

## Michigan State CIO Joins Fight To Free The 18

The Michigan State CIO Council representing over 750,000 unionists, has enlisted in the fight to free the 18. In a letter to Roosevelt, John W. Gibson, President of the Council, writes that "We urge... that you grant unconditional pardon for all eighteen of these prisoners."

The two most prominent national Negro organizations, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and the March on Washington Movement have endorsed the work of the Civil Rights Defense Committee, in its campaign to free the 18 prisoners in the Minneapolis Labor Case, and to wipe the vicious Smith "Gag" Act, under which they were sentenced, off the statute books.

At the request of the Legal Department of the NAACP, the Board of Directors on March 13 adopted a resolution endorsing the appeal to President Roosevelt to pardon the 18.

Carolyn D. Moore, Executive Secretary of the Philadelphia Branch of the NAACP stated: "The issues involved are fundamental and must not be passed over lightly because these persons are members of an unpopular minority. We believe in the Bill of Rights in America, and that includes a fair and just trial for all Americans regardless of political affiliations or beliefs. The Civil Rights Defense Committee has my endorsement in its campaign to secure justice for these defendants."

**MOWM**  
B. F. McLaurin, National Secretary of the MOWM sent a resolution to the President condemning the imprisonments and urging unconditional pardon for the 18. The resolution called upon all MOWM committees to go on record in support of the CRDC. "We hereby wish to inform you," wrote Mr. McLaurin to the CRDC, "that we endorse your work and will do everything possible to activate our local chapters throughout the country in support of the

### U. S. Soldiers Salute Nazi Officers

American soldiers have to salute captive Nazi officers, the weekly army magazine Yank revealed in its March 10 issue. A soldier stationed at Camp Carson, Colorado, had written to Yank complaining that he and his buddies were being made to salute German officers who were prisoners of war at the camp and asked if this was in accord with army policy.

Yank replied: "According to articles 21 of the Prisoners of War Convention rules signed at Geneva July 27, '29 'Officers who are prisoners of war shall be treated with the regard due their rank and age.' In reply to your question about saluting captured Nazi officers the Prisoner of War Section of the Provost Marshall General's office in Washington says we do."

This policy illustrates how seriously the brass hats take the talk of "wiping out the Junker officer corps behind Hitler." If the entire German General Staff were to surrender tomorrow we may be sure that its members would be treated "with the regard due their rank and age."

fine work your Committee is attempting to do to establish real democracy in America."

A similar resolution and letter were sent by Will J. Hale, Jr., Secretary of the New York MOWM, who stated: "We shall be glad to help the campaign in every way that we can. Militant Negro groups of whatever character politically, are certainly among those most vulnerable to attack under such ambiguous Acts."

Frank Crosswaith, Chairman of the Negro Labor Committee, N. Y. has vigorously endorsed the CRDC campaign to free the 18. He wrote: "I am in sympathy with the struggle your Committee is making in behalf of these workers because of the principle of free speech which it involves. Since reading over the material you sent me, I have contacted some of my friends on the Joint Board of Dressmakers and I am

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# CIO Bureaucrats Initiate Purge In Auto, Steel And Rubber Unions

## Civil War Against Nazi-Fascist Rule Sweeps North Italy

By LOUIS BONN

Ferocious civil war is raging throughout the industrial cities of North Italy as anti-fascist workers and Italian Partisans battle arms in hand against the Nazi-Fascist forces of occupation, according to the latest reports from the Swiss-Italian border.

The insurrectionary movement has developed from the general strike of 6,000,000 workers which two weeks ago defied the Nazi ultimatum and terror and, according to the Naples Socialist newspaper, Avanti, scored "a victory in the first truly great mass movement in Europe against Nazism."

Hundreds are reported slain in the latest pitched battles in Turin, Milan, Florence and the other North Italian proletarian centers, and the struggle has spread south to Rome.

### STREET FIGHTING

Savage street fighting broke out in the latter city on March 23 during a celebration of the 25th anniversary of the founding of Fascism, following a bombing of a Fascist parade in which 32 Nazi troopers and Gestapo agents and 14 Black Shirts were killed.

