get demonstrate the solid front and controlling organized labor, and aim to hammer out at the conpower of the union. All other the consequences that have vention are indicated in a' 77tween Local 200 and the Com- UAW locals in Windsor rallied flowed from the servile ad- page official "Report of Ofherence of Murray and the union ficers," which will be publicly leaders to the administration's program. (Continued on page 2)

TTWO-

THE MILITANT

SATURDAY, MAY 13, 1944

the Little Steel formula and beat

The organizational portions of

the report do provide an impres-

sive picture of the great poten-

The latest figures of the steel

international show an enrolled

cludes 201.605 members in the

years, the union has won 462

gaining representation cases. Since

1940 the number of women workers

under the jurisdiction of the un-

ion has increased from 20,000 to

80,000. Women have been elected

presidents of 32 locals, and hold

446 other officers posts. The

number of Negro members has

increased from 35,000 in 1940 to

70,000 in 1943, and they too are

taking an increasingly important

part in the affairs of the union.

Since 1942, the number of Can-

Los Angeles

MASS MEETING

in SUPPORT

of the 18

2

back the anti-labor offensive.

ORGANIZATION REPORT



By Joseph Keller

It took a strike at Montgomery | the Montgomery Ward Chicago Ward's Chicago plant to force properties hasn't meant that the Roosevelt to "seize" the plant anti-labor practices have ceased. because of Sewell L. Avery's re- The union has been compelled to fusal to comply with two WLB protest against the continuance, after the government presumdirectives. The government has still not ably "took over", of the same vi-

instituted seizure proceedings ag- cious union-busting actions that ainst Avery's defiance of the have prevailed before. When the union charged last WLB in the case of several other

plants. The fact is that Montgo- week that the company officials mery Ward has successfully def- were continuing to dismiss workied the WLB ever since last ers for union activities, the com-August 20. These are cases, how- | pany denied the charge saying the ever, about which the administra- firings were for "thievery, dishonesty, refusal to work and uniontion is keeping strictly mum.

izing on company time." Over eight months ago, the The government officials fin-WLB directed Avery's company to negotiate contracts with the ally put up notices telling the bosses not to fire the workers. A unions at his three retail stores in Detroit, Denver and Jamaica, touch of sheer fantasy is intro-N. Y. Avery has thumbed his duced by these notices. Here is

nose at these directives with im- a case where the all-powerful U. punity. Similarly, since Septemb- S. Government is supposed to be er 1943, the U. S. Gypsum Com- | "running" a plant and has to go | week.

pany, of which Avery is head, around nailing up signs telling has refused to comply with a the company officials please not WLB order to sign a union con- to fire the workers. Actually, tract with a maintenance-of- Under Secretary of Commerce Taylor, who is supposed to be in membership clause.

Roosevelt has closed his eyes charge, is reported to be sitting FROM OUR MAIL BAG to these instances of defiance by in isolated splendor in Avery's Avery. In none of these cases former office while nobody pays any attention to him. have the workers gone on strike. Representatives of Ward Local It was in Chicago, where the union did go out on strike that 20, Retail Clerks' Union, are re-Roosevelt finally acted. The ported to have had a bitter ex-WLB might have continued indef- change with Stalinist union of- delphia, and let's see which branch initely its kid glove policy toward ficials on the floor of the Chica-Avery if the Chicago union had go CIO Council because of the not staged its walkout. Thus, it latter's refusal to support the was not merely the fact that Ward strike, which even the top Avery defied the board, but that CIO officials nationally were this defiance provoked a strike compelled to give behind-thewhich threatened to expose the scenes backing.

labor relations machinery which rector of Organization, had wir- cornered race for whole farce of the government's impelled Roosevelt to intercede.

* * *

Taking their cue from Sewell move Ward goods to or from Chi-Avery and backed by the Big cago at the St. Paul warehouse, Business press and Congressional which is organized by the ILU, barrage on the Ward Case, a the Stalinists continued to handnumber of corporations in the le such shipments. Leonard Levy, vice-president of past week have flouted WLB dithe Retail Clerks' international in rectives.

Two leading New York title charge of the strike, is said to gaining some insurance companies, The Secu- have accused the Stalinists of practical experi-"scabbing on the strike." The ence to polish up rity Title and Guarantee Company of New York and the Kings Stalinists touched the bottom of our methods of County Capital Corporation of the sewer by asserting that the obtaining subs. In Brooklyn, simultaneously wired strike was called by "a certain the last week of small group of people" in order April the campaig comply with a directive of the to "embarrass our Commander-

regional board ordering them to | in-Chief." negotiate a contract with Local

96 of the CIO Office Workers Sewell L. Avery was re-elected to the Board of Directors of the union. A third company, The Lawyers Title Corporation agreed U. S. Steel Corporation at its to sign a contract only if a clau- annual stockholders meeting in Hoboken, N. J., last week. A rese were inserted that it was signed "under duress," similar to the solution was also adopted stating clause Avery wanted after his first that the coupon-clippers of the defiance of the WLB in 1942. The world's greatest steel corporation Kings County Corporation has are "proud" to number the open refused since July, 1943 to grant she pper Avery among their board

TRADE UNIONBranches Reach Half-Way Mark InNOTESMilitant' Subscription Campaign

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

quotas. OUTSTANDING ACHIEVEMENTS

OF THE WEEK Buffalo not only moved into first place on the scoreboard, but hit 212% and has now ordered 100 more sub-

scription cards. Philadelphia jumped from 77% to 120%.

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

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

Reading: "Due to the national importance of the Militant Subscription Drive, the Reading Branch challenges two other branches with the same quota. Let's go, Toledo and Philahas the most subs by June 30! The Reading Branch is raring to go and neither asks nor grants any excuses." West Side Branch (New York Local) wired Minneapolis and Chicago: "West Side Branch challenges

After Allen Haywood, CIO Di- you to a threeed the union that the CIO Longsubscriptions." shoremen's Union, headed by Sta-New York:

linist Harry Bridges, would not "New York Local like most of the branches spent

several weeks in April organizing the Subscription Campaign and

April the campaign took a big spurt and we are now shifting into

second gear. The branch totals for the month were:

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

Labor Party Opponents Whine that it is Roosevelt who is openly spearheading the drive for con-soriat labor. The report spearly script labor. The report speaks That "Now Is Not The Time" derive of the "agitation of certain groups" who are "more interested in applying compulsory

at all, "now is not the time"

means that now is not the time

wage be endorsed."

By C. Thomas try?

The union militants in the Michigan labor movement took a THE PROGRAM

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

An important debate took place in Detroit recently, sponsored by the West Side Tool and Die Council on the question: "Is This The 'Time To Organize A New Party?" The debate was held in the headquarters auditorium of the UAW Ford Local 600, the largest local of the auto workers union. Tucker P. Smith. Michigan CIO vicepresident and publicity director of the Michigan Commonwealth Federation took the affirmative; August Scholle, head of the re-

while he had ALWAYS been in itical platform of a labor party. cial gains made by labor in defavor of labor's independent politime," to organize an independent labor party.

NOW IS NOT THE TIME It has become the custom, for

even the deadliest enemies of independent political action, to in- that matter. sist that they have always been

is not the time." Even the malodorous Stalinists, piously beat their breasts, protesting that they are "not opposed in principle to a Third Party," but not

(Continued from page 1) NOW! In their own way, such protestations provide unmistake- released tomorrow. This report able evidence of the revulsion in

Boiled down, however, the only throughout bears the style and thing "constructive" the report the ranks to the discredited pol- language of Murray himself. can point to is the "union security The introduction of the report policy of the Board," that is, its icy of giving political support to the spurious "friends of labor" be gives the general perspective of granting of maintenance of mem-

the capitalist rulers of this coun- Democratic or Republican parties controls to labor than they are in and exercise no control over its effective utilization of our mancandidates. Both the major par- power resources." The "certain ties take their orders from Big groups" are none other than Business. The parties control the Roosevelt and his Army and Navy The interests of the working candidates. As far as the work- spokesmen. class cannot be formulated other-The programmatic portion of ers are concerned the names of wise than in the shape of a pro-

the candidates might just as well the report discloses that Murray gram; the program cannot be advanced otherwise than by creat be tweedle-dee and tweedle-dum has nothing to offer the steel ing the instrument for carrying as Roosevelt and Dewey - or any- workers by way of an independone else selected by the political ent, effective program to smash the program into action, the political party. If it means anything bosses.

