FREE THE 18!

# THE MILITANT PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

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# **ROOSEVELT DISCLOSES REAL WAR AIMS** Stalinists Intensify Anti-Trotskyist Slander Drive

'Daily Worker' Forms A Red-Baiters United Front With Tobin, Anderson, H. W. Smith Unions Pledge Aid

#### **By Art Preis**

The latest Stalinist frameup and lynch-incitation campaign against the labor militants, particularly the Trotskyists, has reached a sustained pitch and is pouring out ever-increasing Meetings in East volumes of slanderous filth. The first manifestations of this GPU-inspired drive were described in detail in last week's Militant

During the past ten days, this campaign has touched new heights of fury and malevolence. Stalinist panic has been aroused by the most recent expressions <sup>D</sup>

imprisoned Trotskyists, framed under the infamous Smith president of the militant Brewwar. Two events in particular have

been the inspiration for the cur- Employes, who had sent his perrent Stalinist lies and hysterical invective. One was the highly successful Civil Rights Defense Committee's united labor rally two weeks ago in New York C'ty on behalf of the Minneapolis Labor Case victims, when national leaders of important CIO internationals denounced the scabby attempts of the Stalinist strikebreakers to sabotage the camwas the unanimous resolution passed by the Boston convention of the AFL International Ladies Garment Workers Union, which urged immediate unconditional roaded Trotskyist leaders.

Following the singular failure of the Stalinist Daily Worker to leaders from speaking at the New diatribe accusing them of being slanderous frothing after the meeting.

First, the Daily Worker printed while Allied invasion forces "were civil liberties and labor's rights." a "news" report of the meeting storming the beachheads," the edi-which fabricated the scurrilous torial repeats once more the PLEDGED SUPPORT libel that the "hope" of the 18 frameup amalgam between the Pledging the full moral and

in a Civil Rights Defense Comof mounting trade union sup- George Baldanzi, executive vice- night to hear George Novack, port for the defense of the 18 president of the CIO Textile National Secretary of the CRDC. Workers, Thomas De Lorenzo, "Gag" Act for their socialist United Automobile Workers, and and to mobilize the progressive at Samuel Wolchok, international forces in this area for the fight president of the CIO Retail, to free the 18.

Wholesale and Department Store sonal representative to address

the meeting. After assuring its gullible readers that the imprisoned Trotskyists "helped Hitler," the Daily Worker then whined that "Baldanzi and De Lorenzo spoke exactly like the Trotskyists." De Lor- Industrial Union Council; Irving enzo's "Trotskyism," according to the horrified Stalinist press gang- 108, United Retail, Wholesale and sters, consisted of the fact that Department Store Workers, CIO; paign to free the 18. The other he "charged that the Brewster and Carl Thol, member of the plant was shut down because the New Jersey State Industrial government wants to 'break the Union Council and President of union contract'." Baldanzi was Local 260, United Automobile accused of a "red-baiting tirade" | Workers, CIO. Thol spoke as the - because he nailed the Stalinists | personal representative of Irving presidential pardon for the rail- as reactionary agents of Wall Abramson, President of the state CIO.

So agitated were the Stalinists In the report of his recent over this meeting, that a few three-month coast-to-coast tour, intimidate outstanding union days later the Daily Worker raved Novack stated: "I have rejoiced about it in a lead editorial, under to discover from one end of the York CRDC rally by a howling the invidious heading "Abysmal country to the other how much Spectacle." After turning an apop- more receptive than two and a "suckers" for the Trotskyists and lectic red, white and blue over the half years ago the labor move

NEWARK, N. J., June 17. 80 members and leaders of important trade union and civil liberties organizations participated

To the 18 at CRDC

mittee dinner-meeting here toreport on the growing support of labor and civil liberties groups

Among prominent union leaders who participated as speakers and pledged the backing of their organizations to the CRDC cam-

paign were Sol Stetin, Manager of the Northern New Jersey Joint Board of the CIO Textile Workers Union; Walter Czejkowski, President of the Trenton, N. J., CIO Rosenberg, President of Local

aiding "seditionists," the Daily fact that workers would dare to ment is. Because labor has learn-Worker then went into a spate of hold a meeting protesting the out- ed in these two and a half years standing violation of labor's de- to understand the march of reacmocratic rights during this war tion and the necessity to defend

A Fascist Faces the Wrath of Italian Workers

267



This remarkable photograph, together with others taken at the same scene which are reproduced on Page 3, shows how the armed anti-fascist workers and soldiers fought and hunted down the hated fascists as the Allied armies entered Rome. In the above picture, a fascist is cornered by the workers, whose feelings towards fascism and its minions are clearly revealed in their faces. Another fascist is cowering behind the steel grille of the tobacco shop where he and his colleagues tried to hide.

Anti-Fascists Are Suppressed Nail Harry Bridges The CIO council of Toledo, In Rome Under Rule Of Allies The CIO council of Toledo, Ohio, representing over 60,000 industrial workers, last week

### Wants 3-Power **Military Alliance Dominated By U.S.** To Police World For

**American Capitalists** 

By Ralph Graham The pattern of the postwar world which American imperialism intends to construct was outlined by President Roosevelt on June 15 in a formal statement which foreshadows the creation of a modified League of Nations dominated by a three-power military alliance of the United States, Britain and the Soviet Union.

Appearing ten days after Allied troops had waded ashore on the Normandy coast to commence the "liberation" of Europe, Roosevelt's "master design", as Washington commentators have referred to it, should serve to shatter all remaining illusions built up around the idealistic promises of the "At antic Char-

Allied soldiers are shedding their blood, not in order to liberate the European peoples from Nazism, not to assure exercise of the right of self-determination by all nations and peoples, not to establish the "Four Freedoms" in the four corners of the earth but to restore the old balance of power system in such manner as to guarantee the world domination of American imperialism. Roosevelt's statement contem plates the formation of an international organization of "all peace-loving nations," together with an international court of justice, to "maintain peace and security and to assist the creation, through international cooperation, of conditions of stability and well-being necessary for peaceful and friendly relations among nations. . . We are not thinking of a super-state with its own police forces and other parapherna'ia of coercive power. We are seeking effective agreement and arrangements through which the nations would maintain, according to their capacities, adequate forces to meet the needs of preventing war and of making impossible deliberate preparations for war, and to have such forces

imprisoned working-class antibound up with the defense of the ington. seditionists on trial at Washington.'

T.

imprisoned Trotskyists and in-material aid of the 40 Textile fascist Trotskyist fighters "is dicted fascists on trial in Wash- Workers locals in New Jersey,

Stalinist venom was spit par ticularly at the union speakers,

Sol Stetin declared "these 18 don't The editorial then reveals the belong in jail. What happened to nub of its frenzy - its chief them could happen to me or other

(Continued on page 5)

Street.

(Continued on page 6)

# **SWP** Issues Appeal For **\$1000 Solidarity Fund**

#### Workers Asked to Express Solidarity With British Trotskyists Now Facing Capitalist Persecution in Churchill's Frame-up Trial

The Socialist Workers Party has initiated a drive to raise the sum of \$1000 as a Solidarity Fund on behalf of our British were kept in jail for 42 days co-thinkers now being persecuted by the British Tory government. Four members of the Revolutionary Communist Party | refused bail," says a recent re-(Trotskyists) of Great Britain have been indicted under the notorious Trade Disputes Act, charged with having aided a strike called by the Tyne Apprentice Guild. The prosecution arose as a result of the militant coal and Apprentice strikes which swept England in March and April,

shaking the British ruling class British imperialism, goaded by all four defendants, after being with fear at the rising working the Tory press, promulgated a committed for trial, were finally class dissatisfaction and opposition.

The British tory press unloosed a violent campaign against the Trotskyist vanguard of the English working class, attributing the strike wave to the work of these "agitators" and demanding drastic government action to curb all strikes. When the inspired campaign had been lashed into an hysterical frenzy, spectacular raids were staged by Scotland Yard on the offices and homes of the leaders and members of the RCP. The arrests of four leading members of the RCP and their indictment under the Trades Disputes Act climaxed the lynch campaign against the British Militant, 116 University Place, Trotskyists. This is the first time N. Y. 3, N. Y. that the notorious anti-labor Trades Disputes Act, a law adopted by the Tories after the 1926 Strike to hamstring the labor movement, has been used by

adoption. The anti-labor character of the wald Mosely, who was released prosecution was made crystal from prison because of "ill-

without bail! "The magistrates port, "saying that the defendants should be kept in custody in view of the 'nature and gravity of the charge and also the circumstances surrounding the case.'" We are in

formed by the latest report that new "Defense Regulation" impos- allowed bail only "on condition

ing drastic penalties on "strike that they report daily," agitators." The British capitalist The prosecution and trial have government, like its counterpart aroused a wide movement of supin the United States, attempts to port among many leaders and orscreen its reactionary blows ganizations of the English workagainst the labor movement by singling out for special perseculiament have underwritten the detion the most politically advancfense and have joined the "Antied and class conscious vanguard Labor Laws Defense Committee,'

of the working class. which is a broad united front All genuine militants, all class labor defense organization on beconscious workers will want to half of the defendants. Leaders express their support of the four of the defense committee have framed-up British Trotskyist declared that they have come "forleaders. You can express your solidarity with our British coworkers by sending contributions for the \$1000 Solidarity Fund to ing used as a capitalist weapon to the Business Manager of The undermine the British labor movement.

The brutal treatment accorded our British fellow-workers by their capitalist jailers stands in glaring contrast to the tender the British government since its class over the well-being of Britain's number 1 Fascist, Sir Os-

clear when a few days after the health." The Trotskyist fighters rally to the support of our Britarrests the political lackeys of for labor's rights and interests ish comrades.

soldiers hunting the fascist rats out of their holes tell a vivid story of the mood of the masses entering upon their liberating As these remarkable photo-

tariat did not wait for the "liberating" armies of Roosevelt and Churchill. The masses, who had felt the heel of fascism for over two decades know what it is and

how to fight it. And, as the expressions of the anti-fascist fighters in these pictures clearly resternly determined to wipe out ing class. Eight Members of Par- fascism root and branch by their own mass action.

#### AMG ROLE

nia.'

But in Rome, as in Naples prethemselves had subdued. disarmward to support the first people Fascists they could find, the Alto be penalized" under the vicious lied Military Government, turn- Novack charged in his press state-Trades Disputes Act which is be- ing the guns of Allied troops against the anti-fascist workers, proceeded to disarm them, arrest them and turn them over to fas-An injury to one is the concern cist-controlled tribunals. AMG of all! A blow against the Brit- troops raided the headquarters of union and Trotskyist leaders were the majority of the Justices, "it AFL International Ladies' Gar<sup>2</sup> terming the Minneapolis convic-

ish labor movement and its vanguard, the Trotskyist Revolutionary Communist Party is the concern of class conscious workers impose a foremost scion of the of a diametrically opposite poli-to propagate the ideas of Marx, membership meeting adopted a that you grant a full and unconthroughout the world. We are old butchers' regime, the fascist- tical character. The former were sure that the advanced section of monarchist Prince Filippo Pamthe American working class will philli, as Mayor over the people Minneapolis defendants are Marx-

In Rome, as in Naples, the

By Louis Bonn

When the Allied military forces marched into Rome, as in the case of their previous occupation of Naples, they found a city already being cleansed of armed fascists. The Italian workers and anti-fascists know how to deal with the fascist scum.

Delayed, censored and garbled Allied press reports from Rome, issued when the Allied troops first entered the city, reveal something of the violent and successful armed struggle put up by the proletarian masses. As a tiny delayed Associated Press dispatch, written on June 4, discloses: "Anti-Fascist Italians clashed with German soldiers and Italian Fascists in bitter, handto-hand fighting in the Rome area today. The anti-Fascists were in civilian clothes but were wearing red arm bands bearing •

the hammer and sickle insig- retain and entrench all the vilest made its way through the Allied forces of capitalist reaction in the | censorship to give some idea of Nothing is more revealing of local government. At the same the AMG acts against the rising how the Roman masses fought time, the power of "democratic" masses. That dispatch, by Homer and subdued the fascists than the imperialist arms was turned Bigart, published in the June 17 Associated Press photographs against the anti-fascist workers N.Y. Herald-Tribune, reveals as which The Militant reproduces in in an effort to subdue their inde- in a lightning flash the true this issue. These pictures of the pendent struggle and save the story. It describes the raids made toppling structure of Italian cap- | by the AMG police upon the headarmed Italian workers and exitalist-monarchist rule. Only one dispatch has thus far

(Continued on page 3)

unanimously adopted a resolution urging the national CIO to remove Harry Bridges, Stalinist head of the CIO Longshoremen's Union, from his post as CIO regional director on the West Coast.

Over 200 delegates endorsed the resolution denouncing Bridges for his strikebreaking role in the Montgomery Ward strike and his enunciation of a permanent no-strike policy. During the discussion on the resolution, one delegate declared: "I can remember when this body discussed resolution after resolution to protect Bridges (against deportation.) His action is a slap in the face to every member of the CIO."

(Continued on page 2)

### struggle after 22 years under the CRDC Exposes Supreme Court Stand In As these remarkable photo-graphs show, the Italian prole-tariat did not wait for the "lib-Recent Rulings On Free Speech Cases

George Novack, National Secretary of the Civil Rights De- @ fense Committee, last week sharply condemned Roosevelt's Su- the 18 CIO and Socialist Workers "Gag" Act is a "vicious statute preme Court which in recent rulings showed its solicitude for the Party leaders now serving 12 to condemned by leading civil libegal rights of pro-Nazis convicted under the Espionage Act, but has three times refused even to hear the appeal of the 18 imprisoned Trotskyist anti-fascists who were framed up under the inveal, the workers of Italy are famous Smith "Gag" Act because of their socialist views.

"The rulings handed down on June 12 by the U. S. Supreme pro-Nazi views and utterances, own effective methods and their Court setting aside the convic- Novack pointed out, the Supreme of progressive union bodies in the ly violates the constitutional tions in the Hartzel and Baum- Court has upset the lower court's past two weeks have joined the rights of free speech and free gartner cases stands in glaring verdict of "guilty." "Yet it has almost 300 labor organizations, press." Accompanying the resolucontrast to the refusal of these three times refused to hear our representing over a million and a tion was a \$100 contribution to same Justices in December 1943 appeal in the Minneapolis Labor quarter American workers, which the CRDC campaign. viously, after the armed masses even to consider the appeal of Case which concerns the prosecu- had previously gone on record The General Council of Ford the 18 CIO truckdrivers and So- tion of CIO members and Social- to back the fight to free the 18. ed and arrested all the Nazis and lialist Workers Party leaders in ist Workers Party leaders for This fast-growing support includ- UAW-CIO, unanimously adopted the Minneapolis Labor Case," their working class activities and es such International Unions as a similar resolution and also sent ment.