Nazi machine-guns slaughtered hundreds of men, women and children in cold-blooded reprisal for the resistance. Over a thousand hostages were rounded up off the streets and thrown into prison and barbed-wire pens. Partisan forces fought from buildings and other points of cover, and were driven out only after hours of desperate fighting.

**AVANTI**  
An AP dispatch from the Swiss-Italian frontier on March 27 reported "widespread clashes throughout northern Italy." The Nazi-controlled Rome radio broadcast that 100 Partisans were killed in a battle with Black Shirt troops in the Piedmont Valley, where the anti-fascists are attempting to fight their way through to join embattled forces of the workers in Turin.

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## AFL-CIO Wrangle In Steel Wage Fight

By C. Thomas

Roosevelt and his henchmen on the War Labor Board today blandly declare that "wage stabilization" is "a matter for Congress and not the Chief Executive," now that they have hogtied the labor movement in the straitjacket of the Little Steel formula, with the consent and connivance of the AFL and CIO bureaucrats.

Their cynical declaration was made in response to a petition submitted by the labor representatives on the WLB asking the board to "request" Roosevelt to modify the Little Steel formula in line with the rise in the cost of living. The rejection of the petition precipitated a crisis in the WLB which thereafter remained locked in secret session for four days. All sorts of rumors were circulated as to the nature of the dispute. The *New York Post* even went so far as to report a rumor, credited to "labor circles" that: "President Roosevelt has on his desk the resignation of George Meany, AFL secretary-treasurer, from the War Labor Board."

### DEADLOCK BROKEN

When the deadlock was broken however, it was revealed, believe it or not, that all the shouting and crisis was over a dispute between the CIO and AFL representatives on the board over who was to get the credit for breaking the Little Steel formula — if, as and when it was broken. The wise men of the WLB, in a decision which would have done credit to a Solomon, solved this knotty problem by the following formula: The steel panel of the WLB was authorized to hold hearings on the wage demands of the United Steel Workers; a separate panel was established to which the AFL could submit its testimony on "wage stabilization." After receiving the reports of the two panels, if the board should then decide to carry its investigation further, it would hold public hearings to "give all interested parties a chance to be heard" before making any recommendation regarding the Little Steel formula.

And the Farmers' Union, enfeebled and emasculated as it was under strict government supervision and control, has broken away from the official leading-strings and resumed its role as the fighting organization of the peasants, who suffer from a uniquely oppressive system of exploitation due to the continuance of feudal relations in agriculture. Reports furnished by Japanese prisoners of war in Chungking about two months ago, and published in *Allied Labor News*, revealed what Japanese government censors had tried to conceal, namely that widespread strikes occurred in Japan even before the attack on Pearl Harbor.

### 1941 STRIKES

At Kobe, in April, 1941 there was a walkout by more than 100,000 workers, Britain's greatest demonstration of working class power since the 1926 General Strike.

## 85,000 JOIN SECOND GREAT STRIKE OF BRITISH MINERS

**MARCH 27.** — Britain's second major coal strike within the past month flared up last week with the walkout of 60,000 miners in South Yorkshire and 25,000 in the Doncaster area, both key sectors of the country's coal industry. This latest upsurge of class struggle further panicked a British ruling class still shaken from the strike two weeks ago of over 100,000 Welsh and Scottish mine workers, Britain's greatest demonstration of working class power since the 1926 General Strike.

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### Browder and NAM

In an interview with Earl Browder, National Secretary of the now-dissolved Communist Party, a PM reporter told Browder that he would "get along swimmingly with the National Association of Manufacturers," adding "In large sections they sound almost word for word like you."

"That's fine," Browder replied. "I'm awfully glad to hear that. I'm not sorry when you say that leading members of the NAM talk like me. My report to the plenum (of the Communist Party) was distributed to every delegate at the economic conference of the NAM, and I am told most of them read it through. I am very happy when I get news like that."

## AutoWorkers Seek Conference To End No-Strike Pledge

**DETROIT, Mich.**—The insurgent leaders of Ford Local 600 Aircraft unit are proposing to call a city-wide conference of all UAW-CIO locals for the purpose of creating sentiment for the revocation of the no-strike pledge. The proposed conference, announced by Wise W. Stone, Executive Secretary of the Ford Aircraft unit and Lawrence Yost, President of the River Rouge Credit Union comes as an outcome of the tumultuous meeting of over 1500 Ford aircraft workers last Sunday, March 19, at the Cass Technical High School.