LABOR MISLEADERS

for labor to advance its own pro-The labor misleaders who ocgram but to submit to the procupy the highest positions in the CIO have perpetrated a mongram of Big Business which domminates and controls both the Destrous hoax on their membership. mocratic and Republican parties. The CIO Political Action Com- tial power and resources in this mittee was established for the ex. second largest union in America. That this conclusion is by no means far-fetched was made ab- press purpose of heading off any undantly clear by Mr. Nat Ganmovement of the workers toward membership of 949,938, which inley, notorious Stalinist in the auto formulating their own program, workers union. Writing in the organizing their own party, and Daily Worker, April 30, Ganley | running their own candidates. armed forces. In the past two takes Tucker P. Smith to task The impression was falsely crefor trying "to put over an anti- ated that only those candidates NLRB elections and card-checks Roosevelt maneuver" at the re- who endorsed the political pro- out of 535 disputed collective barcent Wayne County CIO Political gram of the CIO would be sup-Action Conference. "Knowing ported. All such pretensions now that the President was not yet are dropped. In fact, anyone who ready to support the demand for has the temerity to suggest that a guaranteed annual wage," says a political candidate, supported by Ganley, "he (Tucker P. Smith) labor, should first be compelled proposed that only candidates to endorse a labor program, is supporting the guaranteed annual stigmatized as a "disrupter." Such has been the evolution of The guaranteed annual wage is Hillman's Political Action Comone of the demands of the Steel mittee.

Workers Union. Conforming as Independent political action is gional CIO Political Action Com- it does to the interests of the no longer a matter of choice but mittee, the negative. The essence working class as a whole, it would of necessity. The preservation of adian locals has increased from of Scholle's argument was that | find a prominent place on the pol- | the unions, the defense of the so-24 to 88.



How could it be otherwise? The raise the American working class

in this war period."

56 pages, paper



Dr. CLINTON J. TAFT, ACLU Speakers: l"as a vital and constructive force

GEORGE NOVACK CRDC National Secretary GEORGE DOBSEVAGE, Pres.

So. Cal. Steel Council, CIO

OSCAR SORES, Secy. Brother-"No party campaign in recent years has generated such they Democrats or Republicans, the leadership and its program bership. And even here the report hood of Sleeping Car Porters



-1500 1000

500

3000

2500

2000

.

a 15 per cent wage increase as directors. ordered by a previous WLB di-This demonstrative action showes what kind of opposition rective.

Wylie Brown, head of the Philip Murray is trying to knock Phelps Dodge Copper Products down with statistics in the Corporation, which holds millions drawnout palaver that is now in war contracts, told a hearing taking place between the CIO of a regional WLB on April 26 steelworkers and the steel comthat he would refuse to comply panies before the WLB. While with the board's order to sign a Murray postures before the contract with the CIO United E- WLB steel panel hearings, U. S. lectrical, Radio and Machine Steel moguls have given a real Workers. indication of what they think of * * *

the WLB and its hearings by The government's "seizure" of their reelection of Avery.



The work of our cartoonist | crease: "Please increase our Micontinues to evoke considerable litant bundle order by 40%. The favorable comment. Our agent in wider distribution and sub cam-Los Angles writes: "Again the paign makes this necessary, other day I heard two people di- The paper is well received also scussing the effect the cartoons by people who have never seen it have had in livening up the front before." page of the paper. It really does

have a good effect and the car- The back issues of The Militant toons have been pretty good."

are becoming increasingly valu-One of our Los Angeles readers able as shown by the information states: "You know, those car-toons by Gray really put a "I went over to the University of 'punch' to the front page. Not Minnesota today. They got a only are the ideas clever, but number of our papers as well as they are artistically done. The some pamphlets and documents Book-Burning in Minneapolis' is | (but The Militant was what my choice for the Academy Aw- they were interested in) and paid ard-when we get an academy." |\$75 for the lot. I am beginning

The following comment was to really believe that our publireceived from one of our friends | cations are collectors' items!" in Minnesota: "We saw cartoon Grace Carlson in one of her on Italy. Bravo!" recent letters, wrote: "I would certainly like to see and feel the * * * Our agent in Seattle states in 6-pager and so I shall in another her latest report that they find | 42 weeks and 4 days! The rest of this column very helpful: "The the press activity also sounds 'Militant Army' is very good. It very encouraging. keeps us in touch with other * * * parts of the country and is a good Texas: "The letter from the vehicle for forwarding new ideas Steel Worker in the April 8 issue to other branches." of The Militant interested me very * * * much, as I am very much in-At the beginning of the Milit- volved at the present time in a ant Subscription Campaign our steel local." Toledo agent requested an in- New York City: "I want to crease in the Militant bundle for congratulate you on your strong the duration of the Campaign. individualistic policy. You do not This week we received the fol- bandy words or make idle chatter. lowing request for another in- I'm strongly for you."

party-building campaign."

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

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

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

The branches can be proud of their achievement in reaching the half-way mark of the campaign ahead of schedule. But it's the second half that counts! Let's go ahead to reach our goal of 3.000 new readers before June 30.

SCADEDAADA

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

EUGENE JUDD, Vice-Pres. membership as the Militant Subscription Campaign. The Militant plea that "now is not the time." Jy, the first programmatic point developed" because the Board's is now reaching regularly sections of New York City and hundreds The labor fakers have used it is support for Roosevelt's "na- compliance orders are being Local 216, UAW-CIO of workers for the first time. The Militant Sub Drive is for us a for years to postpone to the indefinite future every movement for gram, that is, the very basis for the Montgomery Ward case.

the wage freeze. an independent labor party. Approximately 10 years ago, at | WAGE QUESTION

the 1935 AFL convention, a resolution was introduced calling for formation of an independent labor

initiative, enthusiasm and socialist competition in the New York There is nothing new about the for the period ahead. Significant-notes a "substantial weakness has

party, which had the support of tioned! In passing, the introduc- seem, the report does not mention a considerable section of the lation refers only "to our demands" bor movement. The labor bureaufor a general wage increase," and crats in control of the AFL were then goes on to lay great emnot opposed to independent poliphasis on the union's demand for tical action "in principle" - oh, a guaranteed weekly and annual no! — they were opposed bewage. The impression is given cause: "The time is not ripe." that Murray is attempting to play It was, you see, purely a "pracdown the question of the imtical" matter as it is with Hillmediate wage increase, which inman's labor politicians and the Stalinists today. In replying to

volves a powerful frontal attack on the Little Steel formula and this "practical" argument, Francis the whole wage freezing policy of Gorman, then head of the Textile Roosevelt. Workers Union said: "You may The two specific proposals made say: 'The time is not ripe. We are for greater concentration on are not yet strong enough for a work through the CIO Political

Labor Party.' In answer to you Action Committee, obviously in I would like to quote again from support of Roosevelt, and rigid Patrick Henry, who on the eve adherence to the no-strike pledge. of the American Revolution, when The whole report is angled to faced with the same answer, said: conceal Roosevelt's responsibility for the wage-freezing policy and

PATRICK HENRY

"They tell us, sir, that we are weak; unable to cope with so for-detailed account of the conduct of detailed account of the conduct of the continuance of the Little midable an adversary. But when the "wage stabilization" policy in shall we be stronger? Will it be the past two years, the report next week or next year? Will it makes two important omissions be when we are totally disarmed, It deliberately avoids reference to and when a British guard shall Roosevelt's April 1943 "hold the be stationed in every house? line" order, which directed the Shall we gather strength by ir- WLB to freeze wages, and his resolution and inaction? Shall recent renewal of that order in we acquire the means of effect- the very midst of the WLB ual resistance by lying supinely steel wage hearings. on our backs and hugging the delusive phantom of hope until WHITEWASH ROOSEVELT

our enemies shall have bound us Thus, the report complains that

hand and foot?" the WLB isn't carrying out the If now is not the time for the President's program, although it working class to organize its own fails to state why Roosevelt himpolitical party, when shall it be? self hasn't brought the matter to Those who are the most vehement the attention of the WLB. "As in their insistence that "now is our convention meets this year, not the time," are the very ones our union is again before the War who have disarmed the unions Labor Board in an historic with their no-strike pledge. By proceeding. This time again we what means then, are the work- are still asking the National War ers as a class to defend their Labor Board to give full and standard of living, their demo- proper effect to the President's cratic rights, their class interests, program." This admission of the against the insatiable greed and two year role of the WLB in rapacity of the employing class? preventing labor from getting its What instrument, what methods, just wage demands, does not what means is the working class prevent Murray from insisting to employ to resist the grow-later in the report that the working arrogance and repressions of ers must still support the WLB

Embassy Nothing is so revealing of Mur-Auditorium, ray's extravagant efforts to cover, up the anti-labor role of Roose-North Hall Nowhere in the entire report is velt than in the section of the GRAND STREET at NINTH the specific demand for the 17 report dealing with the proposed Auspices: Los Angeles CRDC cents an hour wage increase men-labor draft. Astounding as it may

WHY WE ARE IN PRISON

Farewell speeches of the defendants in the Minneapolis Labor Case. The vital words of people condemned to prison for their courageous defense of Socialist ideas.