"Although Hartzel and Baumgartner were convicted under the Espionage Act of 1917, and the 18 ist and pro-labor."

In the Hartzel-Baumgartner

16 months prison terms as the erties and labor organizations as first victims of the vicious Smith | contrary to every principle of depealing to President Roosevelt to precedented action" of the Suprectify this injustice by pardon- reme Court for refusing to review

ing the 18."

revolutionary socialist opinions." the United Textile Workers of a \$100 donation. Novack declared that the con- America, CIO; United Transport | George R. King, Recording Secclusion to be drawn from these Service Employees, CIO; United retary of Hudson Local 154- UAWcontrasting decisions of the Sup- Retail, Wholesale and Department CIO, sent a telegram for the loreme Court is that, according to Store Employees, CIO; and the cal's executive board to Roosevelt, formal acts of the AMG was to nothing but utterances, although propaganda while it is a crime UAW-CIO, at a recent general son local leaders "strongly urge

> avowedly pro-fascist while the free speech in defense of the dem. President Roosevelt condemning unionists.' the imprisonment of the 18 and

'Gag' Act. Our Committee is ap- mocracy," and denounces the "unthe Minneapolis Labor Case "even

tions "a challenge to the Bill of The Detroit Briggs Local 212, Rights" and stating that the Hud-Lemin and Trotsky, or to exercise strong resolution addressed to ditional pardon to these 18 labor

> The Toledo (Ohio) Area Council demanding an unconditional pres- of Railroad Workers addressed a

> > (Continued on page 5)

workers organizations and anti- convicted under the Smith 'Gag' is deemed permissible to dissem- ment Workers Union. fascist Partisans. One of the first Act of 1940, these cases involve inate race hatred and Hitlerite

The Supreme Court's latest ac-AMG was immediately moved to | cases involving anti-Semitic and the injustice committed against olution charges that the Smith

ocratic rights of labor."

tion, Novack stated, "accentuates | idential pardon for them. The res-

#### THE MILITANT

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TRADE UNIONSWP Branches Hit 5000 Mark In<br/>Militant' Subscription CampaignBy Joseph Keller The returns of the week - 618 NEW SUBSCRIBERS - show

This seems to be Toledo Week | in the Toledo Union Leader, organ for this column. There's a lot of the CIO United Automobile stirring in that lively union town, Workers Local 12, gives a strong with the same enthusiasm and determination that resulted in fulscene of the first great early bat- answer. The editorial correctly filling the quota of 3,000 NEW READERS in the eighth week of the tles in the organization of the points out that the Big Business 3-month Militant Subscription Campaign. auto workers. Several items of interests make no distinction besuch unusual interest have come tween their economic and polito our attention that, at the risk tical interests.

of seeming to slight other sections of the labor movement, this and stupid not to recognize the column is passing them on to our | interests which business, both big readers all in one batch. \* \* \*

report that the Toledo warehouse It is being asked to believe that workers have been aroused to the economics is one thing and polipoint of action by the strikebreaking conduct of Harry shall meet. . . . Bridges, Stalinist stooge head of the CIO Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, and his comes politically conscious and declaration for permanent unconditional surrender to the bosses through a no-strike pledge not political power, it will suffer only for the "duration" but for great losses and perhaps be ever after.

TWO-

Toledo CIO Warehouse Work- ed in Germany and Italy under ers Local 363 held a special meet- the fascist regimes. .

ing on June 2 and passed a The editorial then adds the resolution condemning Bridges as challenging conclusion: "Labor is a "tool of the National Associa- in politics, and we hope it gets tion of Manufacturers" and a in up to its neck. If there be "strikebreaker" for his treacher- those who believe that labor ous role in the Montgomery Ward | might take over the government, strike, and declaring that "5000 let them believe it. Certainly ern Ohio demand his immediate could not fare worse than we did removal as CIO regional director under the governments which were elected and controlled by for the West Coast."

Copies of the resolution were the big business interests." What the editorial fails to sent to CIO President Philip Murmake clear, however, is how ray, the national CIO and the

Toledo Industrial Union Council. labor can protect its politicoeconomic interests through the The local warehouse union offiparties owned lock, stock and cials declared they intend to present their resolution against Bridges for endorsement by the matter how active the workers went out for Toledo CIO, as part of a campaign may be in politics, when they about an hour in to remove Bridges and his traitor- support the parties and canous policies from the CIO.

\* \* \*

Toledo's militant organized industrial workers are beginning to get wise to the real Wall Street and Big Business character of Roosevelt's labor relations agencies and are demonstrating reluctance to go down the line once more for that "friend of labor" in the White House.

On June 6, at the largest meeting ever held by the Toledo CIO The Brewster Aeronautical Cor-Political Action Committee, that body postponed action on an Ohio PAC request for an endorsement of a Roosevelt 4th term.

This action was taken after a number of delegates argued against giving another signed blank check to Roosevelt and demanded that any endorsement of him be withheld until the War Labor Board, National Labor Relations Board and other Roosevelt agencies cease their anti-labor

policies. If this attitude is seriously

**OUTSTANDING ACHIEVEMENTS** OF THE WEEK "One would need to be blind Buffalo continues to lead nationally with 492 percent. Rochester moved from last place on and little, takes in politics. the scoreboard to sixth. Chicago sold the most subs during

"Labor is being asked to close First of all, it is a pleasure to its eyes to its political interests. the week — 110, followed closely by Detroit with 104. Two more branches joined the 100 tics another, and never the twain percenters: Rochester and Youngstown.

"We believe that unless labor interests itself in politics and beaware of the intimate relationship between its economic welfare and restricted even as it was repress-

Detroit: Today's mobilization resulted in 54 subs, some from among the Stalinists and some from a reactionary district which is predominantly southern. The comrades are en-

FROM OUR MAIL BAG

thused with the results. Everyone is talking about the success of the campaign and everyone is confident of a 6,000 goal. It is wonderful to know that we'll have 6,000 more people

Chicago: "We will wind up the drive with two Red Sunday branch visiting which is being arranged. Through our work last Sunday, an excellent worker contact was made."

Minneapolis: "These subs were ob-

comrades who barrel by Big Business. No a working - class didates of Wall Street they are district 1 a s t only helping to pull the trigger Thursday evenof a gun pointed at their own ing before they heads. What is needed is not attended the "politics" in general, but labor branch meeting. politics and a labor party. We are planning on mobilizing a

The government and corporations are getting more efficient with practice in laying off the workers once war profits can no longer be squeezed from them.

poration workers, whose militant two-day "sit-in" turned a national spot-light on the real "postwar plans" of Wall Street, were

given three-days' notice before being fired. Last week, 1500 workers at the Federal Shipbuilding and Drydock Co.'s Port Newark (New Jersey) shipyard were dismissed on 24 hours' notice, and the union, CIO Industrial Union of

\* \* \*

reading our paper." warehouse workers in Northwest- under a labor government we mobilizations, in addition to other

> Rochester: "More subs will follow. Rather slow in starting, but we are

tained by six

group for this Thursday again." Cleveland: "We are really getting our sub campaign under way and are in urgent need of more cards."

West Side Branch (New York Local): "The overwhelming majority of our subs is the result of an intensive house-to-house campaign during which we are covering almost all the vast workingclass neighborhoods on the west side of Manhattan - Chelsea, Washington Heights, Harlem, etc. We have already gone over three quotas set for ourselves - 175 was our first quota, 250 our second, 500 our third. With every comrade in the branch participating, we are striving to hit the 700 mark."

Milwaukee: "We plan to devote more attention to the sub drive now.'

Newark: "We have a friend, a Negro shop steward, who has sold 4 subs in his shop. He went out last week canvassing and sold Marine and Shipbuilding Workers Local 16, claims that 5000 are more subs and he wants to go out again."

scheduled to be tossed out on the San Francisco: "Our Oakland work Sunday resulted in 40 subs

### **SCOREBOARD**

Quota

50

80

30

 $\mathbf{50}$ 

15

30

300

30

150

10

150

200

100

50

400

50

15

25

200

40

50

20

10

50

355

15

10

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500

Wall St. War Aims 492 333 (Continued from page 1) 293 293

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220

200

189

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172

170

166

159

154

150

125

112

100

92

88

77

76

45

27

20

166

Subs

246

267

1466

88

114

33

60

568

56

259

17

254

25

319

154

75

500

56

15

23

176

31

38

9

4

18

99

3

 $\mathbf{2}$ 

4,975

| imperialism, the new League proposed by Roosevelt will be the available for joint action when instrument of American imperialnecessary." [See editorial: "War] ist domination, with Britain in the role of junior partner. Aims"-p. 6.] The phrase "according to their What is this if not the old game

**Roosevelt** Reveals

capacities" indicates what Rooseof power politics which Roosevelt never failed to condemn when it velt has in mind. American imperialism has built up the mightwas used by the Axis? The logic iest armed forces of all time. The of imperialist policy leads inexmilitarism of the United States, orably in this direction. And as Trotsky forecast several years Roosevelt's "master design", far ago, has become "the most gran- from achieving that "peace and diose in history." It is not diffi- security" of which he prates with cult to see that Wall Street will such piousness, can only lead to dominate Roosevelt's proposed in- new and even more terribly deternational organization.

structive wars in the future. One of the first jobs envisaged

SATURDAY, JUNE 24, 1944

American finance-capital already "bestrides the world like for the new League of Nations a Colossus." Roosevelt through will be to divide up the loot of his "master design" is preparing war. As United States News reits world political role. ports in a recent issue, Roosevelt A deceitful vagueness, intend-"is unwilling to see the whole ed to camouflage the predatory French Empire restored intact." purposes of the Wall Street pluto-He is casting a greedy imperialcrats, characterizes Roosevelt's ist eye on French Indo-China, 40 statement. The unadorned reac-Madagascar, New Caledonia, the 36 tionary character of his "master islands of Miquelon and St. Pierre design" was, however, revealed and Martinique. This, in part, exvery clearly in trial-balloons sent plains Washington's "coolness" up from Washington in May to de Gaulle who, as the magathrough the medium of lengthy zine states, "adamantly claims articles in the Saturday Evening full rights to all French posses-Post by Forrest Davis and Demasions.

ree Bess, who long have been According to the same source, used as mouthpieces for official Washington officials "hold that policy. the United States has a definite

The articles by Forrest Davis stake in what is to be done with purported to tell "What Really the Italian empire," since part of Happened at Teheran" in the conit lies close to Saudi Arabia, ferences of Roosevelt, Churchill where Standard Oil, with State and Stalin Demaree Bess undertook to explain in some detail the political significance of the agreements reached.

#### "POST-WAR" WORLD

"The post-war world, as Mr. Roosevelt views it," wrote Bess, will be a loose association of United Nations, all of whom will be dependent upon the wisdom and good will of three great powers — the Soviet Union, the New York 3, N.Y. British Empire and the United States — plus China as a sort of 'courtesy' great power. Nearly all in the world will be concentrated in the hands of the first three, and the function of the United States in this triumvirate will be to serve as a balance wheel between the two others. This 'great design' stands or falls upon the prospect that Soviet Russia can be lured back into the 'family of nations."

Department help, recently grabbed a vital oil stake. American imperialist ambitions also reach into the rich domains of the British Empire - "We are certain to have a continuing interest in bases in Newfoundland, Bermuda, the West Indies and British Guiana. Also, the war has shown that Hongkong, Singapore and Burma are as vital to U S. security in the Far East as they are to British security. Some arrangement that will recognize this U.S. interest is being sought.

This country is actively defendthe military and economic power ing Australia and New Zealand, and has guaranteed the defense of Canada. These British Dominions now look more to the United States for military aid than they do to the mother country."

What has been divided once can always be redivided. Just as division of the colonial loot after the last war planted the seeds of the present conflict, so the Roosevelt's "master design," as present plans of the Imperialists



1500

3000

2500

2000

that the branches continue to sell the introductory 25c subscription

maintained by the Toledo CIO Political Action Committee, then Brewster case, abrupt terminait can never conscientiously endorse Roosevelt. For his compulsory arbitration machinery is deliberately designed to hold the workers in check, freeze wages and impose all sorts of restrictions on the unions in the interest of the corporations.

Genuine independent labor politics is possible only when labor breaks once and for all with capitalist politics in every form. Undoubtedly, there will be those among the top leadership of the Toledo CIO who will shrink back from the only path indicated and argue, as they have for years, that "now is not the time" for building a real labor party. ' Of course, if you question them closely, you will find that so far as such timid "leaders" are concerned, no time is the time to build a labor party. But willy-nilly, they are going to be pulled citating world war in veterans, go through a long delay before getting their nay. One union ofalong, or be shoved out of the way, by the CIO workers, who are coming to realize, as the Roosevelt regime moves ever more rapidly to open reaction, that NOW is the time to launch labor's own party. \* \* \*

reason for the mass lay-off. The company has invited the discharged male workers to apply for employment at its Kearny, N. J., yards, but this does not include several hundred women

workers for whom the company claims "there are no facilities." The union charges further that the men will have to start at Kearny "on a 30-day probationary period" and will lose the seniority built up at Port Newark. There is no doubt that, like at Brewster, there is a union-busting angle involved. Local 16 members have emphasized this because the company has always fought the union viciously. The company added insult to injury by making the dismissed workers, including World War II veterans, getting their pay. One union official declared that the workers are being "pushed back into foxholes of insecurity."

on June 16 at the large Chicago Dodge plant of the Chrysler Cor-

To those who argue that labor poration. The tool grinders walkhas no interest in politics, but ed out in protest of the firing by only in "economics," an editorial the company of a union man.



streets by July 1. As in the by 4½ couples in about 1½ hours. We are determined to keep the subs rolling in."

St. Paul: "All the comrades were thrilled with the news that we went over the top in the first eight weeks of the campaign. We think the party nationally can give itself one big pat on the back - and go on to getting renewals when the campaign ends with the knowledge that our paper practically sells itself. St. Paul's aiming at 100 subs now and we're certain we'll make it."

Los Angeles: "These subs were obtained in a working class neighborhood, and we averaged about 5 per man-hour. We agree that the subs obtained vary directly with the hours put in.