### MEMBERS PROTEST

The Ford aircraft members hotly protested against the treachery of the UAW top officials and the Ford local officers, in sanctioning the firing of union militants by the Ford Motor Company.

Taking their cue from R. J. Thomas, the Ford Company officials fired or suspended 121 workers. Of these only 16 have thus far been reinstated, 26 have been permanently discharged, 48 received layoffs, 3 quit and 28 cases are still pending.

### STALINIST FINKS

Referring to the fink role of the Stalinists in the Rouge River local, Stone stated: "We are going to exert pressure in local 600 to get it away from the Communist appeasement policy."

In the meantime, the aircraft unit leaders are working on a petition to the Department of Labor to permit the taking of a strike vote at the plant.

## Ford Workers Demand Action To Rescind No-Strike Pledge

Victims of Company Provocation Mount As Labor Heads Join Drive Against Militants

By R. Bell

In the one month that has elapsed since the international executive board of the United Automobile Workers, CIO, adopted its infamous "unconditional surrender" resolution stating its intention of joining with the corporations in "disciplining" individuals and locals who resisted company provocation, the Ford Motor Company has "disciplined" 121 union members with the consent of the UAW local and international officials.

The report on the firing and

layoffs of the 121 men was read to a meeting of the aircraft engine unit of Local 600 by Joseph Twyman, retiring president of the local. Twyman and those other officials who supported the strikebreaking policy of the Thomas-Reuther-Ades-Frankensteen bureaucracy were roundly booed by the workers attending the meeting. Then the meeting was thrown into an uproar when motions were presented from the floor demanding (1) that the international call a special convention to rescind its no-strike pledge, and (2) that an immediate strike vote be taken at Ford's River Rouge plant. The Detroit News reported that: "George Trapp, president of the aircraft unit and a political adherent of W. G. Grant, financial secretary and president-elect of the local, then hurriedly adjourned the meeting. As soon as Trapp declared the meeting adjourned, Richard T. Leonard, national Ford director for the UAW-CIO, Grant, Twyman and other officials left the auditorium."

### MOTIONS ADOPTED

After the two-bit bureaucrats had fled, the vice-president of the aircraft unit, Donald Primo, called the meeting to order and the two motions were adopted by an overwhelming majority. Leonard and the officials who left the meetings with him promptly announced they would disregard the democratically expressed will of the membership and continue to "adhere to the policies outlined by Thomas." Leonard further warned, "that members of the union who participate in strikes and protests may continue to expect disciplinary action." This is clear warning that the UAW bureaucrats intend to continue their strikebreaking activities. They will continue to cooperate with the union-hating corporations to weed out of the plants the leading militants and to cow into submission the rest.

In the aircraft unit of Ford Local 600, the men became victims of the strategy of the corporations and the labor bureaucrats of first provoking and then "disciplining" one section of the militants at a time by isolating the group from the rest of the UAW and cutting them to pieces. Ford has become a test case. If

the bureaucrats can get away with it here, they will practice their fink activities in local after local.

Every section of the UAW must be aroused to the danger confronting the union. The militants must carry the fight within the international to mobilize the membership in defense of their democratic rights. Resolutions should be submitted to all locals demanding that the international executive board rescind its "unconditional surrender" policy. Incorporated in the resolution should be the demand that a special convention of the UAW be called to draw up a program of action to enforce the union contracts and organize effective union resistance to the deliberate provocations of the corporations. Such a program can be effective ONLY if the union is rearmed—which means that the no-strike pledge must be rescinded. The methods that built the UAW into the most democratic and militant union in the country are the methods which can preserve it against the combined onslaught of the corporations and the labor bureaucrats.