 $\sim \sim \sim$

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SATURDAY, MAY 13, 1944

THE MILTTANT

-THREE

1939 Anti-Fascist Demonstration

Washington Trial Of The Fascists

An Editorial

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

Fascism And How To Organize The Struggle Against It S

In the course of his speaking junket on the west coast in Feb- unemployed and hungry, great sections of the population seek a restore the "public opinion" of the bourgeoisie against the Fascists. MAY SET IT DOWN AS AN HISTORICAL LAW: FASCISM WAS ruary 1944, Vice-President Wallace denounced the "Wall Street leadership which will show them a way out of the blind alley of stooges" who "believe that Wall Street comes first and the country capitalism. All the normal, middle-of-the-road parties of capitalism second." He then hurled the accusation that American Fascists "at | tend to disintegrate. The workers' parties which stand on the prothis very moment" were "desperately striving" to control the dele- gram of the abolition of capitalism and espouse a socialist program bands. It availed them nothing. The crown along with the upper UATION AND SEIZING POWER. In Germany two revolutionary gates to the coming Democratic and Republican Party conventions. experience a stormy growth.

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

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

"If we define an American Fascist as one who in case of conflict puts money and power ahead of human beings, then there are

The capitalists attempt to utilize the very misery of the masses and their revolutionary aspirations for a decisive change, to create a new bloody dictatorship over the people.

The Fascist movements of Italy and Germany gained mass support by demagogically adopting whole sections of the Socialist program. They proceeded to organize into private armies the unemployed youth, the despairing war veterans, etc. and used them as a battering ram against the labor movement. Fascism is thus primarily a middle class movement in its composition. It is however deliberately organized, financed and controlled by the big oisie. But this was not achieved at a single blow. Even after he capitalists.

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

a general strike. But their proclamation suffered a fiasco. lest it should explode, that when they finally with a trembling hand did apply a burning fuse to it, the powder did not catch.

Two years after its inception, Fascism was in power. It entrenched itself thanks to the fact that the first period of its overlordship coincided with a favorable economic conjuncture, which followed the depression of 1921-1922. The Fascists crushed the retreating proletariat by the onrushing forces of the petty bourgeassumed power, Mussolini proceeded on his course with due caution:

he lacked as yet ready-made models. During the first two years, not even the constitution was altered. The Fascist government ook on the character of a coalition. In the meantime the Eascist bands were busy at work with clubs, knives and pistols. Only thus was the Fascist government created slowly, which meant the complete strangulation of all independent mass organizations. Mussolini attained this at the cost of bureaucratizing the Fascist party itself. After utilizing the forces of the petty bourgeoisie, Fascism strangled it within the vise of the bourgeois state. He couldn't have done otherwise, for the disillusionment of the masses he had united was precipitating itself into the most immediate danger ahead. Fascism, become bureaucratic, approaches very closely to other forms of military and police dictatorship. It no onger possesses its former social support. The chief reserve of Fascism — the petty bourgeoisie — has been depleted. Only historical inertia enables the Fascist government to keep the proletariat in a state of dispersion and helplessness.

Moreover, the reformists even banked strongly upon the help of ABLE TO CONQUER ONLY IN THOSE COUNTRIES WHERE King Victor Emmanuel. To the last hour, they restrained the THE CONSERVATIVE LABOR PARTIES PREVENTED THE workers with might and main from giving battle to Mussolini's PROLETARIAT FROM UTILIZING THE REVOLUTIONARY SITcrust of the bourgeoisie swung over to the side of Fascism. Con- situations were involved: 1918-1919 and 1923-1924. Even in 1929 vinced, at the last moment, that Fascism was not to be checked a direct struggle for power on the part of the proletariat was still by obedience, the social democrats issued a call to the workers for possible. In all these three cases the social democracy and the Comintern criminally and viciously disrupted the conquest of power The reformists had dampered the powder so long, in their fear and thereby placed society in an impasse. Only under these conditions and in this situation did the stormy rise of Fascism and its gaining of power prove possible.

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

Backwardness Is Only Relative

fascism.

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

undoubtedly several million Fascists in the United States," he says. Wallace thereupon proceeds to the discovery that Fascism "may be encountered in Wall Street, Main Street or Tobacco Road."

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

its own private armies. It is also true that no such mass movement Trotsky's writings, where on the basis of a lifetime study of this exists as yet in the U.S. We are still in the period of relative stability of the capitalist government in this country. We see today merely the incipient tendencies of Fascism.

The whole basis of Fascism arises out of the decomposition and ward to the struggle for Socialism. It is today more urgent for workdecay of capitalism. In a period of social crisis, where millions are er-militants to study these important writings than ever before.--ed.]

By Leon Trotsky

That is to say, prior to the advent of Fascism in Italy.

1930 is called a Fascist dictatorship by the Comintern. Is this correct or not? We believe that it is incorrect.

The Fascist movement in Italy was a spontaneous movement of large masses, with new leaders from the rank and file. It is a Plebian movement in origin, directed and financed by big capitalist and institutions of sovereignty, the executive, administrative and powers. It issued forth from the petty bourgeoisie, the slum prole- educational powers of the state: the entire state apparatus together tariat and even to a certain extent, from the proletarian masses; with the army, the municipalities, the universities, the schools, the Mussolini, a former socialist, is a "self-made" man arising from this movement.

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

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

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

15, 1931).

The Turn To Fascism

At the moment that the "normal" police and military resources of the bourgeois dictatorship, together with their parliamentary screens, no longer suffice to hold society in a state of equilibrium was capable of waging defensive battles. But the social democracy fascism easily make people lose all perspective, lead them to forget their feelings can change and they can become rebellious against - the turn of the Fascist regime arrives. Through the Fascist was concerned with only one thing: to withdraw the workers from the actual conditions which made the strengthening and the victory agency. capitalism sets in motion the masses of the crazed petty under the fire at the cost of one concession after another. The social of fascism possible. Yet a clear understanding of these conditions bourgeoisie, and bands of the de-classed and demoralized lumpen- democracy hoped that the docile conduct of the workers would is of especial importance to the workers of the United States. WE sky. Fourth International, October, 1490).

[The following excerpts from the writings of Leon Trotsky answer with the greatest precision the question "What Is Fascism" It is true that Fascism is a mass movement and does establish and how to fight it. Particularly important is that section of problem, Trotsky came to the conclusion that Fascism cannot become a sweeping mass movement unless the revolutionary socialist party betrays the masses or proves incapable of leading them for-

What is Fascism? The name originated in Italy. Were all proletariat; all the countless human beings whom finance capital the forms of counter-revolutionary dictatorship Fascist or not? itself has brought to desperation and frenzy. From Fascism the bourgeoisie demands a thorough job; once it has resorted to methods The former dictatorship in Spain of Primo de Rivera, 1923- of civil war, it insists on having peace for a period of years. And the Fascist agency by utilizing the petty bourgeosie as a battering ram, by overwhelming all obstacles in its path, does a thorough job. After Fascism is victorious, finance capital gathers into its hands, as in a vise of steel, directly and immediately, all the organs press, the trade unions, and the co-operatives. When a state turns

Fascist, it doesn't mean only that the forms and methods of government are changed in accordance with the patterns set by Mussolini -the changes in this sphere ultimately play a minor role - but it means, first of all for the most part, that the workers organizaforces. The dictatorships of Spain and Italy are two totally dif- tions are annihilated; that the proletariat is reduced to an amorphous state; and that a system of administration is created which penetrates deeply into the masses and which serves to frustrate the independent crystallization of the proletariat. Therein precisely s the gist of Fascism. . .

> Italian Fascism was the immediate outgrowth of the betrayal by the reformists of the uprising of the Italian proletariat. From ruption of the process of radicalization cannot be of a long duration. the time the war ended, there was an upward trend in the revolu-

tionary movement in Italy, and in September 1920, it resulted in the seizure of factories and industries by the workers. The dictatorship of the proletariat was an actual fact; all that was lacking was to organize it, and to draw from it all the necessary conclusions.

The social democracy took fright, and sprang back. After its bold (Extracts from a letter to an English Comrade. November and heroic exertions, the proletariat was left facing the void. The disruption of the revolutionary movement became the most important factor in the growth of Fascism. In September, the revolutionary advance came to a standstill; and November already witnessed the first major demonstration of the Fascists (the seizure of Bologna).

, True, the proletariat, even after the September catastrophe,

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

Fascism Is The Final Link

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

It is quite self-evident that the radicalization of the working class in the United States has passed only through its initial phases, almost exclusively in the sphere of the trade-union movement (the CIO). The pre-war period, and then the war itself may temporarily interrupt this process of radicalization, especially if a considerable number of workers are absorbed into war industry. But this interpressive character. The problem of forming an independent labor party will be put on the order of the day. Our transitional demands will gain great popularity.

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

Is Fascism Inevitable?