"I feel that I must express my appreciation for a leadership that knows how and when to act. The \$15,000-15th Anniversary Fund and this subscription campaign couldn't have been achieved by any other than a real Bolshevik organization with a Bolshevik leadership."

\* \* \* Only two weeks left before the termination of the campaign. Let's finish with every branch a 100 percenter.



One of our agents in Los An- paper as a six-pager has im geles expresses the opinion that proved tremendously. The new The Militant improves with each column 'Shop-talks on Socialism'

not only has the right flavor but factory gates is bringing concrete issue: "Please tell the editors of The takes up the general subject of results in Chicago: Militant that the comrades who socialism from the propagandistic "The subscription was sent in criticized the articles on trade point of view. In my opinion even response to a plugger attached

unions, the Communist Party, and more space should be devoted to to the paper at a plant distribu-Roosevelt feel that recent issues | this each week." of the paper, especially the one \* \* \* for May 20, have shown a That the workers appreciate the tremendous improvement. Now truth is shown by a letter from one of these comrades suggests our agent in Detroit: that it would be a good idea to "I gave a girl at the shop a print the nine-point program on paper and two days later she the front of the paper so that all asked for a subscription. Said it workers may see at first glance appeared to her to be the only exactly what The Militant stands paper with the truth in it. She the dark for a light switch." was very interested in Charles "The Militant is certainly be- Jackson's column, 'The Negro coming better all the time. We Struggle'." feel very enthusiastic about all the new features. 'Shop-talks On A subscriber in Ft. Wayne, Socialism' is an excellent addi-Indiana, sent us the following tion, and it should be very helpnote with a subscription: ful to the new readers we are ob-"Perhaps reading The Militant taining among the workers by will help a young CIO official means of the 25c. sub cards." A reader in Chicago also com- friend of mine from sinking further into hopeless maneuverments about the new column, ings and arm him against the 'Shop-talks on Socialism": "I suppose you have been told Stalinists." \* \* \* many times already, but I would

work in educating the working masses and the courage it takes to stand for the truth and build a sane workers' society. "Yours for the emancipation of like to add for myself that the Distribution of The Militant at the workers."

out of prison also.

ion."

turday:

A subscriber in Reading, Penn.,

complains about not getting his

copy of The Militant until Sa-

"When my paper isn't here on

a Friday, it burns me up. With-

out it is like fumbling around in

Appreciation is expressed in

"I am very glad to know that

Kelly Postal has been granted a

parole and only wish that the

other 18 militant workers were

"I appreciate very much your

the following letter from one of

our Chicago subscribers:

Why English Trotskyists Are Persecuted "New" Bonomi Regime in Italy A BRIEF REPORT ON ENGLAND ..... by J. B. Stuart U. S. CAPITALISM HEADS FOR BANKRUPTCY ...... by William Simmons PUCHEU CASE AND "FREE FRANCE"... by Jeanne Sorel RELIGION-ITS SOCIAL ROLE & ROOTS by Felix Morrow IT IS TIME TO BREAK WITH STALINISM.by Hakim Mizra AUSTRALIAN WORKING CLASS AND THE WAR (From the Manifesto of the Revolutionary Workers Party of Australia) FROM THE ARSENAL OF MARXISM Our Current Basic Military Tasks II.... by Leon Trotsky 20c a copy — \$2 for a yearly subscription ORDER FROM BUSINESS MANAGER 116 University Place New York 3, N. Y.

only remotely connected with the | another world slaughter if capigeneralities of the Atlantic Charter and the Four Freedoms." It means that "if the United States is to act as a permanent balance wheel between Britain and Russia, we must be prepared for continuous participation in the affairs of every continent and the seven seas. For this purpose, we shall require a permanent powerful military establishment and a world-wide economic system under Government control - far

more powerful and more exten-

sive than Americans have been

willing to support in the past."

Thus Roosevelt's "international

organization" to "maintain peace

and security" turns out to be

nothing but the facade of a new

triple alliance of the type which

A FACADE

talism is permitted to remain. Imperialism, with its never- ending hunt for colonies, bases, spheres of influence, markets, investment opportunities, profits, s inseparable from war. For Roosevelt to describe his prospective international organization as an instrument of "peace and security" is the hollowest hypocrisv.

Another function of the new triple alliance wrapped in the cellophane of "international organization" is to police Europe and all the world against the mortal danger of the socialist revolution. Stalin. like the imperialists, fears Socialist revolution. The Soviet bureaucracy knows that a successful Socialist revolution anywhere in Europe will top-

ple it from power. led up to the shambles of the first The pattern of this policing world war, with this important function has already clearly difference: that whereas the old emerged in Italy and North Afritriple alliance was dominated by ca, where police-military dictator-Britain, then the leading world ships are being propped up with power, the new triple alliance Allied bayonets. These are the will be dominated by the United blackly reactionary aims of the States. And just as the old League of Nations - the "Thieves' Kit-Wall Street masters. These are chen" as Lenin called it - was their "war aims". These are their the instrument of Anglo-French "post-war plans".



117 tool grinders went on strike

**SATURDAY, JUNE 24, 1944** 1

#### THE MILITANT

Hunting Down Fascists in Rome

### Allied Officials In Rome Suppress The Anti-Fascists doglio regime, acting as the ex-

#### (Continued from page 1)

quarters of anti-fascist Partisans, mistice terms - terms so harsh the search and seizure of anti- that they have been described as fascist arms, the disarming and | more severe than the ones imarrest of anti-fascist Italian posed on Vichy by Hitler. Indeed. fighters. With supreme irony, to this day the Allied authorities Bigart reports that "the dis- have not dared reveal the secret arming of the Partisans is a terms of the Italian armistice. delicate chore, demanding the ut- | The real authority as before remost tact"-indeed, it is hard to mains the AMG, the ruling machexplain how a "liberating" army inery of a conquering foreign is being used to repress and army. hound down the masses who arms

in hand drove out the hated fas- the June 20 N. Y. Times the cists!

STARK CONTRAST

statement of "an authoritative Allied spokesman" that "any Government must have the approval These stern AMG measures of the Allied Governments before against the anti-fascist workers | it can take office." And before

TERRIBLE CONDITIONS

stand in stark contrast to the the Bonomi regime was approved AMG attitude toward the old fas- "the Allies insisted that the new cist officialdom. Writing on June Government make no change in 18 from Rome to the N. Y. Times, the monarchical institution." Such Herbert L. Matthews is constrain- is the latest "people's" governed to report that "some of the ment in Rome. men and women who worked closely with the Germans and Fascists either have been confirmed

in their positions or received the Allies' help and blessings, while ditions of life that the Naples some anti-Fascists have been re- workers have been feeling since buffed or ignored." Here is the Allied occupation. Soaring prices, real pattern of Allied "democratic black markets, hunger and starliberation"!

#### SAME FUNCTION

This pattern is further disclos- middle class element is tempoed in connection with the new rarily worse off than it was unpuppet Bonomi regime. By the der the Germans." Matthews regrace of Italian capitalist reac- ports, "A sharp rise in prices is tion and the consent of the AMG, occurring here as in Sicily (after a so-called "democratic coalition" Allied occupation). This is partregime, headed by Bonomi, has ly due to the original policy of been rigged up in Rome. What fixing the lira rate at 100 to the this miserable caricature really is \$1 (devaluation of the Italian can be well understood in light currency), the necessity of Italy's of the fact that its very existence meeting the occupation costs and is dependent upon the recognition the sums being spent by the of the Allied governments, that troops, all imposed on the paucity it cannot function except by ap- of goods." In short the Allies are proval of the Allies, and that it looting Italy. was permitted to operate at all

Just as the Neopolitan masses only after it had agreed to carry rejected the old Badoglio regime out all the crushing terms of the as the puppet of imperialistic armistice imposed by the Allied conquerors, so the Roman masses imperialists and previously ac- and the revolutionary industrial cepted by Badoglio and the mon- proletariat of North Italy will in archy. short order reject the new treach-

Thus, the Bonomi government erous Allied Quisling regime of continues the function of the Ba- Bonomi.

### **Three Years Of Red Army's Heroic And Epic Struggles**

#### By James Cowan

Three years ago, on June 22, 1941, German imperialism launched its all-out attack on the Soviet Union. Hitler's armies plunged across the Soviet borders and in the course of a few months occupied immense tracts of the Soviet land, including

the rich industrial and agricultural regions of the Ukraine.





(Above) A fascist crawls out on his belly from his hiding place behind the steel grille under the ready guns of anti-fascist workers in Rome who drove to cover and hunted down their oppressors. (Below) Talking fast, the fascist, seen also in the picture on Page 1, is being marched off to arrest.

and made unprecedented sacrifices, many others, and weakened the the armies of the Soviet Union international position of the literally lifted themselves up by Soviet Union, these essential their bootstraps from the ashes foundations of socialism still of defeat and disaster. remain. The Soviet Union is a degenerated workers' state, but SKEPTICAL ATTITUDE

it is still a workers' state. The In contrast to the skeptical Soviet masses, together with the attitude of the Allied imperialists Red Army, sprang to its defense



The recent Boston convention jected the Kilgore amendments that is the workers is concerned. and their military specialists, in with such unparalleled devotion of the International Ladies Gar. which did provide a bare minicontrast to all the renegades, and self-sacrifice because they mum of protection for the work urncoats and traitors in the understand this, because they vorkers Union deputies of wealth and privilege labor movement, the Trotskyists realize that defense of the Soviet record demanding that the Fed-Although spokesmen for the

## "Post-War Plans" And **The Brewster Shutdown**

By C. Thomas

The protest demonstration of the Brewster Aircraft workers against the sudden termination of the company's Navy contract, has stimulated a flurry of activity by administration spokesmen on the problem of war production cutbacks which 'demobilize'' thousands of workers who are summarily dismissed upon the termination of the contract. War production cutbacks, sudden contract termination, plant shutdowns, all of which resulted in the instant dismissal of thousands of war workers, has been going on for some time. For example, it is estimated that in recent months the number of contract terminations by the Army alone has totalled around 1500 per month. All of this has occurred with the capi talist, press adopting a conscious policy of either suppressing the news, playing it down, or giving t purely local coverage, so that the workers in one section of the country remained largely unaware that the same coldblooded procedure under which they were victimized also occurred in other localities throughout the country It is to the credit of the mili

tant workers of Brewster Local 365, CIO, that they shattered the conspiracy of silence by launchng an independent ACTION which achieved nation-wide nub licity. Their dramatic "sit-in" gained the sympathy of the en tire labor movement and focused the attention of the workers on

the government's "post-war planself wholly with providing relief for the war profiteers and not at all with the welfare of the work-Wall Street stockjobbers, promoters and war contractors. After a year's labor, the government 'Post-War Planning Committee," the prime agency dealing with the problems of reconversion gave birth to a monstrosity which they named the Contract Termination Bill

BARUCH REPORT

The Contract Termination Bill, more commonly known as the George-Murray bill, was based on the Baruch-Hancock report, and was adopted by the Senate last May. While providing generous on June 24th. cash payments for war contractors the bill makes no provision WAR CONTRACTS whatever for war workers thrown

out of employment by cutbacks and contract termination. In fact, the sponsors of the measure, re- tion Bill for the relief of war con-

government's Post-War Planning

Committee "promised" to submit

Rome Fascist at Bay



Now that he no longer holds the whip hand, this fascist is not so arrogant. Facing the poised rifle of an anti-Fascist Italian soldier, the fascist, who was seen crawling from under the steel grille in the picture to the left, is trying to explain that it was all a "mistake".

to the Contract Termination Bill | movement generally and the ning" policy which concerned it has been offered by Senators United Automobile Workers in George and Murray, also based particular have done any real on the Baruch-Hancock report, post-war plan thinking . . . Howwhich is being used to head off ever, by and large, these posters. The sole contribution of the the more liberal Kilgore bill war plans are mere scraps of pa-Roosevelt administration has been which has the support of organ- per, only an intelligent appraisal the notorious Baruch-Hancock re- ized labor, the pro-labor National of the needs that will face the port drawn up by and for the Farmers Union etc. The Roos- workers and the nation. The urevelt administration spokesmen, gent need of the day is a terrific so lavish with their promises durpublicity campaign designed to ing the Brewster "sit-in" are opcontinually agitate for legislation posing the Kilgore bill. adopting NOW the program for James F. Byrnes, Director of post-war America and the post-War Mobilization, more commonly war world. We cannot afford to sit back, content in the knowledge known as the Assistant President, that we have a plan. As soon as has plumped for the Georgethe leaders of labor realize this, Murry measure, close with th orass Lats, the cost-plus patriots concrete steps can be taken to

assure our future security." and other enemies of labor. But

even this pitiful measure is be-'POST-WAR" PLANS ing kicked around in Congress

As Aero-Notes correctly points with slight chance conceded for out, there has been no dearth of its adoption before Congress adjourns for its summer vacation "post-war planning" by labor leaders. It has become quite a cur-

rent hobby. We have been pre-

sented with national plans, hemi-The administration is therefore sphere plans and even with global plans! All very eloquent "scraps concentrating on getting the Senof paper" but quite meaningless as far as meeting the needs of

adjourns to permit the political However, Aero-Notes misses

THREET

The Red armies fell back before the powerful onslaughts of Hitler's war machine. Kharkov, Kiev, Odessa and many other cities were taken by the invaingrad were under siege.

keep the Germans engaged in the ist bureaucracy. After a year of almost uninterrupted retreat, the Red Army east, announced their support of rallied and was able to stem the the Soviet Union. Churchill signed further advance of the invasion a twenty-year alliance with tremendous recuperative powers

tide. Stalingrad, the heroic Stalin's government. defense of which was one of the This was done in order to any adequate explanation for the greatest military epics of all bolster the Soviet defense, but phenomenon, the Trotskyists

time, marked the turning point. From the defensive, the Red camp of the imperialist "demo- As long ago as 1934, in the thesis the Red Army. They have follow-Army gradually moved over to cracies" that the Red Army would the offensive and pushed the Nazi be able to rally sufficiently to tional," the imperialist attack on vicissitudes of the great military armies backward. An immense push the invaders back and finally part of the invaded territory has expel them. Military specialists been recovered. The sieges of in London and Washington had Moscow and Leningrad were already written off the Soviet workers' state. lifted. The Red Army is still ad- Union. The most that they hoped "Within the U.S.S.R." the thesis vancing victoriously and the day for was that the Red Army

is not far distant when Soviet might be able to slow up the Gerterritory will be completely freed man advance and thus afford of the invading armies. them a breathing space in which

It is important and necessary to prepare their own military the contradictions and antagonto understand the reasons for this campaigns against their German isms will seem overcome or at any seeming military miracle. How adversary. did it happen that the Soviet

rate relegated to the background. It was this skepticism as to the The young generations of workers Union was able to snatch victory ability of the Red Army to rally and peasants that emerged from from the very jaws of defeat, to after the most devastating series the revolution will reveal on the turn the tide of disaster, to hurl of defeats that was responsible, field of battle a colossal dynamic back the imperialist invaders? in the early stages, for the power. Centralized industry, Why was a similar miracle not niggardly quantity of lend-lease despite all its lacks and shortpossible in France which Hitler's aid given the Soviet Union by the comings, will reveal great superi- Europe. These victories helped armies overran a full year before Allied imperialists. They did not ority in serving war needs." the attack on the Soviet Union?