### GREAT RESPONSIBILITY

The militants of the UAW have a great responsibility—not only to the more than a million members of their own organization, but to the CIO as a whole. The open strikebreaking role of the top leadership of the UAW is no isolated phenomena. The adoption of the strikebreaking resolution by the UAW executive board was an aftermath of the war waged against the militants in the United Rubber Workers by Sherman Dalrymple and his fellow-bureaucrats. Dalrymple, in attempting to establish a dictatorship over the rubber union, has placed the General Tire local in receivership and has engaged in a campaign, with the collaboration of the rubber corporations, to purge the militants from the union. All in the name of upholding the sacred no-strike pledge!

Last week, the international executive board of the United Steel Workers suspended five officers and seven grievance committee-men of Local 1519 for participating in an "unauthorized" strike against the American Steel and

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## Mass Demonstrations And Food Riots Are Reported In Japan

By Li Fu-Jen

A portentous crack in the iron-clad war structure of imperialist Japan has been disclosed to the world in dispatches out of London revealing:

1. Food riots in Kagoshima prefecture and probably other parts of the country, followed by repressive government action against the Japanese Farmers' Union.

2. A Japanese government decree disbanding the Workers' Party under whose auspices a mass meeting was held in Tokyo's Ueno Park, with some 40,000 people attending.

Reports of these events are not an invention of the western capitalist press, but were gleaned from copies of the *Osaka Mainichi*, one of the great government-controlled *Nichi-Nichi* chain of newspapers, which somehow found their way to the British capital.

News of the riots in Kagoshima prefecture said that 19 persons had been arrested in the town of Kiagetsu for "stealing" government rice from a railroad station and seven more for convening a meeting which demanded that the government authorize increased rations. Among those arrested was a man named Mitsuhashi, who is a member of the Imperial Diet.

### PARK MEETING

The Workers' Party meeting in Ueno Park was savagely attacked

by police and gendarmes, with 37 casualties suffered by the demonstrators, seven of whom subsequently died of their injuries. Flags used by the demonstrators, the *Osaka paper* added, were confiscated and burned.

The Japanese press reports make it clear that these manifestations of mass opposition to the war program of the Japanese imperialists are not just spontaneous, sporadic outbreaks, but possess the character of an organized movement which apparently is still in its first stages.

The mention of a Workers' party and a Farmers' Union are the first indications that masses are beginning to confront their capitalist-militarist exploiters and oppressors in organized fashion. Long before the extension of the world war to the Pacific area, the Japanese government dissolved all political parties—including the capitalist *Minseitō* and *Seiyukai*—and merged them in the totalitarian, monolithic political structure known as the Imperial Rule Assistance Association, which is the Japanese counterpart of Hitler's Nazi party.

### POLITICAL PARTIES

Even before the political parties were eliminated, the workers' unions were wiped out by government decree. Anyone attempting to revive them ran the risk of summary execution without any kind of trial. In the case of the Farmers' Union, the government infiltrated its ranks with state functionaries in order to render

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## OHIO STEEL LOCAL OPPOSES MURRAY

CLEVELAND, O.—The union hating corporations, emboldened by the unconditional no-strike pledge, have embarked upon a deliberate policy of provocation which takes the form of refusal to settle legitimate grievances, imposing drastic penalties for minor infractions of the company "rules," violating the union contracts etc. The real meaning of the "unconditional no-strike pledge" is best defined by the labor bureaucrats themselves when they say, "that no matter what the character of the grievance, no matter how feelings have been stirred nor what the aggravations are, there can be no justifications for strikes or work stoppages." Under that cowardly creed the corporations are free to vent their spleen against the union militants by humiliating, hounding and persecuting them beyond the point of human endurance. When an eruption takes place, as it inevitably must, the labor lackeys

rush in waving their no-strike pledge like a policeman's club to bang the victims of company provocation over the head. The latest incident involved the suspension of all five officers and the entire grievance committee of American Steel and Wire Local 1519 by the international executive board of the United Steel Workers of America, for participating in an "unauthorized" strike. Goaded by grievances of long standing, Local 1519 had walked out on strike and stayed out a week under the leadership of the local's president, Raymond Jablonowski. This local has been known for some time for its spirit of independent and militant action in defense of the interests of the membership. Once before, District Director of the USWA, William Donovan, tried to oust Jablonowski, but failed when the local rallied to the support of its president. This time, Phillip

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# Causes For Increase In 'Shell Shock' Cases

By Miriam Carter

The five-man medical board appointed by President Roosevelt to investigate the reports on the high rates of mental disorders among servicemen, has released startling figures as to the rate of shell shock in the U. S. armed forces. These figures are in sharp contrast to the testimony of Dr. Walter B. Cannon, Professor Emeritus of Physiology at Harvard Medical School, who testified recently to the low rate of shell shock in the Red Army.