In every discussion of political topics the question invariably flares up: Shall we succeed in creating a strong party for the moment when the crisis comes? Might not fascism anticipate us? Isn't a fascist stage of development inevitable? The successes of

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

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

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

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

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

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

A military dictatorship is purely a bureaucratic institution. reinforced by the military machine and based upon the disorientation of the people and their submission to it. After some time the dictatorship.

(From "Some Questions on American Problems," by Leon Trot-

Greek Navy Men **Mutiny Against Exiled Monarch**

By Ralph Graham

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

The Greeks don't want the exiled government of King George any more than the Italians are prepared to tolerate the government of King Victor Emmanuel. Partisan groups fighting in Greece have repudiated the reactionary monarch who brought the butcher Metaxas to power a few years ago. The fight against the arch reac-

tionary Greek government-in- in Cairo, London and Washingexile came to a head recently ton are busy on schemes for the when units of the Greek navy enslavement of the Greek masses. There are numerous similarin the Mediterranean mutinied ities between the situation in against the King's government Greece and Yugoslavia. The EAM and protested the support and its military-guerrilla arm given this government by the Allies.

monarchist officers and supported by the British navy quelled the revolt and killed a number of zelos resigned after holding office only two weeks and a new premier, the social-democrat George Papandreou, was called in by the King to head the Greek led by the monarchist General government-in-exile.

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

Allied support of the discreditgovernment is drawing ironic comment even from sections of the capitalist press, and from Greece. liberal commentators who never cease being pained by the failure that the greatest number of the of Roosevelt and Churchill to Greek partisans adhere to the square their deeds with their EAM and ELAS. The masses words. Last week, the London join with and fight under the bancorrespondent of the New York ner of the organization which Times wrote:

brightens and external pressure Stalinists are able to gain a mass welcomed so eagerly in 1940 and something of a problem, although | the capitalists and landlords. few would be so impolite as to put it quite that way. Now the SENTIMENTS Greeks are proving, difficult. Their trouble is the same one that besets other exiled govern- that of Tito's organization in

(the ELAS) is the most popular and powerful movement of oppo-"Loyal" Greek units led by sition to the Nazis. Like the movement of Tito in Yugoslavia it is strongly influenced if not completely by the Stalinists, who rebels. Premier Sophocles Veni- take their orders from and receive the open support of the Stalin regime in Moscow. The EAM is bitterly fighting against bourgeois-landlord grouping

Zervas, who supports the exiled government of King George. The Zervas group is apparently similar in its composition and aims to the Mikhailovitch organizaion in Yugoslavia. Its avowed purpose is to see that when the Nazis are driven out of Greece the old rule of the capitalists and Roosevelt want the monarch and the landlords shall be preserved. The Zervas group is the only guerrilla organization which its officially linked to the exiled monarchical regime. But the EAM leadership, despite the noise and clamor of its opposition to the exiled government of ed and repudiated king and his King George is negotiating and trying to conclude a deal with the capitalist-landlord cliques of

It is of course not surprising, has, or appears to have, the most "As the prospect of liberation radical program. Moreover, the

is removed, the temptation to en- following because the exploited gage in civil strife increases, and masses still see in them represthe exiled governments that were entatives of the great tradition of the October Revolution which 1941 are beginning now to prove liberated Russia from the rule of

REVOLUTIONARY

The authority of EAM, like legates there were 21 CIO memb-legates there were 21 CIO memb-Trotsky's Book On wage reductions, plus an increase in working hours from seven to ments in one form or another- | Yugoslavia, reflects the revolu-

British 1926 Strike Scene



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

MichiganDemocrats **Snare UAWLeaders**

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

By Ernest A. Prieur

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

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

The only firm decisions were: and file labor party movement Roosevelt for a fourth term and "should be regarded by the adopposition to the Michigan Comministration as a natural consemonwealth Federation, the new quence of the swing away from worker-farmer party. There was liberalism." Then he begged. no such attack on Republicans ...we feel that the party should or corporations; no condemnation offer us something worth fightof corruption, either within the ing for." Democratic Party or in war prof-

Of course it didn't. But wait. The next act will

common people.

Then the Michigan Common-

State Dept. Order

iteering. Real indignation was reserved for rank and file probe the national convention in Chigressives trying to build labor's cago, July 19. Some of the same own party, with labor's own pro-"union leaders" will be there to gram and labor's own candidates. be taken again and further clari-This the company unionists can fy the plot. Then the month-long struggle, for the entire trade unreally view with alarm. campaign, the primaries, the Our International officers and November elections and thenthen the deluge of slave labor

state CIO heads lent their ponderous weight to the doddering old laws and oppression, by Demomachine, corrupt and scandalized crats and Republicans alike. by recent indictments of a whole oloc of Democratic legislaters. wealth Federation will have a 30, 1926. When the subsidy ex-Not a word about the indictments. new meaning to millions of the

CIO MEMBERS

Out of 27 Genesee County decrats. The local boys boasted of **Great British General Strike Recalled** By Recent Walkouts Of The Coal Miners

By James Cowan

he coal fields of South Wales during the recent strike of coal labor bureaucracy feared the ity with the British strikers were niners said he found an atmosphere and a mood among the specter of the workers' revolu- taking place all over the land. workers which was strongly reminiscent of the British general tion. They were as panic-stricken Soviet miners resolved to contristrike of 1926.

Mass moods reflect the political consciousness of the workers, and if the spirit of 1926 has been revived under the conditions ferences with Baldwin, Churchill to work 2 hrs. overtime for sevf the second imperialist world war, this is a fact of the greatest olitical significance in the British working-class movement. It particularly valuable today

o recall the salient facts of the Congress for a general strike in eneral strike of the British support of the miners, to comvorking class 18 years ago. mence at midnight on May 3. Britain was in the trough of By next day the wheels of inconomic crisis which set in dustrial England had ceased to shortly after the first imperialist turn. The stoppage was complete. slaughter. The European conti- The workers in transport, enginent had been impoverished by neering, building and numerous the war and the whole world other industries were on strike. broke the strike. The workers they entered a British port and market disorganized. Britain had Even the printers, organized in the lost her trade supremacy. Hardion, joined the magnificent dest hit was Britain's coal indusmonstration of labor solidarity, back to work. The union officials cil. try which, among other things, was feeling the effects of Ger- and the capitalist press, for the thereupon signed new wage agree- Labor Unions and the Communman reparations in the form of first time in history, failed to apcoal deliveries. The coal mine pear. More than 3,000,000 organ- slashes demanded by the employ- yet completely dominated by ized workers were hurling their mers wanted to reduce the miners' wages and lengthen challenge at the capitalist rulers. longer. Then it was all over. The ity with the British workers and working hours in order to maintain profits at the customary struggle, but a political struggle ed in battle. They were stabbed could. level. in which the two main classes of in the back by their own leaders.

society, the workers and the capi-Between 1914 and 1924, the wners had made total profits of talists, were lined up against note worthy, not alone for the fact about \$2,000,000,000 on a capital each other for battle. The Bald- that it was a mighty demonstraof approximately \$675,000,000. win government mobilized tion of the power of the British The wages of the miners, how- troops and special police and ap- workers, but also because it evopealed over the radio for scabs ked demonstrations of internaever, according to a report of the Coal Commission in 1925, averheeded the appeal. The workers a scale which had never been aged only \$12.12 per week for remained solid. They realized | seen before. their tremendous power. Nothing districts were as low as \$9.90.

realized, however, that if they

attacked the miners' wages, they

would have to face just such a

ion movement had declared its

solidarity with the miners. Need-

ing time to prepare, the Baldwin

government granted a subsidy to

the mine owners, allowing wages

to remain unchanged until April

could intimidate them. **REFUSE WAGE CUT**

The miners refused to accept their conservative leaders in proletariat of the Soviet Union. any reduction of these already both the Trades Union Congress | The Soviet workers had not forinadequate pittances. If the mines and the Labor Party who from gotten that only six years before, could not be operated under pri- the beginning strained every in 1920, the British working-class vate ownership so as to afford a nerve to avoid the strike and had acted swiftly and vigorously living wage to the men who did were now plotting to squelch it. to blow up the plans of the Britthe work, then they should be Reluctantly, against their own ish imperialists for armed internationalized, the miners declared. desires, the treacherous labor vention against the workers' Stanley. Baldwin, the British bureaucrats had been compelled state. "We will pay back our prime minister, and himself a to summon the entire working debt a hundred fold," the Leninwealthy capitalist replied that class to action, because of the grad Council of Trade Unions "all wages must come down." All powerful rank-and-file pressure. the British workers, including the But no sooner did the strike comminers, interpreted this as a dec- mence than they began conspirlaration of war on their already ing against it.

miserably low living standards. The British capitalists were with the workers in 1925. They



Persecution Of Nisei

By C. Roberts

pired, the coal owners denounced are one of the casualties of the the return of the internees. their contracts with the miners' union and posted wage reduction in working hours from seven to themselves amid all sorts of reasons." All persons of Japanese applied to the exceptional few.