#### DARK DAYS

2

1

want to throw good and costly THE PROGNOSIS war material into a lost cause.

But confounding all the skep-This prognosis has been fully In the dark days of 1941-42 it tics, the Red Army did rally. With verified by the events. The difseemed that Hitler's armies would very little aid from abroad, but ference between the Soviet Union succeed in conquering the Soviet with the unstinting help of the and France in the present war is Union as they had previously con- Soviet masses, above all the the difference of social systems. quered Poland, Norway, Denmark, workers, who rallied behind them In France, the workers and the



alone understood and appreciated Union against imperialism means eral Government investigate the the mighty reserves of power of the defense of their own socialist unsolved murder of Carlo Tresca. ders. The Crimean peninsula Holland, Belgium and France. the first workers' state, despite future. This, and this alone, is Verla City on Language 11 1042 was overrun. Moscow and Len- The British and American im- its degeneration under the corrupt the explanation for the high York City on January 11, 1943. perialists, urgently needing to and counter-revolutionary Stalinmorale of the Red Army and the Soviet masses. No one has seri-While the rest of the world ously attempted any other. There

gazed in amazement at the is none. CLASS INSTINCT of the Red Army, unable to find

With sure class instinct, the workers of all the world have there was little expectation in the alone understood its true source. hailed the tremendous victories of "War and the Fourth Interna- ed with passionate interest the

> Also predicted were the defensive the involvement of their own between the Soviet Union and

German imperialism. They stand declared, "war against imperial- for the defense of the Soviet ist intervention will undoubtedly Union against imperialism just as provoke a veritable outburst of they stand for the defense of their genuine fighting enthusiasm. All unions against the capitalists.

Great masses of workers throughout Europe have been inspired to resume their revolutionary struggles by the glorious defense of the Soviet Union and the victories of the Red Army. Word of the Red Army victories is passed around among partisan and guerrilla fighters throughout

inspire the revolutionary resurgence of the workers in Italy. They are echoed in the hearts and

minds of workers in France and all of western Europe. Europe is on the eve of a new revolutionary resurgence. The tide of socialist revolution is again rising. The European work-

masses had no interest in ers, who have been inspired to defending the capitalist father- resume their struggle by the heland against the invading armies roic actions of the Seviet masses, of German imperialism. After the will in turn impart to the Soviet first heavy blows of the invaders workers new hope, new confidthe soldiers fell back in disorderly ence and new strength. retreat and the French capitalists The emergence of the socialist

proved totally incapable of rallyrevolution in the west will inspire ing the nation even for a stubthe Soviet masses to revive born defense, much less a countertheir struggle to wipe out the offensive. treacherous, counter-revolutionary In the Soviet Union, capitalism bureaucracy and to join with the

was banished by the Bolshevik workers throughout the world in Revolution and the foundations of the march toward the Communist a socialist economy based on nafuture.



may now be purchased at the revolution, undermined 242 Broadway, San Diego, Gal. fighters-Carlo Tresca.

legislation dealing with the human problems involved in reconversion, A militant anti-fascist, an ardent nothing was done until the fighter for the rights of labor Brewster workers staged their and civil liberties, editor of the Italian anti-fascist paper, Il spectacular "sit-in" demonstra-Martello, Tresca had incurred the tion. enmity of powerful political

The "sit-in" provoked a flurry enemies among both the Fascists of feverish activity by the adand Stalinists. All the evidence ministration and its supporters pointed to the indubitable fact directed toward the primary obthat the assassination was a poliject of getting the workers out of tical crime. Yet the N. Y. State the plant. Richard Frankensteen, his "friends of labor" in Washand City authorities have made head of the aircraft division of the Soviet Union was predicted, struggle. They have recognized no progress toward seeking out the UAW-CIO placed himself in Tresca's known political enemies charge of the struggle. A dabbler, now coming to a grinding halt. qualities of the degenerated class interests in the great fight in an effort to track down the in Democratic politics, Franken- One of the lessons of this experiassassin. This apparent lack of steen shuttled between New York ence, which has not been lost on initiative, which most observers and Washington, "pulling wires" attribute to political reasons, has and using his "influence" with TION of the Brewster workers led such organizations as the the big-shots in the nation's capprodded the Washington politi-ILGWU to call upon the Federal | itol. There was no lack of prom-Government to intervene. ises forthcoming. Promises of tivity than a whole previous In an open letter to Mayor La- jobs for the Brewster workers, of

Guardia, Aldino Felicani, associate an investigation of the manner in protests of the "letter-to-youreditor of the anti-Fascist monthly, which the contract was termin-The Countercurrent, accuses Laated, of new contracts, of an over-Guardia of showing little concern | hauling of the government's con about the Tresca murder. Nor has tract termination policies; promthe District Attorney's office or ises galore - if only the workers Governor Dewey shown any would leave the plant!

greater concern. In view of these THE "SIT-IN" facts, Felicani asks some perinent questions: "Is the course of

The upshot of the matter was justice being obstructed by the a long-distance call from Frankensame dark forces which hired steen in Washington calling off Carlo Tresca's assassin? Is there the demonstration. The "sit-in" some political reason why the was called off, said Frankensteen, Fresca mystery has not been "because he was convinced that solved? Would it complicate our the intervention of President international relations, or em- Roosevelt, James F. Byrnes, Dibarrass any one in the coming rector of Economic Mobilization, a Senate subcommittee and other election campaign, if the forces Federal officials would bring which inspired that murder were early re-employment to the 13,500 employes facing dismissal." Frankensteen, evidently, still believes in fairy tales! Unfortunately, workers lacking political experience are too easily seduced by the Tresca murder bears much the prospect of an easy solution closer scrutiny than has been to their problems, permitting given by the agencies charged some ward heeler with an "in" to use his "pull" instead of relying on their own strength and solid-Only the strongest pressure of arity.

As an aftermath of the Brewthe labor movement can compel ster demonstration the Postwar the authorities to move toward Planning Committee has made a unmasking the assassin who feeble gesture toward the introdstruck down one of labor's staunuction of legislation dealing with chest and most incorruptible the human problems of reconversion. A supplementary measure

the mark when it says that "the to devote their time to election- urgent need of the day" is a eering in the coming political publicity campaign aimed at campaign. "The Post war Plannsecuring adequate legislation ing Committee," remarks PM. "NOW." The labor movement "which initially shapes all decannot hope to compete with the mobilization legislation is in the means of publicity at the disposal hands of ultra-conservatives who of the ruling class-newspaper, long ago decided to take care of radio, school, pulpit, movies-in business through the Contract control of Big Business. Such Termination Bill, but are some-"pressure" campaigns by themwhat reluctantly handling the selves cannot succeed. A few days other measures." The initial of independent ACTION by the flurry of activity began to sub- Brewster workers accomplished side when the Brewster workers. more than a whole year of on the advice of Frankensteen and "publicity."

A plan for the organization of ington, abandoned their demonthe "post-war" world if it is stration and left the plant. It is meant seriously can be nothing but a political program. Such a program will remain but a "scrap of paper" unless labor forges the labor, is that the independent ACinstrument for carrying the program into ACTION. Such an instrument is the political party. cians into a greater show of ac-The real "urgent need of the day" therefore is the organizayear of petitions, resolutions and tion of labor's own Independent Labor Party.

Congressman" type had done. There is no short cut, no clever In drawing the lessons of the 'publicity" campaign, and cer-Brewster shutdown the official ortainly no "friends of labor" who will hand us these things on a gan of Local 365, Aero-Notes, states: "Only the Trade Union silver platter.

The Illustrated 32-Page Pamphlet *"WHO ARE THE PRISONERS IN* THE MINNEAPOLIS CASE?"

Describing\_

The Background of the Prosecution The Smith 'Gag' Act The Danger to Workers' Rights The Threat to Free Speech Biographies of the 18 Prisoners

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revealed at this time?" The inference in these questions point the finger of suspicion directly at the Stalinist GPU whose role in

with the solution of the crime.

SATURDAY, JUNE 24, 1944

# An Eyewitness Reporter Describes Effects Of British Rule In India

[The following article was | marily with the British rulers @ written by a young American Amidst record - breaking crop merchant seaman who recently yelds over 5,000,000 people perished from starvation, and innumervisited India.] able others from the concomitant

#### By John Stevenson

FOUR-

not only in the urban areas. The "It's just as well they don't reasants were faring no better. speak English, for then the Thousands of them sought aid in bloody rabble might get the no- the cities and were driven out of tion that they are on the same Calcutta. At the height of the level as we are." These were the famine, hundreds of people starvwords of a British customs offi- ed to death in the highways and cer who boarded our ship on the byways of Calcutta daily. They river at Calcutta. Needless to had no homes, and the majority say, he was speaking of the In- of them had no clothes. Frequent-

dian masses. Although the famine that ravaged Bengal had subsided considerably before we arrived, everyone on the ship knew about it and we were prepared for anything. At that, I don't think any of us expected to see bodies floating beneath the gangway in the sight became commonplace. crows sitting on something in the water, we knew what it was. If

a carcass bumped into a boat, a native boatman would nonchalantwhether it was an ox or a human baby.

But it is not this that I re- | rupted. The children are so weak member most vividly about Cal- they can't attend school; or they cutta. Of the thousands of stary- have no clothes; or the indigent ing people I saw, the scene that teachers have died or departed in left the most vivid impression on search of better employment. my memory was the sight of a When the British rulers finaldying native lying on the side- ly got around to instituting a walk, shrieking and contorting his system of food rationing in Calbody in every imaginable way, cutta, many people were not even ing the cement. The passers-by ligence and inefficiency on the regarded him casually, not a part of the government. The single person stopped. This was amount of rice allowed is woefulno unusual occurrence. They had ly inadequate. The cost is about seen hundreds dying in the 400% above the pre-war prices. streets. for the same quality. In many

**SLAVE CONDITIONS** 

The English masters have been that whole sections of the city beyears, and the net result is that the rice is rotten, but starving the masses of India have been re- | people will devour whatever they duced to the condition of slavery. can get their hands on. Hereto-The British founded Calcutta; to- | fore, rice was about all the poor day it is second in size only to people could afford, but now they London in the British Empire .... have even been deprived of their and it isn't even safe to use the staple. There are only a few pubdrinking water there. Countless | ic relief stations around Calcutta, people are born and die on the and even these are supported not streets. The average Indian never | by His Majesty's Government of partakes of one full, balanced India, but by wealthy Indians. meal in his whole life! Small The prices of many necessary wonder then that the life expect- items have soared away beyond for their sisters, who generally ancy of the average Indian at the means of the masses. When are in their 'teens. birth is 27... it is well over 60 for the government attempts to ra-Americans. Don't forget, one out tion these articles, they mysteri- A CHESS GAME of every five persons inhabiting ously disappear from the merch-

this bounteous earth is an Indian. ant's stock onto the Black Market. the Maharajahs and Nawabs suf-The famine in India was man- Adequate clothing in particular is fered no inconveniences over such made and the culpability lies pri- denied the workers because of a trifling matter as a famine.

Typical Street Scene in India

THE MILITANT



This is a street scene in a town of India. Diseased and starving men, women and children sit on the sidewalk begging from passers-by. This picture falls far short of conveying the actual conditions of famine, filth and misery in which British imperialist rule has steeped the Indian people, over 5,000,000 of whom have perished from starvation in the past year.

these shifty business deals by the These tyrants have the power of of a vacation and money in the merchants. The workers seem to life and death over their subjects, form of an administrative post in manage without shoes, but to see who number about 100,000,000. the government. This monstrous them huddling together for add- Perhaps some princes were bureaucracy spends more money ed warmth on chilly days is real- having a game of chess at the on the police force than on eduly heart-rending. If they are for- moment that scores of people cation. But when the people meet laughing hysterically and pound- issued coupons through sheer neg- tunate enough to have a "home," were collapsing from starvation. to discuss the solution of their it certainly has no heating sys-| They certainly devised a unique problems, brutal repressions imtem. Consequently hundreds of | way of playing this age-old game. | mediately follow. The police have the destitutes sleep in the day- A courtyard is paved with blocks been known to burn the homes time in the warm sun. They are of tile in the manner of a chess- of many fighters for freedom. At every-where; in the parks, on the board. In lieu of ebony or ivory, one mass meeting, an English sidewalks and even on the public men of flesh and blood are used. general ordered his troops to cases it is of such inferior quality monuments. At night many starv- Servants, arrayed in the gaudy fire into the defenseless crowd elings forage around for some- costumes representative of chess- inflicting casualties well over in control for a couple of hundred come sick from eating it. Often, thing to eat. Nothing usable men, are forced to stand for hours 1000, with 400 dead. The British ever goes to waste in that city. while their masters ponder over have also used bombing planes the moves. Thousands of the people have India has had a coal-mine crisis estimated that there are around NOTHING but the scanty rags on recently. The mine owners were | 50,000 nationalists imprisoned at their bodies, hence anything at all spouting partriotism while coin- present. . . without trial. Yes inthat comes into their possession ing huge profits. When the ex- | deed, the British imperialists have is valuable. The natives sometimes fight each other over the cess profits tax was raised, they a method all their own of "preparrefused to operate the mines. Nat- | ing the colonial peoples for selfpossession of a tin can, a bottle urally the government backed government." or a piece of wood that is discarddown and lowered the levy. Eved from a ship. Prostitution is erything was all right except that rampant; small boys are forever a sufficient number of workers following you around soliciting could not be induced to slave un-

But you can rest assured that

derground in the mines!

against the native people. It is Of course I didn't notice any

posters flaunting the Atlantic Charter, nor any billboards proclaiming the Four Freedoms derground at the wretched wages throughout the world. As you offered by the owners. Now the know, the authors of those noble government is contemplating the declarations never meant to have withdrawal of women's food ra- them apply to India's multitudintion tickets unless they work un- ous millions.