Fifty percent of the 474,000 who have been discharged from the U. S. Army, reported the board, have been discharged as "neuro-psychiatric cases." This is the name used by Army officials to describe the mentally sick soldier. "There is nightmare, repetitious and catastrophic. There is a highly developed startle reaction to sudden noises . . . Men become depressed, morose, intolerant of argument." (Fortune, Dec., 1943).

### State of Mind

This state of mind in a soldier is a result of an inner conflict between the severe physical hazards to which he is subjected on the one hand, and a lack of conviction on the other that what he is fighting for is worth the risk. In other words, the lower the morale, the higher the rate of shell shock cases.

Previous reports have disclosed that at least 25 percent of the war's casualties have been mental, while in some battle areas this rate has risen to 50 percent. "Figures run far higher than in the first World War," says the United States News (Jan. 14). "Almost twice as many cases per thousand are developing in training camps as in the

first World War . . . The percentage of neuro-psychiatric admissions to hospitals in the field is running three times as high in this war as in the last."

The full story of the horror and devastation in lives and material wrought by total warfare has yet to be told. But the danger of battle does not necessarily lead to a high shell shock rate. In the Red Army, locked in a fierce life and death struggle with the Nazi Army, with casualties mounting into the millions, shell shock is much less common than among American troops, many of whom break down in camps even before they see any battle action.

### Grace Carlson

In The Militant of Dec. 11, 1943, Grace Carlson wrote: "No report has been found of the use of courage inducing drugs by the Soviet troops, but Marxists know that the heroic soldiers of the Red Army are spurred on by the most powerful stimulant yet discovered . . . The Soviet troops and the Russian workers and peasants who back them up struggle fiercely against the Nazi war machine because they are fighting for factories and land which have been taken away from the capitalists and landlords."

Three months later this statement is corroborated by Dr. Walter Cannon, who, speaking before a dinner to celebrate the 26th anniversary of the founding of the Red Army, stated "the fighting spirit of the Russian soldier has risen to such a high level that the self-saving, self-protective instincts become wholly secondary."

The spirit of the American soldier is described by Ernie Pyle, one of the best capitalist reporters of conditions in the Amer-

ican Army. "I don't know of one soldier out of 10,000 that wants to fight," he writes. "They certainly don't in my company. The old timers are sick to death of battle and new replacements are scared to death of it." What is lacking in the American armed forces that makes the subordination of self impossible? A "general want of conviction" according to reports printed by Hanson Baldwin in his column in the March 2 N. Y. Times. A corporal writes to him: "Most of my experience has been with enlisted men. Quite literally I have met hundreds of them . . . And of all those I have met I could practically count on my fingers and toes the men who have had any basic conviction about this war."

### Little Conviction

"Those who gave us our first introduction into the basic skills of fighting and those who lectured on what the issues were supposed to be were alike men of little conviction or knowledge . . . It seems the accepted thing . . . that a soldier should do as little as he can possibly get away with. The situation among officers as far as I can see, if anything, is worse for they are under less supervision and most of them have noncoms on whom they can rely to get the work done. And this malady, obviously is one that springs from want of conviction. It would almost disappear if conviction began to grow . . . Why (should there) be a lack of conviction about the war? Personally I think the root of the matter probably lies in the nature of the war itself."

Similarly, a letter from a lieutenant in the U. S. Army Air Forces, reprinted in Time Magazine (March 20): "I wish I had

more faith in the new world to come after this war is won . . . I hate the Army. I hate being regimented and restricted and ordered around and bawled out and ignored and insulted. I want to live and work and love in any way I please, and I want everyone else in the world to have the same privilege so long as he doesn't harm me or those I love in the process . . ."

### Disillusionment

Disillusionment, discouragement, disbelief in the empty platitudinous references to the Four Freedoms, capped by the intense and unanimous desire to go home — this is the prevalent feeling among American troops. One can imagine the far greater resentment of the Negro troops — assigned to the dirtiest jobs, segregated, degraded.