It is the while agricultural for their concentration in farmcapitalists who are in the leader- ing and fishing, With the war The Nisei Japanese-Americans ship of the movement opposing shortage of skilled and professional men, those Nisei with second world war. Uprooted as a A few months after Pearl previous training have been able result of the war, they face the Harbor the army carried through to obtain jobs that would release task of attempting to reintegrate an exclusion order, for "military them from the camps-but this

tion for a revolutionary change the principal industrial centers. An American correspondent of the capitalist press who toured of the government. The British while demonstrations of solidarbute as much as two days' wages. by the strike as the Tories. After numerous backstairs con-Leningrad metal workers decided and other Tory officials, the la- eral days and send the extra mo-

bor bureaucrats of the General ney to their British comrades. ouncil of the Trades Union Con- Theaters gave benefit performgress on May 12 called off the ances. Soviet newspapers opened st ike unconditionally without special funds. The Soviet cooperconsulting the rank-and-file. The atives sent a large contribution.

striking workers, who stood so-Soviet seamen, dockers and lidly on their refusal to accept transport workers established a any wage-cuts or lengthening of complete boycott of British ships hours, were stunned. They could in Soviet ports. All Soviet ships scarcely believe it had happened. bound for England were instructt was this act of treachery that | ed to join the strike as soon as could not build up a new leader- to permit loading or unloading of conservative Typographical Un- ship right in the midst of the their cargoes only with the construggle. Gradually they drifted sent of the British General Coun-The Red International of ments which accepted the wage ist International, at that time not ers. The miners held out a while | Stalin, proclaimed their solidar-This was no simple economic British workers were not defeat- organized what assistance they

Trade Unions in America, The General Strike of 1926 was hroughout Europe, in Asia, in Africa and in the Antipodes acted in solidarity. The workers in colonial India moved to prevent the bunkering of British ships. The Federation of Trade Unions in to break the strike. But nobody tional working-class solidarity on Japan telegraphed their solidarity and collected funds for strike relief. Korean workers did the In the van of this demonstra- same. In Australia, miners, rail-

tion of solidarity with the strik- waymen and other transport This was not the case with ing British workers stood the workers declared an embargo against coal for Britain.

Nothing like this had ever been seen in the whole history of working-class struggle. Here, indeed, was living testimony to the international character of the class struggle, evidence of the solidarity of the workers of all lands. If today the memory of the British General Strike hangs over Britain's coal fields, it may

declared. And they did. well be taken as a portent of the The Central Council of Russapproaching revolutionary storm. ian Trade Unions decided upon a In 1926, the British workers testgeneral levy of a quarter of a ed their massive power and had A general strike immediately day's pay. Even before this deci- a brief vision of victory over

that ideas and movements have tionary sentiments of the masses, been brewing at home under the their will not only to drive out Sixth Congressional District. German occupation that tend to the Nazi oppressors but to make make the exiled government a clean sweep of the hated system of capitalist exploitation. somewhat anachronistic."

In plain English, the Greeks Sut the Stalinists, counter-revhave made it unmistakably plain olutionary to the core, will work that once Hitler's armies have to prevent any such development been driven from their country in the interests of their Kremlin they have no intention of submit- masters. They are prepariing to ting to a reactionary police-mili- duplicate the treachery which the same sort; possibly a bankertary dictatorship crowned by the they perpetrated in Italy, where liquor commissioner for governor, old monarchy. This leaves the they have joined with Badoglio Roosevelt for a fourth term but King and his government in and the King in an attempt to maybe not Wallace again in the Cairo high and dry. The Allied strangle the Italian revolution. capitalists and their Greek satel- At the appropriate moment they lites are their only support. will join hands with the forces of Churchill and Roosevelt are Greek reaction for the same ence as long as the trend of the backing this papier mache regime | counter-revolutionary purpose. of the monarchy because they in- On guard against the Stalinist

tend, as in Italy, to use it as betrayers! This must be the tical chain with which the corpothe spearhead of reaction, a bul- watchword of the Greek workers rations keep us bound and gagged. wark against popular revolution, and peasants. With the example a weapon for frustrating the will of Italy before them, they should national UAW board member, was of the masses. The New York Post's liberal ranks of the venal counter-rev- attack on the Michigan Comcolumnist. Samuel Grafton, writes olutionary agents of the Kremlin, monwealth Federation with a pi-

peevishly: "Oh, fudge, now we dangerous enemies of the work- tiful plea for some consideration have to go through the whole ers in all lands. The struggle from the "captive" democrats, business again, this time with for freedom, the struggle for a he tried to use the third party the Greeks." He points out that peaceful and prosperous future, movement as a threat.

while the Greek guerrillas are do- requires the building of a revoluing the actual fighting against tionary party which will unite FRANKENSTEEN SPEECH the Nazi forces of occupation, and lead the masses in the strugtheir self-proclaimed "liberators" | gle for socialism.

29 out of 45 delegates from the Sixth Congressional District Stalin Buried by There must also have been quite a mess of them from Wavne County and a few other areas. That's real support for the De-

Frank C. Hanighen, feature mocratic machine. writer for La Follette's Progres-But we're still waiting for even a claim that labor gained. Candidates were the same or a Washington column, distributed by the Bell Syndicate, and occasionally published by the Washington Evening Star, reveals a chapter of book suppression in vice-presidency. this country, quite unknown to

Resolutions were good, bad and the mass of the intelligentsia. The indifferent, but what's the differbook suppressed is Stalin, an Appraisal Of The Man and His Inmachine is the same. The party fluence, by the late Leon Trotsky. is still just one end of the poli-It was printed by its publishers, Harper and Brothers, but withdrawn by them prior to public Richard T. Frankensteen, intersale late in 1941. The nublishers gave as the reason for withlose no time in purging their keynote speaker. Combining his drawal 'a concern for the work's

adverse effect on international relations,' says Mrs. Lombard, and 'the Library of Congress, in compliance with the publisher's request, withdrew from public

circulation the two copyright copies which had been deposited with it.'

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

In Detroit, Mich. You can get THE MILITANT at the FAMILY THEATRE NEWSSTAND opposite the theatre

ight per day, were to take ef- opposition and hostility. The main birth or descent were ordered out concentration of the Japanese in of the coastal areas. The evacuees fect immediately.

The miners did not hesitate. On American economic life was in were forced to liquidate their May 1, pits throughout the length the agricultural field, in the so- holdings. Property had to be sold the Japanese-Americans is a dark and breadth of the country were called "stooping" types of truck or leased at sacrifice rates. This one. Everywhere they turn, they idle. The same day, a confer- farming, which requires back- also applied to automobiles and face prejudice and opposition. ence of trade union executives breaking hand labor in the fields. other personal belongings. The This prejudice has increased with met in London and formally ap- They also engaged in peddling present California law prohibits the war and is now being exsive, writes in the May 1 issue: proved a proposal of the General fruit, vegetables and flowers in ownership of land by foreign born ploited to prevent reintegration

Frederick Wakeman

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

DARK PROSPECT

The immediate prospect for "Helen Lombard, who conducts Council of the Trades Union competition with white merchants. Japanese and those ineligible for of this dispossessed people. A citizenship. Many alien Japanese move is now on foot in California

owned property through the to extend the property ownership medium of second parties. These restriction laws to "persons of aliens were particularly hard hit. Japanese ancestry or who owe any The same process took place in foreign allegiance." In Utah, the fishing industry in which where most of the freed internees liquidation was carried out under are concentrated, similar moves the eyes of military and naval are under way. The Nisei are authorities. faced with the same problems of

RELOCATION CENTERS

groups but in aggravated form. 112,000 evacuees were shipped Their few numbers and the efto Utah, Colorado and adjoining fectiveness of the war propaganda states to relocation centers. These that the Japanese are "not centers were set up army style, human" renders them particularly with long rows of barracks, vulnerable to persecution.

discrimination as other minority

communal messrooms, etc. The Organization of a sort has been foreign born Japanese or those the result of confinement in the suspected of maintaining loyalty camps. The internees exercise a to Japan were sent to centers small measure of self government which were actually prison camps, which is devoted mainly to obwith barbed wire nestrictions and taining a few improvements in army guards. In the internment their conditions. The internees in camps the internees work at Tulelake struck briefly last year gardening and other handwork because of bad food and the ndustries at very low wages. severe restrictions imposed upon Most of them want to leave them by the camp authorities. At the camps-but for this they must | Granada, Colorado, the occupants have the permission of the War presented a list of eleven demands Relocation Authority. To get per- to the War Relocation Authority. mission' they must satisfy the Some of the points were-equal authorities on two points. First, opportunity for service in the of their loyalty to the United army without discrimination or States (which rests mainly upon | segregation, the right to travel the judgment of the authorities) anywhere in the country without and second, on "proof of suf- restriction, equal citizenship and ficient economic resources or voting rights with all other money earning ability to guaran- Americans, adequate resettlement tee that they will not become a procedures after the war and army public charge." Only those with pay rates for internees.