The British administration in REVOLUTIONARY MOOD India is the most expensive and | Marx said that "Violent upextravagant in the world. India heavals happen sooner at the exaritable home for tremities of the bourgeois organ

er than elsewhere." If any place

on this globe is ready for a "vio-

lent upheaval." it is this vast sub-

continent of India. The Indian

National Congress Party of Gan-

dhi and Nehru is as much opposed

to a "violent upheaval" as are

But the mood of the people is

of the many for the privileged

and anti-labor reactionaries too

numerous to mention. No, Bill

couldn't betray the workers by

Bill Haywood was first of all

\* \* \*

J. C. Thompson

Route 1, Box 105

Mooringsport, La

### Notebook Of An Agitator

#### The Tribe of the Philistines

I see that Joe Hansen's article in the February issue of Fourth International, written on the occasion of the departure of the eighteen Trotskyist leaders, has elicited comment in Politics, the new-thought magazine edited by Dwight Macdonald. In commenting on the comment, I am impelled first of all to congratulate the author on the equanimity with which he is enduring the imprisonment. Evidently he has read and taken to heart the advice Rose Karsner gave to the women in her speech at the farewell dinner: "Don't mope while the men are away."

Macdonald is clearly determined not to let our troubles get him down. From this hard-boiled point of view he takes Joe to task for dwelling on the trivial details of our departure-the leavetakings, the mementos, etc. The doughty Macdonald will have none of this sentimentality. He is a brass tacks chap-no nonsense, chins up and all that sort of thing. Perhaps he is right on this point. I, at least, can understand and sympathize, to a certain extent, with his matter-of-fact attitude. I am somewhat of a stoic myself-my mother taught me not to cry when I get hurt-and I appreciate the trait in others. I am ready to admit also that Macdonald is not motivated by personal malice or jealousy, as others who write in the same vein usually are, for I believe that he is sincerely stupid and is only guilty, at most, of indulging his cultivated knack for misunderstanding things and his faun-like impulse to play pranks on inappropriate occasions. In any case, this part of the quarrel between Macdonald and Hansen is not very important. After all, it is a matter of taste and emotion; and as long as freedom and democracy prevail everyone has the right to his own taste and his own emotion.

The other parts of the editorial in Politics raise more serious questions. One concerns the attitude of a man of politics toward his own ideas. The other concerns morality. Both are questions of exceptional importance at the present time.

The editorial indicts our party as a "sectarian group" afflicted with "arrogance which verges on paranoia." As evidence he cites Vincent Dunne's statement that "our movement is historic" and Joe Hansen's assertion that "the files of Trotskyist publications" represent more important material for future historians than the Roosevelt minutiae filed away at Hyde Park. These remarks impress Macdonald as the expression of a presumptuousness belonging to the domain of "political pathology."

#### **CONFLICT OF OPINIONS**

One cannot make an off-hand decision as to the merits of this dispute, for neither position is right or wrong per se. We are confronted here not with facts immediately verifiable but with a conflict of opinions regarding future developments. Consequently, in order to arrive at a reasoned judgment of the respective merits of the contending opinions, one must approach the dispute with a criterion, a point of view of his own, about contemporary society and its prospective further development. The majority - those who line up with American capitalism and its war program - believe that capitalism has a long and stable future before it. If their assumption is correct, or only half correct, they can very consistently and logically conclude that Dunne and Hansen, and all the rest of us Trotskyists, have fantastic delusions about the way history will some day be written. We, the minority, on the other hand, are com pletely convinced that capitalism, having outlived its progressive historic role - and a great role it was — is already doomed, is even now in its death agony and must make way for socialism. If our assumption is correct, we can with no less logic and consistency conclude that the heralds of the new society, the pioneer militants of the revolutionary party, have far more historic importance than the representatives of the dying system and that this will be the judgment of the historians of the future. If our assumption is correct, it is the representatives and apologists of the outmoded social system who entertain delusions about the future. Now, what are the premises, and what are the conclusions of Macdonald and the politico-literary species which he typifies? The magazine Politics - as far as one can make out from a cursory reading - is published to inform the world that the editor and his associated independent thinkers are somewhat dubious of the future of capitalism and are committed more or less, to the socialist alternative. Yet Macdonald says - no, he doesn't say, he takes for granted as self-evident - that the contemporary statesmen of capitalism are the important and significant men of today and that they will be so regarded in the historical tomorrow. Hansen's idea, for example, that historical research will not center around the personality of Roosevelt, strikes him as too funny for words. Then, having made his joke, he goes on to say that his convictions - he calls them convictions - are in many respects the same as the Trotskyists' ("The Cannon group stand for many of my own convictions.") In spite of that, he instinctively and automatically brands our party's confidence in the historic vindication of these same convictions as pathologic arrogance.

The significance of this non sequitur is quite clear. Macdonald's pen ran away with him. The intended lampoon of the Trotskyists turned out to be a document of unintended self-revelation. It is the portrait of a man who does not take his own ideas seriously and has no faith in their future. Such people are not worth very much. Their "convictions" are on the side of the proletarian revolution but all their deep-rooted instincts, feelings and spontaneous reactions - their heart and soul - are in the other camp. Hence their simultaneous "agreement" with the convictions of the Trotskyists and their amazement when we act on these convictions and draw them out to their logical conclusion.

#### UNINTENDED SELF-REVELATION

Similarly, when the question of bourgeois and proletarian morality -- "their morals and ours" is mentioned in our press the jack-ass ears of the philistine are pointed upward and forward in alarm. And when we calmly assert that our morals are better than theirs, that we are "the only really moral people" - among the conscious, articulate po itical elements, that is - Macdonald sputters like a society matron who has been insulted by a truck driver for snarling traffic. Joe Hansen's report of a casual conversation with Cannon about John Dewey and the Moscow Trials causes Macdonald to break out in a moralistic sweat. And "words almost fail him" at Cannon's "nerve" in pointing out a flaw, from the standpoint of "strict morality", in Dewey's conduct of the office of chairman of the Commission of Inquiry on the Moscow Trials.

Here also Macdonald mixes up a small matter with a big one. The small point can easily be disposed of. He accuses us of trying to rob the respected Commission of Inquiry chairman of the "credit" due him for his services in that capacity. This is a misapprehension on his part; and we are ready to concede anything he demands in order to set the thing straight, even though we do not attach the same weight as he to the matter of "credit." His accusation springs from his inability to read our press with an understanding of our standards and our sense of values. When we say that a man was moved to intervene in a great historic case by an appeal to his sense of justice we have meant to pay him the highest compliment we can possibly pay to a man who is not of our party and class. By his action in heading the Commission of Inquiry Dewey became the chief instrument in the investigation and exposure of the greatest frame-up in history. We are grateful to him for that, and he will be remembered gratefully by all lovers of truth and justice in time to come. It makes no difference whether Dewey's action was taken on his own initiative or was suggested to him by others. That is only a small collateral detail of the history of the affair. Dewey's credit flows from the deed itself and we who believe in giving everyone his just due would be the last to underrate it in the slightest degree. Dewey must be honored for his courageous action all the more because he might justifiably have asked exemption for reasons of age and ill health. He must be doubly honored because, of all the great public men of present-day America, he alone felt it necessary "to do something for justice."

#### **ABUSE OF POWER**

But when all that is said the fact remains that

ly entire families would be seen dead. I heard from an eyewitness of a dog eating a man who lay in the gutter, whii- he was still alive. Too weak to move or shoo the mongrel away, the man could only emit feeble cries for help. At this time, hundreds of tons of grain were stored in the "Roy-

swift Hooghly current. But after | al" Botanical Garden... for milithe first day, even such a ghastly | tary purposes. It is obvious why India has the largest volunteer Whenever we saw a couple of army in the world... at least the soldiers aren't starving! THE FAMINE The famine has thrown the

whole province into turmoil. What ly pole it away, regardless of little education there was (approximately 10% of the people are literate) has been entirely dis-



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

#### Bridges Booed

#### Editor:

and more with "post-war plan-|Peoples' World. He further stated ning committees." But the men that if a sizeable section of the refused to be placated. One voice membership wanted The Militant,

lifted the cry: "How about our the paper of the Socialist Work-It might interest you to know raise?" which was echoed by ers Party which is distributed in that Harry Bridges got a good other voices. Others cried: "We front of our hall, distributed 1912 and that we lost to the booing from the membership of Local 110 at the June 7th regular got enough; let's go home." Harry wasn't exactly driven off the membership, he would sup- farther from the facts. The Leftmeeting. He was scheduled to the floor, but he soon sat down port it. make a report on the post-war plans of the Union. He started saying that he didn't want to out by stating "I am disgusted make his report tonight anyway,

and that he would make it at the by this membership . . . worrying next meeting. This indicates to More On Bridges so much about small things that it can't see the big ones." Most me that all is not well in the Editor: Harry Bridges domain. So far as of the reports previous to Harry's I know, Harry has never received outburst had concerned conditions

on the job, the drive to organize a reception like this before. the unorganized dock seamen Here is something else: At the who work for the army, etc. Evidently these are the "small things" that Harry had in mind. In fact, he declared: "conditions on the job now don't mean a World for distribution at union thing if you haven't got a postwar job." He berated the longmotion was defeated by about a shoremen for being too concerned with "two-bit matters" and asked why the men didn't get busy with the union, James Kearney, leader "big things," like "setting up a of the only organized opposition gusted with this latest Bridges post-war planning committee composed of o f f i c i a l s and of the Catholic trade union league. stewards." This would be something worth while, according to World, in this particular instance

Harry. among other things that it was About this time Harry got

booed. The men obviously didn't not a workers' newspaper, that like to be talked down to like a he could see no difference between it and the Hearst Examiner. After this reception he backed up though in comparison he preferred bunch of naughty school boys. a little bit, trying to placate the the Examiner because he knew resentful longshoremen by stating where it stood. He criticized the that he didn't mean to imply that paper's stand on Badoglio, etc. the men were unable to determine men" present who knew what the ing on this basis; that it had century.

score was but they just weren't seemed that a sizeable section of

Е. Н. San Francisco

During our house-to-house work in Oakland I came across a Negro member of the ILWU 1-6, who told me how the Bridges machine meeting of April 19, the Stalin- put through the latest betrayal. ists introduced via the Executive It seems the permanent no-strike Board minutes, a motion to pur- pledge was introduced as part of chase 350 copies of the **Peoples** the executive committee minutes. Somebody moved to approve and meetings inside the hall. The that was all there was to it. That is how it got the "unanimous" ing. two to one vote. The opposition approval of the Warehousemen.. was led by the vicepresident of I needn't tell you that this Negro warehouseman is thoroughly dis-

to the Stalinists. He is a member move. His criticisms of the Peoples'

were very effective. He stated About Bill Haywood I read Mr. Cannon's short bio- This philosophy of hate prepared graphy of Bill Haywood in your issue of May 27 with interest, but his membership from the Socialwas surprised at some of the glaring misstatements of facts. I happened to know Bill Hay-

J. W.

Oakland, Calif.

from the same platforms with him wood that were he alive today went to make up the convention A member of the Executive at the famous Socialist encamp-

blue-blooded Englishmen in need ism than at its heart, where the regulation of its functions is easi-

were all the Texas delegates, a member of what was then called the "Impossibilist" or Left-wing group, as opposed to the "Opportunist" or Right-wing faction, led by the late Victor Berger. Bill Haywood did not lead the

the English imperialists, for the 'Reds" in the 1912 convention. broom of revolution would as like-He was there for a day or so but ly sweep out capitalism along was not even a delegate. He sat with every vestige of imperialwith the Texas delegation for a ism. few minutes but made no effort

to make a speech.

certainly revolutionary. English Mr. Cannon states that Haydomination of India has NO mass wood led the Reds in a losing support whatsoever. I think that fight to control the Convention in the masses of India will realize that it is up to them to kick the inside the hall at the expense of Right-wing. Nothing could be props away from this decadent and putrid system of exploitation

wing absolutely dominated that convention and nominated almost unanimously Eugene Debs and Ben Hanford for President and

Vice-President, on a revolutionary platform. It was four years later, in 1916.

that the Right-wing captured the convention and nominated Benson

for President.

thoroughly class-conscious. He Now just a few words about Bill Haywood as a man. Bill was might have made mistakes-all of us do-but every fiber of his be a modern "Dr. Jekyl and Mr. Hyde" possessed of two distinct ing was in complete sympathy and opposing characteristics. To with the exploited workers in his political and economic enemies their struggles for a higher, a he was intolerant and overbear- fuller and a freer life.

few.

doing that.

Due to the almost constant hounding and persecution of the cohorts of capitalism Bill became P.S. Militant is good. one of the most bitter men I have known. Starting out with a hatred of the capitalist system he devel-

oped a bitter hatred for, not only The writer is not correct in his description of the character of the system, but all of its beneficiaries and for its proponents. the 1912 Convention of the Socialist Party. Here is Haywood's appraisal of the convention as him, ideally, for the transfer of written in his autobiography: "In ist Party to the American Com-1912 the Socialist Party held a convention at Indianapolis. The munist Party.

However I want to say in de- delegates were of an altogether wood fairly well, having spoken fense of the memory of Bill Hay- different caliber than those who

and back in America, I cannot of 1908. The class struggle meant what was best for the union. Oh, Board said that he had supported ments in Texas around the end believe that he would consider for nothing to many who were there no! "There were many good union the motion in the executive meet- of the first decade of the present one moment the move of Earl supposedly representing the work-Haywood further reports: 'This amendment was followed by injure our paper's reputation for Browder and other C. P. leaders ing class. There were seventeen

I happened also to be a delegate to crawl back into the same poli- or more preachers who could a resolution of the National Ex- accurate reporting. thinking straight tonight. Ob- the membership wanted the from Texas to two Socialist Na- tical bed with Mayor Hague of scarcely disguise their sky-pilot- ecutive Committee, of which I While I'm at it let me note that viously if they were, Harry im- Peoples' World distributed in the tional Conventions back in those Jersey City and the anti-labor ing proclivities. There were many was then a member, directed the term "poll-tax" has been used

plied, they would concern them- meeting hall, although, he said, days - Chicago in 1908 and In- Kelley-Nash gang of Chicago and lawyers and some editors ... To against me, charging me with to describe lily white Southern selves less with "two bit matters" he was not a supporter of the dianapolis in 1912. I was, as the strike-breaking Harry Bridges these leaders and their henchmen being an advocate of direct ac- congressmen indiscriminately. If

Dewey, in making public in a radio speech the report of the Commission of Inquiry which found Trotsky not guilty of the crimes alleged against him, took advantage of the occasion to denounce the political doctrines of the defendant. There are no two ways about it, that was "a departure from strict morality," which comes under the heading of abuse of power. By our standards of morality that is a serious offense, and we want somebody to tell us by what moral standards it is justifiable.