The capitalist are beginning to worry about the high mental casualty rate. Not because they care for the welfare of the men involved. They are worried because the high rate of rejections reduces the amount of replacements available and might seriously hamper their imperial program.

"Any time a country has as many rejections as this one it's serious," said Vice Adm. Ross T. McIntire, chief Navy Surgeon and head of the president's five-man medical board. ". . . Suppose a war should go on for ten years?" (Time, March 13).

A veritable flood of suggestions on how to deal with the problem has inundated the capitalist press. One method is to ignore it. This is the school that believes that the great majority of the soldiers who display symptoms of shell shock are bluffing and goldbricking. General Patton attained prominence as an important proponent of this philosophy.

### Quack Remedies

Equally "brilliant" is the proposal of Andrew Salter, a Park Avenue psychiatrist, who specializes in hypnotism. His method is simply to teach soldiers autohypnosis. "Simple mass procedures applied to soldiers could quickly filter out one of five or at worst eight who can quickly be taught to make themselves immune to such sounds and pains as they wish. It is not impossible to imagine battalions of self-anesthetized soldiers going into battle." (Time, March 6).

The "Woman's Home Companion" (April, 1944) attempts to solve the problem with sweetness and light, and succeeds in misrepresenting all the available facts. In an "authoritative and heartening" article they assure American women that modern psychiatric methods make battle-scarred minds as good as new. While the rates of mental breakdown increase they say "the rate of discharges for mental and nervous disorders among men who have seen combat may be reduced to as much as 50 percent below that of World War I."

### Propaganda Campaign

The most common and off-repeated suggestion for raising morale, especially by the liberals, has been the proposal to conduct a big propaganda campaign. The proponents of this method believe you just have to keep lecturing the soldiers: "This is a war to spread the Four Freedoms

everywhere in the world," and if repeated long enough, loud enough and often enough in the radio, from the pulpit and in the movies, then the soldiers will believe it, and morale will improve.

No propaganda campaign, no matter on how gigantic a scale, can make the soldiers believe this is a war for ideas or democracy when their every day experience teaches them the contrary. The American soldiers need a progressive cause for which to fight, and this can be supplied only by a program that represents the interests of the masses, not the program of Wall Street, for which they are fighting now.

### Italian Example

We all remember how the Italian workers and soldiers refused to fight for the fascist regime of Mussolini. Many wisecracks expatiated at that time on how the Italian people by their very nature could not make fighters. All they wanted to do was drink wine, eat spaghetti and listen to operas. Today we see the Italian workers in Northern Italy displaying the utmost heroism and fighting capacity against the Nazi oppressors and the blackshirts, despite the desperate odds and dangers. The Red Army, we know, is displaying courage and selflessness in a very high degree.

It is almost a rule that men will fight and brave danger and even show contempt for death, when they are fighting for a great cause they believe in. When they lack such a conviction, when there is no cause higher than self, naturally there is no morale to fight, and no amount of artificial pep talk can manufacture morale.

## TRADE UNION NOTES

By Joseph Keller

Richard Frankenstein, UAW-CIO vice-president and consort of the Stalinists, took the occasion at a recent Chicago conference of local UAW Educational Directors and Education Committeemen to attack the "dangerous movement" for an independent political party initiated by leading Michigan unionists, particularly UAW progressives. "No doubt, many of the people connected with that movement are sincere in their aims and purposes," he generously conceded Frankenstein. "But there is a small minority in that movement whose aims and purposes are questionable. I refer to the Trotskyites." Then, he demonstrated his hostility to genuine independent labor politics, with or without "Trotskyites," by a reactionary broadside against the labor party movement.

Just how much the bosses and their government agents care about the welfare of the ex-servicemen is illustrated once again by a recent decision of the National War Labor Board Shipbuilding Commission. The Commission denied the request of the Industrial Union of Marine and Shipbuilding Workers, CIO, for placement of discharged servicemen back in their former or similar jobs with the Sullivan Drydock and Repair Corporation. The official statement issued by the WLB publicity service declared: "The Union's request that former employees who have been discharged from the armed services be placed in jobs as nearly comparable to their old jobs as possible was denied on the ground THAT THIS PRACTICE MIGHT SERIOUSLY AFFECT THE EFFICIENCY OF THE WORKING FORCE."