bank accounts or those with jobs obtained through one of the gov-ernment employment boards can leave the camps. About 20,000 have been able to fulfill these requirements. They have for the Toledo Branch, SWP, is in most part settled on the eastern need of a typewriter. Anyslopes of the Rockies engaging one who can give or loan in the one major industry open to one, please communicate them, farming. The other 90,000 with are destined to remain in coninement for the duration. Discriminatory practices before the war kept even the educated Japanese-Americans from work

M. INGERSOLL 212 Roi Davis Bldg. 905 Jefferson Avenue Toledo 2, Ohio

NOTICE

in industry or the more skilled trades. This was the main reason

According to the Detroit Times Frankensteen said that the rank



SATURDAY, MAY 13, 1944





By Charles Jackson

Government Policy On Racial Equality

The House Military Affairs sub- | they will also throw out the wincommittee, headed by Rep. Carl dow his "master race" ideology T. Durtree, North Carolina De- which represents in their minds that the pamphlet "Races of Man- cist regime which has brought kind" is spreading "communist them nothing but slavery, sufferpropaganda." The committee ing and death.

The significant point however bases its charge on the fact that the pamphlet explodes the myth is this: the Military Affairs subthat one group of people is auto- committee, representing American matically superior in ability over | capitalism, .(which is surely inanother group simply because of terested in winning this war in skin color or other racial char- order to exploit a larger slice acteristics. The pamphlet proves of the world's resources and lathat the opportunities for devel- bor) lashes out with familiar redtion of health and home sur- teaches racial equality despite roundings, etc. are, in reality, the fact that this pamphlet urges the important factors that mold | support of the war. a "superior" person. These fac-This can mean only one thing - that American capitalism is tors, of course, are all manifesta-

tions of the person's economic making known to all liberals, pusstatus. For example, the pamph- sy-footers and other people of let shows that a poor Southern "good-will" the fact that it does rural white may prove "inferior" not want the myth of white suin intelligence tests to a North- premacy exploded by scientific ern Negro raised in a large city | truths. under better economic conditions.

55,000 copies of this pamphlet committee plainly imply that all were purchased for an army ori- who preach racial equality are entation course. The distribution automatically "communists" in of the pamphlet, however, was the sense that they are opposed abruptly stopped by the reaction- to "our form of government." In ary officers' caste on the ground effect, the Congressional lackeys that the pamphlet was "too con- of Big Business declare that they troversial." The House Military do not intend to tolerate any dull-Affairs subcommittee objects to ing of the edge of the vicious this scientific book being read by weapon of race prejudice even soldiers. They brand it as "com- though American capitalism is munistic."

In this instance, the destiny of life and death struggle with ancapitalism and racial hatreds are other imperialistic power. exposed to be solidly bound to This case is but one example of each other. First, it is interest- a well-defined policy of the U.S. ing to observe that this pamph- government in regard to treatlet, written by scientists, after ment of the Negro people. They demonstrating the foolishness of do not intend to give us our the "white supremacy" fable, equality because they want to comes to the conclusion that the keep the workers divided. No one way to defeat the forces that freely gives up a method that has foster such a policy is to tone repeatedly proved profitable to down any active fight on Ameri- him.

can capitalism (with its policy of It all boils down to this: If you segregation in the Army, Navy are for capitalism you are supand the industries) and to porting a system that breeds raunite with the same capitalists to cial bigotry and oppression; if beat Hitler, the advocate of you are for racial equality you. "Aryan" superiority.

knew as much about social forces only genuine enemy, revolutionthey would realize than when the you on and what are you doing For CRDC. In California about it? as they do about anthropology, ary socialism. Which side are

PIONEER PARAGRAPHS



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Aryan" superiority. If the authors of this pamphlet and yourself with capitalism's Novack, Billings Speak

will be vindicated by that power-(Continued from page 1) ful giant — the American Labor

this law as long as it is on the Movement." books. Not only is the constitu-One worker pledged \$5 a week tionality of the law in question, to the Committee in the collec-

Case. It was used by the adminmeeting. Also presented togther last few weeks. istration to intervene in a labor with an endorsement for the Joseph James, president of the

ure Workers, ClO.

against Labor."

On Sunday evening, April 30th,

realization that with the offensive



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

SHIPYARD WORKERS

"JERSEY CITY, N. J. - Memb- | year ago by the local union. The ers of Local 16, CIO Ship Build- same motion contained a rider, ers Union, rejected the new also overwhelmingly approved, "National Wage Policy" formul- to give the WLB and the com-

ated by the Atlantic Coast wage pany 30 days' notice for a strike conference of the IUMSWA, held vote under the provisions of in Camden on April 19. The pro- the Smith-Connally Act. Both posals formulated by the confer- these decisions were brushed ence will apply, if accepted by aside by the union National Ofments on the east coast and will that the local has no autonomy extend the present contracts un- and the second as being contrary to CIO and IUMSWA policy. til one year after the war, prov-

ided the shipbuilding corporat-Concurrent with these events ions agree to certain concessions the Federal Shipbuilding Comsuch as severance pay, mechan- pany has instituted its own campaign against the workers in an ical up-grading and group insureffort to provoke the militants

The top bureaucrats who formand have an excuse to institute ulated this policy are apparently wholesale firings. In the past few weeks the company has brazenly interested in keeping thousands of new members on refused to bargain on any form of the dues check-off than in fightgrievance. This policy of provocing for wage increases to meet ation was climaxed by the firing of a Port Newark shop steward the rise in the cost of living. This repudiation by local 16 of for allegedly threatening a sub-

the treacherous policies of the foreman. Two days of futile top union bureaucracy marks the pleading with the company acsecond militant demonstration of complished nothing. Finally 2000 but also its application to this tion taken up at the end of the the Federal ship workers in the workers walked off the job in



-FIVE

MAY 12, 1934

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

1. Immediate presentation of demands to the steel companies for union recognition and substantial wage increases.

2. To give a ten-day ultimatum to steel corporations with preparation for a general strike if the demands were not granted.

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

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

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

SWP Branches Hold Meetings In Celebration Of May Day

YOUNGSTOWN, O. - Memb- | She showed that, in many couners and friends of the Socialist tries today, the workers are gaprotest. Several Stalinist finks Workers Party held a successful thering strength for the great At the previous membership made the rounds of the yard dur- May Day meeting in Youngs- tasks ahead, those of reorganizdispute in payment of a political CRDC was a donation of \$25 meeting, 700 members voted un-dobt" from Local 262, United Furni- animously to reject an average record the names and badge 1. Comrade List, the speaker of volution, which alone can solve

tion and sharpening of the pre- lomatic and military relations be-San Francisco National Associadatory politics of the bourgeoisie. tween the two countries at a giv- tion for the Advancement of Col-The struggle of the proletariat en moment. If the governments ored People, and militant leader

against war is the continuation find themselves in temporary and, and sharpening of its class strug- by very essence of the matter, gle. The beginning of war alters unreliable alliance, then the prothe situation and partially the letariat of the imperialist country means of struggle between the continues to remain in class opclasses, but not the aim and basic course.

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

But not all countries of the world are imperialist countries. On the contrary the majority are tains full political independence victims of imperialism. Some of the colonial or semi-colonial coun- Giving aid in a just and progresstries will undoubtedly attempt to utilize the war in order to cast off the yoke of slavery. Their war will be not imperialist but the U.S.S.R., strengthens there liberating. It will be the duty the authority and influence of the of the international proletariat to Fourth International, and inaid the oppressed countries in war against oppressors. The same duty applies in regard to aiding the in the colonial country, the re-U.S.S.R., or whatever other workers' government might arise be- U.S.S.R. fore the war or during the war.

The defeat of every imperialist government in the struggle with the workers' state or with a col- ference of the Fourth Internaonial country is the lesser evil. | tional," published by Socialist The workers of imperialist Workers Party, 1939; pp. 35-37. countries, however, cannot help 128 pages, 25c. Order from Pionan anti-imperialist country eer Publishers, 116 University through their own government, Place, N. Y. 3, N. Y.)