Macdonald's readiness to defend Dewey's misuse of his office of judge to turn advocate, on the ground that Trotsky, the defendant, also expounded his views before the Commission, will not satisfy anyone who seriously wants to face the moral issue we have raised. Trotsky had been accused of crimes alleged to flow from his doctrines, and was asked by the Commission of Inquiry to give an exposition of these doctrines as evidence in the case. In the same manner the defendants in the Minneapolis Trial were permitted to expound their views in court. But Dewey, as chairman of the Commission, had assumed the office of Judge, and with it the obligation, after hearing the evidence, to say truly whether the defendant was guilty or innocent of the crimes charged against him. So much and no more is a judge permitted to say when rendering the verdict of his tribunal, according to our standards of morality.

Macdonald's attempt to defend Dewey's moral lapse on this occasion only demonstrates how flexible his own moral standards are. His bad experience should warn all petty bourgeois critics of the Trotskyists to confine their moralistic sweatings to eternal abstractions and keep away from the discussion of concrete cases. "Morality" is not their strong point - when you get down to cases.

n the convention the time seemed | tion, violence and sabotage. It | a writer mentions "reactionary opportune to amend the constitu- was submitted to a referendum poll-tax Senator Reynolds," he inion of the Socialist Party, which vote and 1 was recalled from the they did with Article 2, Section National Executive Committee." 1 providing that: 'any member of -Editor. the party who opposes political A Correction action or advocate's crime, sabotage or other methods of violence Editor: as a weapon of the working class

Kindly call to the attention of the "International Notes" columnist that Costa Rica is located on the mainland of Central America

island." Perhaps it is not a gross

blunder, but such little slips can

fers that there is a poll tax law in North Carolina which is not the case.

I believe our excellent paper will not become colorless if this descriptive term is employed more carefully.

> D. Swenson Akron, O.

READ **'THE FOURTH** INTERNATIONAL

the party'.'

to aid in its emancipation shall be expelled from membership in This amendment, passed by the between Panama and Nicaragua convention, was actually aimed at and is not a "small Caribbean Haywood and the left wingers.

#### THE MILITANT



#### **Roosevelt's Jim Crow Mandate**

Colonel Corn soliloquizes: "At the seat which he then occupies last I've got the real low down on and move back and occupy the this fellow Roosevelt. He's all rear seat which is then vacant. right after all. You know there's 3. The conductor or other perbeen a lot of rumors going son in charge of the street car around here saying he was try-to or bus shall have the right to molly-coddle those Nigra's. They increase the space so set apart said he wanted to butt his nose for either race, or he many into the way we have of keeping require any passenger to change them where they belong. Come to his seat when or so often as the think of it. Eleanor has had her change in passengers may make picture took with some picka- such change necessary.

ninnies in some school up north. 4. All passengers on street cars "But I guess she has learned or buses are required to take the better by now. Then too, Roos- seats assigned to them, and any evelt is supposed to have a lot person refusing to do so, shall of communists in the government | leave the street car or bus, or if up there and those communists, they remain in the street car or they say, are preaching some fool- bus after having been asked and ishness about racial equality. And refused to take the seat assigned then I did see where those com- to them shall be guilty of a mismunists disbanded their party demeanor and fined not more and said that Roosevelt was than twenty-five dollars (\$25). standing for the same thing they 5. The laws of the State of Tenhad been calling for. Well, if | nessee also give the owners and that's the case Roosevelt and their employes of hotels, inns, these communists too are all right theaters, public houses, moving with me becaue I've just found | picture shows, restaurants, places out in black and white that they of amusement, or other business

are backing us up in the way we the right to determine for themtreat those Nigra's in the good selves the kind of patronage, cusold Southland tomers, or guests they desire to

"As soon as they get these have, and to exclude from their Northern colored boys in the Ar- premises or business any person my they send them down here or persons for any reason they to let us straighten them out on think necessary."

who is boss. An brother when Yes, Colonel Corn, it looks like we get through working on them you've got something there. you can bet they will fly right. Roosevelt and his War Depart-But to make it easy for us they ment are, without a doubt, comhand them a paper when they pletely convinced that you are the cross the Mason-Dixon line. Their best prepared delegate to "accommanding officer 'tells them climate and orientate" the Negro that they have got to obey the soldier as to what he is NOT laws of the South. He tells them fighting for. Of course you are that those are orders from headnot the only kernel on the cob quarters. Now everyone knows when it comes to sanction of the Roosevelt as commander-in-chief policies of the "commander-inof the armed forces really runs chief."

that War Department. If he says we team up with Stalin, we do; if he says we work with Badoglio, we do; if he says we don't talk no trash with that Frenchman, DeGaulle, we don't. So he must have said for us to handle these Northern Nigra's like we want to or else the orders wouldn't have come down that way. And as far as those communists go, if they are all out ONE AGENCY for their commander-in-chief like they say they are, then it must be all right with them to turn these soldiers over to us, too. I

guess they must have changed.

#### JIM CROW LAWS

with me now.

"Let me look over this slip again. It does me as much good as another julep or another chaw of the working people suppressed. of tobacco. They hand these to They practice a rigid Jim Crow every Nigra soldier as he comes into the south on his troop train. Here is the one for Tennessee: "1. The laws of the State of Tennessee require the separation of races on all public transportation systems in this State,

ence?" Then, in a final paroxysm of

er blew off its biggest stink-bomb to date. This was an article headlined "ILGWU Draws Tobin Fire For Backing Trotskyists." The Daily Worker quotes portions of a letter sent to the ILGWU by Tobin, who originally inspired and helped perpetrate the frameup against the Minneapolis Transport Workers Local 544-CIO and Socialist Workers Party Leaders. Tobin, says the Daily Worker, "expressed surprise" that the ILGWU has voted support for the imprisoned Trotskyists.

#### ANDERSON LETTER

Tobin is quoted as writing that he had read about the ILGWU action in The Militant and that "I am sending you a

age and principles to stand up Supreme Court Three years ago, when Roosin uncompromising defense of (Victor E. Anderson) which tells evelt prosecuted the Trotskyists Roosevelt's prosecutors who disagents" on the model of the Mostinguished himself in the Minne- cow Trial frameups. Now they

LABOR SUPPORT

red-baiting and labor-hating dec- a million and a quarter organized lamations. But Tobin adds his own commentary, the fantastic nonsense that the leaders of historic Local

544-CIO "were endeavoring to des-The Walter Whites and other troy the American labor movepussy-footing liberals down to the ment by boring from within," for perfidious Stalinists are also tellthe purpose, as Tobin suddenly ing us that this capitalist war discovers three years after the will make things better for the fact, "of overthrowing the Stalin Negro masses — telling us in government" in the interest of a face of the "Roosevelt Mandate" 'dual Russian organization set that this is a war for "liberation un under Trotsky's leadership." of oppressed peoples" or for the Tobin has a mania about "dual"

"extension of the four freedoms." organizations, it seems, particularly since the Minneapolis section of his own union voted to throw But Roosevelt can not help himoff his dictatorship and join the self even if he wanted to. He

CIO. is merely one agency of government which, like all governments, but any way, they are all right reflects those practices which are sky? The further contents of the of greatest interest to the ruling article indicate that Tobin was economic class in society. It is inspired to "take his pen in to the interests of the ruling class hand" by the Stalinists themin this country to keep the Ne-

selves. groes suppressed because they same time" Tobin had sent one UAW-CIO.) of the chief Stalinist union

# Stalinists Intensify Slander Drive

Trying to Block the Road

PEE THE 18

#### (Continued from page 1)

"matter of concern" is that outstanding union spokesmen 'should appear at such a meeting." Hadn't they learned "what Daniel Tobin of the Teamsters Union learned from hard experi-

frustrated rage, the Stalinist editorial shakes its fist in print and concludes threateningly that any labor leader who defends labor's rights by defending the imprisoned Trotskyists "ought to be made to answer to his membership" and blusteringly proclaims that "it is time to put a swift stop to that sort of thing." But on June 14, the Daily Work-



their socialist ideas. With the stalinists' own open defection Hit for its Stand in you the reasons these men were for being Marxists and revolution. | Stalinists' own open defection convicted. They were trying to ists, the Stalinists complained be- into the camp of capitalist reacoverthrow the United States gov- cause the capitalist government tion, they are trying more overthrow the United States gov-ernment, Attorney Anderson didn't frame these working class desperately than ever to bury the Free Speech Cases states." Anderson was one of anti-fascist fighters as "Hitler Trotskyist program and movement, the authentic Marxism of our time, under a barrage of mud apolis case by the most unbridled are triply infuriated because over -the traditional GPU cover for

its preparation of acts of a more sinister nature. American workers, expressing

the views of the most progressive In their furious red-baiting sectors of labor, have formally Stalinists have already formed a endorsed the cause of the impriunited front with Tobin, the redsoned Trotskyists and denounced

703 1PEH

baiting head of the Teamsters their persecution as a major blow Union. Roosevelt's frame - up aimed at the democratic rights prosecutors and Poll-Taxer Smith, and civil liberties of all workers. author of the infamous Smith "Gag" Act.

This growing labor support, as It is up to progressive labor everywhere to unite its ranks to the Stalinists well know, reflects increasing labor respect and ad- defend the Minneapolis labor miration for the courageous Trot- fighters and to destroy the skyist leaders. The prestige of poisonous influence of Stalinism the Trotskyists grows daily be--the most reactionary force incause, in going to prison, the side the labor movement.



(The following article is reprinted from the May 25 issue of For it turns out that "at the | The Searchlight, official publication of Flint Chevrolet Local 659,

#### By FRANCIS R. PALMER

### **SHOP - TALKS ON SOCIALISM**

By V. Grey

A bunch of the boys were talk- a five-way baseball pool - but ing things over in a Bethlehem still a chance). That was be-Steel plant locker room. The sub- cause companies like this one ect of those 136 Bethlehem ship were still small and hadn't hogwelders in Boston who chiselled ged everything yet. There was \$500,000, was brought up. "That's still room for expansion under a Hell of a lot of cabbage" some- their set-up. But there isn't any one remarked. Out came a news- more.

elipping. "Here's a list of ship- The boys that are on top are yards, and how much they've out to stay there. And they're made since the war began. I'll holding all the cards. No one can just read one: 'Bethlehem-Fair- challenge them for their money. field Shipyard Inc., Baltimore - No one can attack them for the cost to government, 33 million, way they get it. And they don't company's investment one mil- scruple to use any and every foul lion. Fees paid to company 27 means to keep it and increase it. million.' That's a lot of cabbage, It may seem like human nature too. I notice," he added, "that for these murderous millionaires Admiral Emory Land isn't being to act the way they do. It's their held by the F. B. I. He was ac- nature, at any rate. But this is cused of being a party to a lot natural to them because they live of ship swindles way up in the in a society where everyone exmillions. But he's head of the cept themselves is underprivileged Maritime Commission, and he's a | - and they are kings. They hire Bethlehem shareholder, so it cops, thugs and whole governmight hurt the 'war effort' to ments to keep things that way. prosecute him." The people on the bottom, the

"And what about the Liberty workers in the shop have a little Ship Builders," a fellow said, of that same attitude. They see "turning them out so fast they themselves never getting aheadbreak in the middle - just to never even sure of their jobs. So make their dirty millions a little they, some of them, think it's alquicker?" right to do what the rich do, since

A voice broke in, "Aw, you'd do | it's the only way you can be sure the same thing if you had the of the future. chance. So would I. It's human But it's not the only way. When

nature." the boys take over the shop and Okay, Bill. Let's suppose you the working people all over do would do the same thing. Let's

the same thing, there will be (Continued from page 1) suppose you're the kind of a guy enough and more than enough for who could send a thousand kids all. There won't be any more six like appeal to Roosevelt. In addi- to their death without batting an month layoffs. The dread of untion, the Council has sent copies eyelash. Let's suppose you could employment will be gone. And of its resolution to all railway think of the babies your greed people will realize they can be

cutting other people's throats. To country, with a letter urging them agne to toast your cleverness. that extent human nature will That's "human nature" you say. change.

But even if in a system of plenty, in a socialist society, "human

nature" would make some of us don for the 18 were passed re- never get the chance. Bethlehem cently by the Bay Area Joint Steel will take care of that. By then we'll take serious measures Board of Textile Workers Union- the time you get a little dough CIO, San Francisco, Calif.; the ahead and a couple bills paid ture." A workers' government Amalgamated Meat Cutters Union they'll lay you off again. If you will prosecute any aspiring Local 547-AFL, Chicago, Ill.; try to cheat on the piece work Graces, Rockefellers or Morgans, Sheep Shearers' Union of North like those welders did, they get for the protection of the people, America No. 1, AFL, Butte, the F. B. I. after you Their own Mont.; Brewery Union Local 97, cheating on the whole people is just as these plutocrats now use AFL. St. Paul, Minn.; Local 238 so big, that their own men are own profits. the government to protect their

UAW - CIO, Hamtramck, Mich.; right in the government and run United Grocery and Produce Lo- the government as well as the Human nature, however, even cal 329-CIO, Chicago, Ill.; Inter- F. B. I. as it stands today has a lot in national Brotherhood of Black- And you know you're not going its favor. The average bunch smiths, Drop Forgers and Help-ers Local 197-AFL, Wyomissing, If you work hard and save your of people, the workers right here beside you for instance, don't tolmoney it takes a long time to get | erate bullying. Remember when a million bucks. Nineteen hun- two cops at the gate dragged dred and twenty three years, to that colored steward out of his NEW CONTRIBUTORS

Among the recent financial con-tributors to the CRDC are: United get laid off, and the banks don't Robinson" four guys in the next Retail, Wholesale and Department | fail.

car got out and beat up the cops.



ing to the CRDC.

locals in its area, the second had made into orphans, while you comfortable and well off without drive against the Trotskyists, the largest railroad center in the took an extra glass of champto give moral and financial back-Other resolutions and letters to chance.

You'd do it too, if you had the President Roosevelt urging par-But you know damn well you'll

2. Members of the colored race upon entering a street car or bus shall occupy those seats which are located at the rear portion of street car or bus and whenever seats in the bus or street car become vacant which are to the rear of any member of the color- the reckless and purposeless ed race, such person shall vacate system of capitalism.