Commenting on this outrageous decision, the March 8 Midwest Labor World, published by the Warehouse, Wholesale, Retail and Food Production Workers of Missouri, states: "Is this the end of the trail of beautiful promises? Boys fighting in the jungle, on the beachheads of the South Pacific and in the mountains of Italy are risking their lives while industry makes billions of profits. The profits are 'blood money'—profits that they would never have made in peace. The issue is one on which labor cannot afford to compromise or quibble. We must protect our members in the armed forces, and any action that we take will be justified. We are sure that the CIO union involved can count on the full support of the other unions in the CIO."

Richard Gosser, Western Ohio Regional Director and International Executive Board member of the CIO United Automobile Workers, displays quite a talent for fiction writing in his report of the Board's recent meeting, published in the March 17 Toledo Union Journal, organ of Toledo Local 12. According to Gosser, all was sweetness and light at the Board meeting, plus a dash of old-time militancy. "Our International

Executive Board at its meeting went on record to fight to the end to protect the economic conditions of the workers during and after the war."

What Gosser didn't have the nerve to tell the militant Toledo auto workers was the two main dishes cooked up by the Board and not included in Gosser's description of the menu. The first was a resolution invoking punitive action against union members and locals which go on strike in order really "to fight to the end to protect their economic conditions." The second was a condemnation of "attempts at forming a third party at this time."

It's a pretty good indication of the temper of the auto workers that Gosser, who usually keeps his ear to the ground, had to try to palm off his Pollyanna story on them.

Approximately 3,000 workers at the country's only all-Negro shipyard, the No. 4 yard of the Sun Shipbuilding and Drydock Company, Chester, Pa., went on strike last week in protest against the firing of several union shop stewards and to cut red-tape in the handling of their many grievances.

Included in their grievances were Jim Crow discrimination in wage bonuses and upgrading as compared to the company's other yards. They also demanded the dismissal of a number of objectionable foremen and of John J. Pew, Jr., son of the company's president, as the company's labor relations director.

The company, which has a long vicious open shop history, opened its segregation yard No. 4 three years ago with the aim of establishing a special Negro Division to create racial division and impede union organization. The Negro workers were wise from the first about the company's real motives in offering them this "great opportunity" to work in industry. They didn't square Pew's claimed paternalism with his Jim Crow segregation, so they flocked to the CIO Marine and Shipbuilding Workers union. They were a big aid in organizing a united union of Negro and white workers. In their present struggle, these Negro shipyard workers are demonstrating they don't intend to be grateful for any "second-bests" from the company, but are fighting to win equal conditions and thus protect the standards of all the workers.

The March 8 Midwest Labor World, organ of the St. Louis Joint Council CIO, United Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Employees comes out four-square for an independent labor party: "A labor party willing to challenge monopoly PROFITS and CLASS SOCIETY is the only hope for peace and full employment. The sooner such a party is organized and begins teaching the facts of life to the intelligent but unformed millions of America, the less the chances that the nations will again go to war about 1960."

## Drive For 3,000 Subscriptions Is Launched By 'The Militant'

The Militant's nation-wide INTRODUCTORY OFFER SUBSCRIPTION CAMPAIGN is now launched. Starting April 1, we are driving for 3,000 new subscriptions by June 30. As a feature of the campaign, new readers will be able to secure The Militant each week for 13 weeks for 25 cents. This special trial rate will be offered only during the campaign.

Our circulation agents throughout the country have already received big batches of new subscription blanks, printed just for this INTRODUCTORY OFFER SUBSCRIPTION CAMPAIGN. All friends and sympathizers of our paper have received notifications of the campaign, with useful instructions on the best methods for acquainting workers with our paper and selling them subs.

### AGENTS' JOB

The job for our agents and friends now is to work systematically and diligently to make our second major campaign since our 18 framed comrades went to federal prison the same huge success as our first campaign, the \$15,000-15th Anniversary Fund Drive that has made the present new 6-pager possible.