A Timely Book on Italy

Fascism and Big Business

By DANIEL GUERIN

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position to its own government and supports the non-imperialist "ally" through its own methods. i. e., through the methods of the

The red-baiting tactics of the

international class struggle . . . In supporting the colonial counwar. The fundamental content of try or the U.S.S.R. in a war, the proletariat does not in the slightest degree solidarize either with the bourgeois government of the colonial country or with the

Thermidorian bureaucracy of the U.S.S.R. On the contrary it mainfrom the one as from the other. ive war, the revolutionary proletariat wins the sympathy of the workers in the colonies and in creases its ability to help overthrow the bourgeois government

actionary bureaucracy in the (From "The Founding Con-

TOM MOONEY

of the fight in this area against YWCA and the YMCA Graduate discriminatory practices in the Discussion Club. unions, pointed out the danger of

the prosecution of the Trotskyists PETITION CAMPAIGN

to the negro workers. "I am The local committee of CRDC personally interested in this is now launching a drive for 1000 case. Support of the Minneapolis signatures on the petitions calling Teamster Leaders is a necessary on the president to pardon part of the solidarity of the the 18.

them."

working people, especially the Recent endorsements obtained negro people. The Gag Law is a by the local Committee in this danger, a real danger to the negro area are: AFL Machinists, Local people. We know, in cases like 68; Pile Drivers, Local 34; Brewthis, that a threat to one section ers and Malters, Local 7; CIO of the workers is a threat to all. Machinists, Local 1304, Oakland; Issues like this transcend all par- Textile Workers, CIO, Local 71;

tisan positions." Millinery Workers, AFL, Local 40; Lodge 143, Railroad Brother-**OVATION FOR BILLINGS**

Warren K. Billings received an Engineers; Railroad Workers hood of Locomotive, Firemen and ovation from the audience when Joint Action Committee; Workhe pointed out the similarity be- men's Circle, Workmen's Sick t w e e n the Mooney-Billings and Death Benefit Fund; San frameup and the frameup of the Francisco NAACP; San Fran-18. (Excerpts from his speech cisco Committee Against Segregprinted on page 5 of this issue). ation and Discrimination and the George Novack, in his speech, Accion Democrata Espanola.

pointed out "Just as in the last war San Francisco became notorious as a scene of the Mooney-Billings frameup, so Minneapolis will be remembered as the place may now be purchased at of the frameup of the 18 Trotskyist leaders. They were impri-242 Broadway, San Diego, Cal. soned solely for their working class and socialist ideas. They

1c. per hour award of the WLB numbers of all men and women the meeting, outlined the history their problem. She pointed out at a social of the San Francisco ication demands submitted one with the walkout.



ber of the locals pledged to join liberal groups, as he has herethe walkout. tofore been one of their srtong-The fighting mood of the labor

the strike.

Ford strikers.

of the labor haters gaining pow- est backers in the Senate." As for the other "friends of er, the Smith Gag Act is a danmore considerate. They just

ance.

more

didn't show up when the bill was "I want to convey the warm thanks of the prisoners to all voted on, thereby keeping their "labor record" clear. "When the meeting of the strikers, solidariz- class enemy. friends of our Committee," he showdown came," reports PM, continued. "When I saw the 14 'Kilgore was almost alone, and in Sandstone, they told me that the support of their friends on couldn't even force a record vote so that constituents can tell how the outside is a source of deep their Senators voted." The Consatisfaction and inspiration to tract Termination Bill was the

Novack also addressed two product of a year's labor by the government's "Post-War 'Planstudent groups at the University ning Committee," the prime govof California in Berkeley; The ernment agency dealing with the Public Affairs Committee of the problems of "post-war" economy.

It was so rank that even the hardened political representatives of Wall Street feared to

place themselves on record when return to work on the basis of the they voted for the bill. . The real "post-war" plan of the capitalist ruling class, as em- ficials. The agreement reinstated of the past year and traced the bodied in the George-Murray bill, is a plan for further enrichment notices (handed out by the hun-movements in Europe and the of a handful of monopolists at dreds before the "holiday") and colonies. the expense of the overwhelming reinstated the fired union men.

majority of the American people. It is a breadline plan for the May 2, the Ford workers voted inspired by the address and the many, a caviar plan for the few. at a huge mass meeting to strike realization that the world is It is a plan for poverty, insecur- again because the decision of the again on the eve of great labor system" under the rule of monopoly capitalism' - Earl Browder

thousands of windy and meaning- entering the plant. less plans that are spawned by

the journalists, professors, "la-

made in settlement of reclassif- who were expressing sympathy and meaning of May Day as the how, in Italy, the workers deinternational labor holiday. monstrated that they had forgot-Comrade List said: "On this day | ten nothing of the class struggle in the midst of imperialist war, after twenty years of Fawe dedicate ourselves to do eve- scism. How, in England, the minrything in our power to prepare ers fought for their rights in the for the coming revolutionary ev- face of chauvinistic opposition ents, for the day when the mas- from their own trade union leadses will push aside all their mis- | ers and the Stalinists. She demonleaders and betrayers and when strated by a whole series of facts they will strike out on a path how the workers have shown an leading to peace, security brought increasing understanding of the

about by the only means possible need for struggle since May Day through the establishment of a year ago. Her talk concluded rank and file can be gauged by a socialist society. As a part of by a demonstration of the imgerous weapon which can be used labor" in the Senate, they were the fact that two CCF members that task of carrying the fight portant role played by the Trotof the Ontario Parliament and forward, we must unrelentingly skyists in the recent class the Mayor of Windsor, also a fight to free our heroic leaders struggles. CCF member, spoke to a mass who have been jailed by our

MINNEAPOLIS, MINN. -

"In fact the task will not be Members and friends of the Socompleted until the working class cialist Workers Party commemothe world over shall have the UAW President gave support to power and shall organize society rated May Day-the international workers' holiday-at a May Day on a Socialist basis for the benemeeting sponsored by the Twin fit of all mankind." A lively dis-City branches. The meeting opencussion followed the talk and a ed with the singing of "Solidarity sizeable sum was contributed in Forever".

> Dorothy Schultz, the speaker, gave an impressive presentation BOSTON, Mass. - The Boof the significance of May Day ston Branch of the SWP celeand what it means today.

brated May Day with a meet-"We are the only party and ing held at the Workers Center the only movement which has the at 158 Broadway. The speaker of right to be hopeful, the right to agreement worked out by the the evening, Comrade Eloise management and the union of- Black, analyzed the world events 'revolutionary optimism.' There is no other organization which offers a program to the workers, the contract, cancelled all demerit phases of the resurgent workers' or a solution to the problems which confront them on every hand and which are increasing All the members and friends

every day," Comrade Schultz Two days later, on Wednesday, who attended the meeting were said.

The meeting voted to send a telegram of May Day greetings to Natalia Trotsky in Mexico. A message of greeting from Goldie Geldman, wife of Max Geldman,

one of the 18 prisoners in the Minneapolis case, was read to CHICAGO, ILL. - The Chicthe gathering. The meeting closago Branch of the Socialist Worked with the singing of the "Into the contrary notwithstanding! strong picket squads around the successful May Day meetings in ternationale". Those present contributed generously to carry on the work of the party.

The meeting was followed by followed by a gala social affair. a showing of numerous motion last December. Refreshments and

requires the instrument for car-rying it to fruition — a political ization — the Labor Party.

rying it to fruition — a political ization — the Labor Party.

bor statesmen," and liberals, but gram and labor's own political cupied. Workers were present ers Party functions over a period a plan that is embodied in a pol- party there will be no need to from the Chicago steel mills and of several years and included tical program. A program that depend on the perfidious "watch- the aircraft plants, many of them movies of the 18 prisoners as

program, if it is meant seriously, the enemy. Labor will be able to meeting.

ity and hunger for the masses labor board on grievance proce- developments. Refreshments were and riches beyond the dreams of dure was in the words of Ray served after the question and anavarice for Big Business. It is England, President of Local 200, swer period. nothing more nor less than the "contrary to and certainly not flowering of the "free enterprise | part of the arrangement concluded with the union." The union immediately placed ers Party held one of the most

ing themselves with the strike

and urging the men to hold firm.

Even R. J. Thomas, International

Organized labor throughout

Canada well understood that the

action of the Ford Company was

a test case. That is why they

The unprecedented solidarity

of the men produced results. The

union won a smashing victory.

The striking workers voted to

rallied as one man behind the

Labor needs its own plan for plant gates, and next day pre- its history on Sunday, April 30. the future. Not one of the vented even Mr. Campbell from The meeting was held in the Par-

party. With labor's own pro- Every chair in the hall was oc- pictures taken at Socialist Work-

the collection.

ty's new headquarters and was

speaks for the little man. A dogs" drawn from the camp of attending their first May Day they marched to the County Jail









SIX ---



at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879."



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 very 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' Govern-
- against imperialist attack.