**PIONEER PARAGRAPHS** THE SOCIALIST PROGRAM CAN WIN OVER THE MIDDLE CLASS

Parliamentary cretins who con-| Without an understanding of sider themselves connoisseurs of this psychology of the peasants, the people like to repeat: "One the artisans, the employes, the must not frighten the middle petty functionaries, etc. - a classes with revolution. They do psychology which flows from the not like extremes." In this gen- social crisis — it is impossible to lish his dictator-receivership over eral form this affirmation is ab- elaborate a correct policy. The solutely false. Naturally, the pet- petty bourgeoisie is economically ty proprietor prefers order so dependent and politically atomlong as business is going well and ized. That is why it cannot conso long as he hopes that tomor- duct an independent policy. It row it will go better. needs a "leader" who inspires it

is easily enraged and is ready to or collective leadership, i. e. a give himself over to the most ex- personage or party, can be given treme measures. Otherwise, how to it by one or the other of the could he have overthrown the fundamental classes - either the democratic state and brought big bourgeoisie or the proletar-Fascism to power in Italy and iat. Fascism unites and arms Germany? The despairing petty the scattered masses. Out of hubourgeois sees in Fascism, man dust it organizes combat above all, a fighting force against detachments. It thus gives the petty bourgeoisie the illusion of big capital, and believes that, unlike the working class parties being an independent force. It prosecutor who helped to put over meeting the war crisis in preparawhich deal only in words, Fascism begins to imagine that it will the frameup, is right up Weins tion for the post war crisis. They will use force to establish more really command the state. It is tock's alley. He adds his own do not say: "There is a war on, "justice"...

firm that the present petty bour- petty bourgeoisie! geoisie is not going to the work-But the petty bourgeoisie can ing class parties because it fears also find a leader in the proletar-

"extreme measures." Quite the iat. This was demonstrated in win its confidence. And for that will not make a fight over any contrary. The lower petty bour- Russia and partially in Spain. In it must have confidence in its question affecting this power, no geoisie, its great masses, only see Italy, in Germany and Austria the own strength.

in the working class parties par- petty bourgeoisie gravitated in (From "Whither France?" by On the contrary, the "war liamentary machines. They do this direction. But the parties Leon Trotsky, pp. 18-19, Pioneer crisis" is a BOOM to them. They not believe in their strength, nor of the proletariat did not rise to Publishers, 1936 160 pages, \$.75 mean to come out of the war with in their capacity to struggle, nor their historic task.

in their readiness at this time to | To bring the petty bourgeoisie Pioneer Publishers, 116 University a stronger political position from conduct the struggle to the end... to its side, the proletariat must Place, New York 3, N. Y.)

hatchet-men. Louis Weinstock. system in the Army because they secretary-treasurer of Painters know that if they gave the Negro District Council 9, a personal equality in the Army he would letter on the Minneapolis case expect it when he returned home. "replying to a request for in-Did I say expect? I believe deformation." mand would be the word.

You can be sure the exploiters STALINIST ACTION

do not want such a demand initiated because they fear it from frameup artist and bureauwould spread to the workers of crat Tobin had been the pretext how much help, but on helping all races and would, in the end, used by the Stalinists to block with anything at all. The vote be directed against the real action in Painters District Coun- closed Dec. 14 and boastfully he enemy of the working masses, cil 9 on a CRDC request for sup- published the result:

the union.

port to the 18. Tobin piously en-197-ves. joins Weinstock "to keep away 2534—no.

Remember the vote 13 to 1from them. They were not sent to prison because they are union remember 'til you die. organizers, as they are saying in In that 13 to 1 vote shines a a circular in which they are soul of polished steel. That vote making all kinds of charges unmasks, strips naked for all to see. the attitude of American big against me.'

It is a matter of public record business toward the common peothat Roosevelt initiated the prose- ple of this country.

cution of the Local 544-CIO lead- Today the workers must prepare slightest bit of attention to the CIO Local 203 Detroit, Mich.; ers at the express personal appeal to meet the "Post War Crisis," of Tobin, after over 4,000 memb- which is absolutely certain to ers of Minneapolis Teamsters Lo- come. The only fight for a better cal 544-AFL voted to join the CIO post war world that has any when Tobin sought to remove the serious meaning, is the fight that local's elected officials and estab- begins right NOW.

#### PROMISES CHEAP

Tobin has the gall to add the Remember this, "Any faker is brazen lie that "not one member always ready to PROMISE the of our organization or the trade good things of life to the workunion movement appeared as a ers some time in the future, But when this hope is lost, he with confidence. This individual witness in the case of those peo- but nothing doing right now." ple," when the court records WHOEVER tells the workers show that not a few of the gov- that they must accept their ernment witnesses who perjured burden today because of the "war themselves against the Minne- crisis" will tell them to accept apolis defendants were actual the same burden or a heavier one paid agents and organizers of tomorrow because of the "post Tobin's who admitted the fact war crisis." The only way to meet publicly on the witness stand. the post war crisis is to meet the But this blatant lie of Tobin, war crisis head on. HOW?

coupled with the statement of the Let us see how Big Business is not surprising that these illusions statement deploring the fact that therefore we will sacrifice our It is false, thrice false, to af- and hopes turn the heads of the hundreds of union, fraternal, Ne- profits and wealth to win it. We gro and civil liberties organiza- will not make any demands for tions have been "mislead" into the protection or extension of our economic and political power. We

matter how important.

cloth, \$.50 paper. Order from greater economic power and with which to protect this power than

On December 1, 1931, when most of the U.S. factories were closed, with millions of men and women unemployed and children crying with hunger, Silas Strawn, President of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, took a wide referendum vote among big business men in the nation's leading Chambers of Commerce and other great business organizations on this great question:

"Shall the U. S. Government This "request for information" help the nation's desperate unem- they ever had before. They fight

ployed?" The question was not on every inch of the way for bigger profits, for firmer control of the government machinery. They fight every inch of the way to deprive labor of its rights. They know perfectly well that the stronger

they are the weaker labor is, and the other way around.

LABOR'S RIGHTS

They did not reach their powerramck, Mich.: Bakery and Confecful positions by crawling on their tionery Local 262, Newark, N. J.: bellies. They will not yield an inch without a fight. They will go United Grocery and Produce Lotheir way without paying the cal 329-CIO Chicago, 111.; UAW-GOOD ADVICE of labor leaders. North Jersey Joint Board, Tex-tile Workers Union-CIO, Newark, Labor's rights must be defended N. J.; UAW-CIO Local 140, De-NOW, by YOU. The so-called troit, Mich.; Detroit Joint Board labor leaders have not taken over URWDSEA-CIO, Detroit, Mich.; our union, WE have surrendered IUMSWA Local 49-CIO, Bay City, it to them. It is time to take it ILGWU-AFL, Phila. Pa.; Amalgback, NOW or NEVER. We must amated Meat Cutters Local 547start today. AFL, Chicago, Ill.; Int. Brother-

(1) Rescind the no-strike hood of Blacksmiths, Drop Forgers and Helpers, AFL Local 197 pledge "NOW."

Wyomissing, Pa; Local 144 ILG-(2) Build an Independent WU, AFL, Newark, N. J.; Farm-Political Party for the common ers Educational and Cooperative people "NOW." Union, Great Falls, Mont.

#### 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.

#### $\sim$

"We were obliged to tell the truth. We saw the abomination of the imperialist war and we were under compulsion to tell the people the truth about it. We saw the vision of a socialist society and were under compulsion to fight for it at all costs and despite all hazards."

56 pages, paper 10 cents **Pioneer Publishers 116 UNIVERSITY PLACE** NEW YORK 3, N. Y.

Store Employes-CIO Local 261, Why do you laugh at the poor Of course you don't see this every Birmingham, Ala.; Dyers and guy who goes through the locker Finishers, TWA-CIO, Local 2052, room at lunch hour selling eggs? There's a lot of things a dirty Union City, N. J.; United Steel He's trying to get ahead, isn't guy would never dare to do Workers of America-CIO 1743, Buffalo, N. Y.; Amalgamated installment plan. Works like hell. they'd be disgusted with him — Clothing Workers-CIO Local 126, Eight hours a day in the shop and maybe go after him. And Elizabeth, N. J.; United Shoe and seven days a week on the that's human nature too. If full Service Employes-CIO Local 1143, farm. But you've been around publicity was given to the crim-Chicago, Ill.; United Steel Work- here long enough to know that inal activities of the millionaires ers of America-CIO Local 1284, he'll keep his farm about as long right now, would they be safe New Castle, Pa.; Berks County as he keeps his job. The company from the wrath of aroused human Industrial Union Council-CIO, can take away one and the banks nature? Not on your life!

In a society of plenty and sec-Reading, Pa.; Textile Workers the other. His efforts to get out Union of America, Local 158-CIO, of his class - out of the working urity, human nature will be so San Francisco, Cal.; United Bak- class, are ludicrous. That's why changed that only a few freaks will want to cheat or rob. or be-

ery and Confectionery Workers, you laugh. Local 15-CIO Chicago, Ill.; Retail There was a time when a little come billionaires. These will be Cigar Employes 239-CIO Chicago, farmer or storekeeper had the sent to medical asylums and Ill.; UAW-CIO Local 238, Hamt- chance of getting rich. (About treated with kindness and care as much chance as you have on until they are cured.



JUNE 23, 1934

PITTSBURGH-Submitting to the pressure of the reactionary top leadership of the American Federation of Labor, the steel workers' convention voted to postpone rank-and-file plans for strike action. William Green forced the acceptance of his proposal, recommending "the setting up of an impartial board to be appointed by President Roosevelt," The Militant reported.

MINNEAPOLIS-Two phases of the Communist Party's role in the Minneapolis strikes, were pointed out by The Militant. First, during the organizational campaign of the General Drivers' Union, the Stalinists attempted to split the workers, and recruit them into their own sectarian "Red trade unions." The failure of this maneuver was indicated by the steady influx of workers into the AFL Drivers' Union. Thereupon the Stalinists resorted to slanderous attacks upon the leadership, giving aid and comfort to the boss-controlled Citizens' Alliance. NEW YORK-The Militant presented in a series of articles, an analysis of the Stalinist program in Cuba during the historic 1933 general strike. The workers of Cuba were embarked on a tremendous political campaign against both the native capitalist exploiters and Wall Street imperialism. In the midst of this great political demonstration, the Stalinists, the largest working class party of Cuba, ordered their followers to break the general strike by returning to their jobs as soon as the economic demands were granted. "The Communist Party of Cuba", the Stalinists explained, "considers it advisable for the workers' and peasants' government, if it should be formed. to enter into negotiations with the government of the U.S.A... the Communist Party allows the possibility of retaining American ownership."



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

- 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.
- **5.** Full equality for Negroes in the armed forces and the war industries-Down with Jim Crowism everywhere.
- 4. Confiscation of all war profits. Expropriation of all war industries and their operation under workers' control.
- 5. A rising scale of wages to meet the rising cost of living.
- 6. Workers Defense Guards against vigilante and fascist attacks.
- 7. An Independent Labor Party based on the Trade Unions.
- 8. A Workers' and Farmers' Government.
- 9. The defense of the Soviet Union against imperialist attack.

tic rights of the American people only by relying upon its own independent strength, by fighting unitedly against every repressive law, by hurling back every attempt at labor-baiting, by defending every victim of the capitalist frameup machine.

### War Aims

Last week President Roosevelt issued a statement embodying his "great design" or plan for the post-war world. It is upon the basis of this "great design," rather than upon any issues of domestic politics, that he plans to base his claim for a fourth term in the coming elections.

In Ralph Graham's article in this issue, Roosevelt's "great design" is analyzed and its predatory, imperialist character made clear. It is a design for a post-war world dominated by Wall Street through the device of a three-power military alliance among the United States, Britain and the Soviet Unionin which Wall Street plans to be the top dog.

Covering this alliance, in order to hide its reactionary character from the masses, is to be some sort of "international organization" resembling the late but unlamented League of Nations. It is to serve the victorious group of powers as an instrument for dividing up the loot of war, parcelling out colonies, mandates, spheres of influence, etc. But in addition it proposes to police Europe and all the world, using the armed forces of its leading component states, in order to prevent the maturing socialist revolution. It will furnish support and sanction for reactionary dictatorships of the same type which now "rule" in Italy under the protection of Allied bayonets and which are planned for tomorrow in Yugoslavia, Greece, France and every other country where the restive peoples are seeking a way out of the bloody morass along the path of socialism.

This is the foreign policy on which Roosevelt intends to appeal to the voters.

Do the Republicans and their prospective candidate, Dewey, have any different policy? They do not. Through John Foster Dulles, Dewey's mentor on foreign policy, it has been made plain that the GOP candidate is a hearty supporter of these selfsame piratical plans and schemes of the American imperialists. Dulles himself is senior partner in the big law firm of Sullivan and Cromwell, counsellors to the biggest Wall Street corporations.

In the presidential election of 1940 one of the burning issues was the question of United States entry into the imperialist war. Roosevelt and Willkie had an identical line on this issue. Both hypocritically mouthed phrases about not sending our boys into "foreign wars". Both favored dragging the country into the slaughter for the benefit of Wall Street.

Now, once again, the workers will have the choice of electing one of two candidates, both of whom are pledged to the same reactionary foreign policy of the Wall Street plutocracy. They will be able to vote for Tweedledum Roosevelt or Tweedledee Dewey. The domestic issues are being forced into the background, and the workers will not even be able by their votes to register their opposition to the wage freeze, the attempts to regiment the workers, the growing attacks on the labor movement.

The fake choice which will confront them serves to emphasize once again the need for an independent labor party, a party which will run candidates of its own against the capitalist candidates, a party whose policies will serve the needs and interests of the people and not the interests of the Wall Street pirates.

#### THE MILITANT

**Class** Justice



### **Unions Pledge Aid To The 18** At CRDC Rallies In The East

(Continued from page 1) sabotage the CRDC campaign, pointing to their strikebreaking prisoners relief fund. in the recent Botony plant sit-in

at Patterson as an example of resentatives of leading New their traitorous role in the labor novement.

Promising the full cooperation attended CRDC supper-meeting of the Trenton CIO, Walter held here tonight on behalf of Czejkowski called on New Jersey the 18 prisoners framed up in the labor "to help those hundreds of Minneapolis Labor Case. miles away who fought the good The main speaker of the meetfight in the union movement." ing was George Novack, Nation-Carl Thol stated: "I am conal Secretary of the C R D C who vinced more of these cases will described the fast-mounting supoccur. The 18 did not receive port from labor and progressive justice. That's why we must go forces everywhere which is rallyout and support the CRDC being behind the CRDC campaign cause we believe in justice for all, to free the 18. because the CRDC should remain Among the organizations which

active to prepare to defend other unionists in the future."

"Anyone who knew these men, tributions were the State Council their loyalty and method of of the Teachers Federation, AFL; building unions, their fight not New England Joint Board, CIO only against the employers but United Retail, Wholesale and Deagainst the city and state partment Store Employes; New nachine, and their fight against England Region, CIO Paper, Toy he Stalinists, will take up their and Novelty Workers; Boston lefense," declared Irving Rosen- Local 1 and Lowell Local 3, CIO berg. "The case of the 18 is no United Shoe Workers; Locals 706 solated case, but a part of the and 704, CIO United Transport whole anti-labor attack of the big | Service Employes; Boston Local 1, CIO Amalgamated Clothing corporations."

rom Irving Abramson and Carl Somerville; and the Socialist frame-up of Mooney and Billings

Roosevelt demanding an im-) was chairman of the meeting. nion leaders." He denounced the mediate unconditional presidential One of the principal speakers was attempts of the Stalinists to pardon for the 18. \$113.30 was Miss Emily Balch, former Incontributed for the Minneapolis ternational Secretary at Geneva, Switzerland, of the Women's In-

ternational League. She likened BOSTON, Mass., June 14-Repthe present persecutions of the Trotskyists to the attacks on England union and civil rights labor and socialist groups during groups participated in the well- the last World War.

> Alfred Albert, counsel for the American Civil Liberties Union in Massachusetts, presented a careful analysis of the legal aspects of the Minneapolis Labor Case, demonstrating how the government has violated the constitutional rights of free speech and press. The meeting contributed \$140 to the Minneapolis prisoners relief fund.

NEW HAVEN, Conn., June 13. sent delegates to the affair or -Addressing a small but enthumessages of support and consiastic group at the home of Willard Uphaus on the case of the eighteen imprisoned victims of capitalist prosecution, George Novack, National Secretary of the Civil Rights Defense Committee, gave a graphic account of his tour through the country and his visit to the prisoners at Sandstone. after detailing the facts in the case.

The speaker pointed out that Letters of support were read Workers; Casa Del Populo, the case was comparable to the

#### SATURDAY, JUNE 24, 1944

### **Southern Town Officials Unloose Jim-Crow Terror**

The Negro people have been given another vivid demonstration of the benefits they are deriving from this capitalist "war for democracy."

In the town of New Iberia, Louisiana, leaders of the Negro community had the "effrontery" to demand and secure a government school to train Negro welders for war work. On the evening of the day the school opened, May 15, four of the local Negro leaders, two physicians, a teacher and the president of the local NAACP, a retired business man, were waylaid by agents of the sheriff's office and superintendant of schools, subdued at gun point, severely clubbed and driven from town. Four other Negro citizens, two physicians, an insurance salesman, and a woman school teacher were threatened and compelled to flee the town.

These brutal actions of the "white supremacy" scum were carried out by the official "guardians of law and order." The whole "upper crust" of the white ruling class combined to conceal the crime and the criminals, and the Negro community was terrorized to prevent exposure. Only weeks after the attacks, when the victims issued affidavits and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People disclosed the events, did the facts become public.

As a consequence of these terrorist acts the entire Negro community has been left without proper medical aid, and two patients in the Negro hospital, maintained by one of the expelled physicians, are reported to have died as a result of lack of care.

The outstanding victim of the assault was J. Leo Hardy, a retired businessman, who was president of the local branch of the NAACP, and who had led the committee which secured the welder's school against the open opposition of the town officials.

All the beaten victims were taken from their homes or places of work at night, driven in the sheriff's or deputies' cars to the town outskirts, abused, kicked and clubbed, and forced to walk miles on foot to refuge in neighboring towns.

The federal government agencies, the War Manpower Commission and U.S. Bureau of Education, helped to bolster anti-Negro prejudices by first establishing an all-white school for war workers excluding Negroes, and then refusing to establish a similar school for Negro workers. Only after an appeal to the FEPC office in Dallas, Texas, was a segregated school for Negroes set up.

To date, the federal government has taken no action against the "white supremacy" gangsters and the victims are unable to return safely to their homes, families and possessions.

### **Capitalist Courts Go Easy On Big Business Criminals**

War has provided Big Business with exceptional opportunities for all-out profiteering, swindling, graft and fraud. The ordinary "corner-cutting" practices permitted under capitalist law are universally supplemented now by open criminal violations. Actual illegal acts have become so extensive and brazen that in a few exceptional instances the government has been compelled to bring some corporations and their officials to trial.

But a kindly Providence almost invariably seems to hang over the corporation defendants caught redhanded in criminal acts and brought to court. They rarely land in jail, and never for long. Indeed, most

**U.S.** Supreme Court

The contrasting actions of the U.S. Supreme Court in the Minneapolis Labor case and in the Hartzel case presents an extremely instructive lesson in the operations of capitalist class justice.

Last December the Supreme Court three times refused even to consider the appeal of the 18 CIO truckdrivers and Socialist Workers Party leaders convicted under the infamous Smith "Gag" Act. Now in June 1944 the same Supreme Court justices upset the conviction of Elmer Hartzel of Chicago, sentenced to five years imprisonment under the Espionage Act of 1917. Hartzel had been found guilty of disseminating anti-Semitic, pro-Nazi literature and other documents of an allegedly subversive nature. Justice Frank, Murphy in voiding this conviction, declared that, since the pro-Nazi material offered in evidence showed no intention to subvert the members of the armed forces, this Hitlerite had been unjustly deprived of his constitutional guarantee of freedom of speech.

During the last war, Eugene Victor Debs, leader of the Socialist Party, was sentenced to 10 years imprisonment under this same Espionage Act of 1917 for making a speech at Canton, Ohio, in opposition to the first World War. According to the present decision of the Supreme Court, one could superficially arrive at the conclusion that Debs' imprisonment was all a "mistake."

We say "superficially" because such reasoning could only be based on the erroneous assumption that the U.S. Supreme Court is the impartial watchdog of the political rights and freedoms of the people instead of being what it actually isa class institution dispensing capitalist-class "justice" in the interests of the ruling class. The same Supreme Court which freed the anti-labor, profascist Hartzel has three times refused to even consider the appeal of the 18 although the Minneapolis case involved the first test of the constitutionality of the Smith "Gag" act.

These cases show that the capitalist courts, from the lowest to the highest, will always contrive to find some legal technicality to apply repressive laws to railroad honest working class leaders to jail. Contrariwise, the justices can always find pretexts and precedents to provide the necessary loopholes through which the enemies of labor and the servants of Big Business can escape.

The labor movement can safeguard the democra-

### **CIO** Political Action

The long heralded "first national conference" of the CIO Political Action Committee took place in Washington last week. In a statement of purpose issued by Philip Murray when the PAC was first. launched it was announced that at such a national conference to be held before the national conventions of the two major parties "We shall draw up and present to the American people a specific set of principles for the general welfare. Then, after the political conventions, we can decide what action to take regarding the two parties and the individual candidates, whether for state or national offices, or for the presidency."

Instead of waiting, as promised, until "after the political conventions" of the two major parties had acted on the program, Murray-Hillman and Company rushed pell-mell to endorse Roosevelt and Wallace. Instead of presenting a program to meet the needs of the workers, they modeled their program to fit the requirements of Roosevelt's demagogy. "The program," reports the N.Y. Times, "contained no serious note of dissent from Administration policies."

The section of the PAC program devoted to foreign policy did not go beyond reiterating the demagogic commonplaces of the "four freedoms, the good neighbor policy, the Atlantic Charter, etc." On domestic policy, the program called for the elaboration of Roosevelt's "New Bill of Rights" by a permanent planning board. The so-called "New Bill of Rights" was part of Roosevelt's annual message to Congress which advocated the adoption of a forced labor law!

Hillman-Murray announced that those candidates who subscribe to the PAC program will receive endorsement. Of course, even this is not being lived up to, as Roosevelt has already been endorsed.

The CIO Political Action Committee is counterfeit all the way through. It has nothing in common with genuine independent labor politics.



Holderman, President and Secre- | Party of Massachusetts. in the last World War. Just as in tary-Treasurer respectively of the state CIO. The meeting sent a Harvard University, a member of ent one implies the beginning of unanimously-endorsed telegram to the CRDC National Committee a concerted drive against labor.

# **International Notes**

YUGOSLAVIA Major Randolph Churchill, son be on the streets between 9 p. m. of Prime Minister Winston Churand 4 a. m. they must have spechill, has been in Yugoslavia | cial passes, also issued by employlately as a British attache to the ers. In addition, they must be staff of the Stalinist guerrilla able to produce a receipt that eader, Marshal Tito. In an in- they have paid a head-tax of one terview with a Yugoslav reporter pound (about \$4). pefore leaving for Rome, he expressed the greatest admiration

for Tito and his regime. Law convention adopted a resolu-"What Tito and the Partisans tion declaring that the Pass Laws nave done should serve as a "hold the African people in a conmodel and example to all the dition of abject poverty and subenslaved countries of Europe. . . jection, retard industrial develop-Here in Yugoslavia, there can be ment, hamper the growth of orseen in miniature the New ganization of African workers Europe which is being created." and weaken the entire labor Everyone will ask himself what movement. They are the cause of sort of "model" this is that sharp racial friction between the arouses such enthusiasm in the peoples of South Africa; they upbreast of Churchill's son and of- hold the cheap labor system, resficial deputy. Clearly the Stalin- ulting in malnutrition, starvation ists who head the Yugoslav and disease; they fill our jails movement must have travelled with innocent people and they far toward bureaucratizing the create widespread crime." movement and subverting it to At the conclusion of the con-

their reactionary program and vention, Allied Labor News reaims. ports, the delegates marched SOUTH AFRICA

Native workers in the Union of market square. There more than South Africa, a British dominion 25,000 native workers formed in and part of that Empire which procession and paraded through Churchill has sworn to preserve the streets, carrying banners inand defend, are on the march to scribed with slogans against the that as soon as the war is over abolish the slave laws under Pass Laws. which they are held in the vilest A false note appears in one of

servitude by their white imperialthe convention resolutions, which ist masters and exploiters. declared that the Pass Laws are A total of 540 delegates, rep-"in conflict with the high and esenting trade unions and Negro progressive war aims for which farmer and tenant organizations, the United Nations are fighting." together with political, religious This was the work of the reformand student bodies, met in Johan- ist native leaders who evidently the rule of the "democratic" imnesburg during the week-end of controlled the convention. Actu- perialists. The motive is the lune 3 and passed resolutions de- ally there is no such conflict. The same in both cases: the desire to nanding repeal of the infamous principal war aim of the British preserve their property, their pro-Pass Laws. Under these laws, imperialists — and we have fits and their privileges. These all idle Africans are obliged to Churchill's word for it - is to are the people who always call on carry passes signed by their em- preserve the British Empire, and the workers to fight and die for ployers showing that they receiv. that means to perpetuate the very "their country."

ed permission to leave work. To slave conditions against which the Africans are fighting.

ITALY

An outspoken indication of the reasons for Allied Military Government in Italy and for the foisting of the monarchy and its police-military dictatorship on the

According to a dispatch to Alcountry, was given in a June 14 lied Labor News, the anti-Pass dispatch from Rome by AP correspondent Edward Kennedy. He writes:

"Every doughboy wants to get ome as soon as the war is over... (but) a large part of the population, especially businessmen and others with property, are fearful and weaken the entire labor of what may happen in Italy when it is given back to the Italians. "Some think Italy will go Communist; some think there will be civil war; some think the country will flounder about for lack of leadership.

"Some Italians are saying the present Bonomi government is a Kerensky government which will lead to Communism ...

"One Rome businessman said. through Johannesburg to the The Allies ought to stay here and govern the country for five vears.

> "And then he said: 'I'm afraid America will go isolationist again and the British will pull out, too. Then there's almost sure to be civil war and Communism'."

The "patriotic" Italian capitalists first subjected "their" country to the Nazis. Today they lend themselves to its subjection under

of the corporations indicted for anti-trust law violations have had their trials "postponed for the duration" at the direct request of Roosevelt and his cabinet officials. In fact, only cases of glaring fraud have been tried.

In these latter few cases the outcome has almost invariably been the same; either a directed acquittal on the part of an obliging federal judge or, if a rare jury has convicted, the reversal of the jury's decision by the judge or a higher court. In dealing with criminal corporations, the capitalist courts and jurists demonstrate with almost automatic regularity that the "quality of mercy is not strained."

Last year, for instance, the Truman Senate Investigating Committee uncovered and made public extremely damaging evidence against Carnegie-Illinois Steel Corporation, largest U.S. Steel subsidiary, which was charged with palming off steel plate on the government that was below the required standards, destroying or falsifying inspection records, and concealing information relating to tests on steel plate. As was to be expected, several weeks ago a federal trial judge ordered a directed acquittal on the main counts and an obliging blue ribbon jury, hand-picked by the government and composed predominantly of business men, handed down a "not guilty" decision on the remaining counts along the lines indicated by the judge. Just last week, 15 big flour milling corporations,

charged with monopoly in restraint of trade and illegal price fixing, were convicted by a federal jury. The evidence had been brought by the Department of Justice, never noted for any zeal in pressing prosecutions against corporations except where the evidence is clear-cut and overwhelming. But the federal judge refused to accept the jury's verdict, threw it out immediately and handed down his own acquittal decision.

But if, by some chance, a corporation criminal does go to jail he doesn't stay there long. The wheels of the higher courts begin turning at high speed and the conviction is quickly reversed. That is what has happened in the case of the three Schmeller brothers, heads of the National Bronze and Aluminum Foundry Co., Cleveland, who were convicted and sentenced to 10 years' imprisonment last October, charged under the Sabotage Act with selling the government improperly made aluminum castings for aircraft motors. A federal appeals court two weeks ago ordered an acquittal of the three convicted capitalists.

The courts, from top to bottom, demonstrate their character as class institutions. Criminal capitalists caught committing the worst frauds are given every "benefit of the doubt" and treated with the greatest consideration. But honest workers, like the 18 imprisoned Trotskyists, who have committed no crimes whatsoever and have fought instead in the interests of labor against the crimes of capitalism, are for that very reason railroaded behind bars and denied even a Supreme Court review of their case.