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

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



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

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

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

9. The defense of the Soviet Union 3000 New Readers



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

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

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

The Minneapolis prisoners, whose photographs and biographies appear in theCRDC pamphlet, are the 18 leaders of the Socialist Workers Party and Minneapolis Truckdrivers Local 544-CIO. In this pamphlet you will find the long record of their services in the labor movement, their participation in its economic struggles and devotion to its political advancement — over thirty years of service in the case of the veterans James P. Cannon, V. R. Dunne, Oscar Coover: eight years for the youngest prisoner, Oscar Shoenfeld. Each of the eighteen biographies is an inspiring story of devotion to the American working class and its labor struggles. No wonder hundreds of Minneapolis workers who had taken part in the building of the truck-drivers' union under the leadership of the Trotskyists, thronged the streets to cheer these leaders marching to the capitalist prison. Thousands of other workers, reading the story of their lives, will be inspired to learn more about the Socialist cause which for ninety-five years has rallied to its banner men and women who defy all persecution. These workers will learn how inseparably the trade union struggles are connected with the fight for Socialism; how, inevitably, the ruling class must strive to crush the labor movement to preserve its power. These workers will understand why it is the duty of American workers to fight for the freedom of the eighteen. It is for what they said that stand - every one of us - that the Trotskyists were sent to the penitentiary-what they said to teach the working class the truth

the working class cause to which about capitalism and its wars. In their own words, the 18 prisoners prove in the pamphlet "Why We ers." "Why We Are in Prison" com-Are in Prison," that they are serving prison sentences because prises an introduction which they told the people the truth provides the background of the about the imperialist war, and Minneapolis Labor Case, the trial; lives organizing for a better so-

Letter from V. R. Dunne to Kelly Postal

Before going to prison, Vincent Dunne, one of the 18 Trotskyist leaders framed in the Minneapolis case and now serving a 16-month sentence in Sandstone penitentiary at Minnesota. wrote the following letter to Kelly Postal, Secretary-treasurer of Truckdrivers local 544, who had also been framed and is serving a one-to-five-year sentence at the Stillwater state penitentiary:

"Dear Kelly:

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

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

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

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

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

tion over capitalist lies. That is speech of Albert Goldman, de why the "democratic" capitalist | fense attorney in the trial as well government of the United States, as defendant, made before a Civi in brazen violation of the Bill of Rights Defense Committee mass Rights, was so determined to meeting at the Manhattan Cen frame-up and imprison the 18 ter, New York, on Dec. 16, 1943; speeches made by Vincent R Trotskyist leaders. The 18 Trotskyist leaders were

Dunne, Oscar Coover, Carl Skoglund, Grace Carlson, Harry De under no illusions as to who was Boer, Carlos Hudson, Max Geldbehind the frame-up and as to the man, Emil Hansen, Edward Palmoutcome of the trial. They were quist, Clarence Hamel and Jake not surprised when the Supreme Cooper at the Minneapolis fare-Court, which is supposed to be well banquet, held in the local the guardian of the Constitution, SWP headquarters Dec. 28, 1943; three times refused even to rethe speech of Rose Karsner, at view the conviction, refused to rule on the Smith "Gag" Act. the New York banquet, delivered on behalf of the wives and relawhich has been condemned by latives of the defendants and the bor as a clear violation of the speech of George Grant, organ Bill of Rights. Cannon in his farewell speech said: "We have izer of the New York local of the SWP on behalf of the members not been suddenly pulled up and sympathizers of the party. short and required to make a de-The concluding section of "Why cision whether we are prepared We Are in Prison" is an account to pay this price . . . We knew by Joseph Hansen of his trip to to begin with that to tell the Minneapolis with James P. Cantruth, to take up the cause of the non, and the last hours spent with poor and the persecuted against 15 of the 18 Minneapolis prisonthe rich and the mighty, to tell the truth in the face of all the ers. (The other three surrendered in New York and are serving liars in the world — we knew that course entailed risks." Farterms at the Federal Penitentiary at Danbury, Conn.). rel Dobbs declared: "We under-

To many a worker, the strugnothing is more important than gle for Socialism may seem only a vision, far removed from the we dedicate our lives . . . we are day-to-day struggle; but when a party of one-hundred percent- he has read these two pamphlets. he will feel a deep personal interest, a response akin to that of Hansen who wrote, "when you see men who have spent their

spread the socialist program of the aims of the prosecution and ciety thrown into prison, then the w to fight against capitalist the significance of the case. The concrete meaning (of the evil of

Crimes of Big Business to Be Hidden for Duration

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

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

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

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

The basis for the postponement of these trials "for the duration" was laid by Roosevelt himself in a letter approving the delay of cases which in the opinion of the War and Navy Department might allegedly interfere with the "prosecution of the war." Since the issuance of Roosevelt's letter two years ago, not a single major corporation cited by the Department of Justice has been brought to trial.

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

Match Trust Conspiracy Bared in New Cartel Suit

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

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

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

The government's brief states that "Diamond decided not to acquire the everlasting match patents



Auto Strikes

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

We are the only movement that is conducting genuine socialist agitation and education in this country today. The campaign for 300 new readers of The Militant represents a great step toward bringing the message of Trotskyism to broader sections of the labor movement. Just as a stone thrown into a pool creates a ring of concentric circles extending outward over an increasing area, so will our new subcribers create an ever widening circle of influence reaching out to the periphery of the working class. Forward then, to the successful complewars and how 'to wipe out the pamphlet includes speeches of system that brings starvation, James P. Cannon, Felix Morrow, tyranny and death for the mass- Farrell Dobbs, Oscar Shoenfeld,

The capitalist rulers can never delivered at the farewell banquet forget how Socialist truth proved held at the Irving Plaza, New victorious in the Russian Revolu- York, on December 26, 1943; the

International

Alfred Russel and Karl Kuehn. worker.

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

Notes

In a survey of underground

Reviewed by **Ruth Johnson**

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

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

Wall Street Barons Grab Synthetic Quinine Patent

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

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

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

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

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

troops, in an effort to wipe out At least one of the opposition partisan activities in Coni. emparties in southern Italy has reused to join the new phony coaition government under Badoglio and King Victor Emmanuel The Stalinists (who took the lead n "breaking the deadlock" for reaction), the social-democrats and the liberals all jumped on the bandwagon and took their places in the monarchical police-

ITALY

military dictatorship, but not the Italian Revolutionary Socialist

Party. This party has been variously lescribed as Trotskyist, Maximnew defense regulation which alist and Bordigist. It publishes prescribes imprisonment or heavy a paper called Bandiera Rossa fines for "instigators" of strikes "Red Flag") which carries at ts masthead the famous slogan The regulation was promulgated of Karl Marx: "Revolution is the by the servile flunkey of British capitalism, Minister of Labor Erocomotive of history." In its isnest Bevin, following the strikes sue of April 21, the paper states in the coal mines. that the Italian Revolutionary Socialist Party is against the re-The labor skates who compose

actionary coalition government the top leadership of the labor and proudly proclaims itself the Party decided that Bevan had to only proletarian party remaining be "disciplined" for his outlaw the workers hold responsible for "action." A movement was started n opposition. to expel him from the party. But In northern Italy, mass opposi-

ion to the Nazi enslavers is still according to the latest reports on the subject, the movement for continuing. Partisan troops operating behind and between the expulsion has been dropped. Nazi military lines have inflicted Both Bevan's opposition to the anti-strike regulation and a severe defeat on Fascist guards and German detachments the decision not to press for his sent against them in the province expulsion are indications of the of Coni, according to a commugrowing pressure of the discontnique published in Berne last ented and rebellious British week. This is the first report workers. Bevan the "left-winger" of mass resistance to the Nazis has gone along with the Labor since the Allied censorship Party in its truce with British clamped down on reports of the capitalism from the very beginning, but sensing the radicalizagreat general strike which recently paralyzed the big cities on tion of the workers, he presents the Lombardy plain. The gena left face to his proletarian constituents. The Labor Party eral strike ended, but active opposition to the Nazi enslavers is chieftains, sensing the same continuing.

The Berne report discloses tolerate Bevan.

papers published in Nazi-occupied barked on "a vast operation" France, a writer in the New which ended in "complete disaster Yorker includes a reference to for the Axis." Following the de-'a little sheet called Le Soviet, cisive battle, the partisans withwhich carries at its masthead the drew to their mountain strongine 'Long Live Trotsky and holds, taking with them a large Lenin! Down with Stalin, gravedigger of the Third Interna-

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

BOLIVIA

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

Catavi is one of the largest of the tin-mining centers. Silvetti ordered police to break the 1942 strike and the massacre resulted from this order. Under pressure from the outraged strikers, the government was obliged to imprison Silvetti and other ministers, but recently they were released. Once again, however, the government has been compelled to yield to the indignation of the tin-miners. Silvetti and his confreres have been returned to custody and the government, ob viously frightened, issued a state ment which said: "We do not thing, have decided it is best to want another Catavi. We do not want to be against the people."

number of prisoners who are being held as hostages. tional! ENGLAND Aneurin Bevan is a "leftwing" member of the British Labor Party who led an opposition in the House of Commons to the

that the Fascist guards and Nazi | FRANCE