Everyone should feel especially heartened and inspired to go out and gain thousands of new regular readers for The Militant by our victory in winning back unrestricted second-class mailing rights.



The Militant Subscription Campaign is now officially launched. We haven't received any subscriptions toward our 3,000 goal as yet because the campaign is only one day old, but we are certain that we will have many to report in a short time. Two branches have been heard from however and their letters show that careful preparations are now being made to assure the fulfillment of their subscription quotas. Philadelphia writes: "We can't get along on our Militant bundle, so please increase it to 100 copies weekly beginning with this issue. You will hear from us on the sub drive."

Chicago writes: "In preparation for the subscription campaign, I would appreciate your sending me a list of subscribers to the paper in the Chicago area. "It was good news about the mailing rights. Our subs here came through on record time this week. "And congratulations on the six-page paper!"

Seattle sent the following report of their subscription campaign just completed. We quote at length because the information is pertinent to our present campaign and may be of help to the other branches. "Canvassing for subs started after New Year's and 27 subs were obtained the first Sunday.

Reports from all over the country in the past months give an inspiring account of the increasing prestige of The Militant in labor circles. Never before have workers, particularly the more advanced union militants, taken such an interest in our press or read it with such eagerness. From all accounts, The Militant subscription campaign is being launched at a most favorable time, when there exists a widespread growing demand for a paper such as ours that tells the whole truth about the workers and fights consistently and uncompromisingly on their behalf.

Present subscribers, from whom we receive encouraging letters every week commending The Militant, can aid the new subscription drive through our Club Plan of four subscriptions for \$1. Give a 25 cent sub to four of your shop-mates as an introduction to the Trotskyist press. We are confident that many of them, once they start reading our paper regularly, will be anxious to take a full subscription on their own.

This result convinced the comrades that free distribution was unnecessary and the following Sundays 25c. subs were sold to people that had never heard of The Militant before. Subs were sold on the news content of the paper with the comrade pointing out special features, such as articles on the cost of living, the Minneapolis frame-up, war profiteering, etc. Comrades usually teamed-up in two. In six Sundays canvassing a total of 109 subs were obtained and of these 4 were \$1 subs for six months. "Roughly, about 600 families were contacted. A large percentage of families were out when called upon, thus missing the opportunity of getting in on a real bargain. "We are in the process of winding up the work on this project and laying plans for another one. However, because of the lack of forces we can't get tied up in too many of these projects because of the work that will be involved in calling upon the above subscribers in the near future in an attempt to get six-month renewal subs. "All in all, these subs in addition to our regular subs give our paper a hearing in a total of some 160 homes in Seattle."

READ 'THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL'

## Food Riots In Japan

(Continued from page 1)

000 workers, the prisoners related. Among the strikers were the thousands of workers in the great Mitsubishi shipyards. Troops were used to break the strike. Some of the leaders of the workers were shot, others banished to distant parts of the country.

In August, 1941, there was a great strike in Nagoya in which more than 20,000 participated, including workers of the Mitsubishi plant which turns out Zero fighter planes. This was followed in September by a walkout of 3,000 workers in a War Ministry ordnance plant at Kokura. Next, in October, 1941, came a strike of 20,000 workers in Tsurumi, the area in which is concentrated much of Tokyo's heavy industry. Troops broke this strike.

This wave of strikes, the prisoners revealed, was sporadic in character and without benefit of organization. The Japanese capitalists had little difficulty in driving the workers back to work.

Meanwhile, economic conditions continued going from bad to worse. In 1942, there was a fresh wave of strikes, of which the present actions are a continuation—but with this most important difference: The workers and the peasants have succeeded in creating their own organizations and are thus better able to confront the piratical gang which rules their destinies.

The workers and peasants of Japan have been involved in the bloody maelstrom of imperialist war continuously for almost 13 years, since the invasion of Manchuria. The casualties have been enormous, and the privations to which those on the home front have been subjected are almost beyond description.

Japan's imperialist ruling class is sitting on a volcano, the subterranean rumblings of which have been audible for many years. Now it is in process of eruption. Matching the forward moves of the workers on the European continent, the masses of Japan are now on the march.

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# Michigan Conference Marked A Milestone In Movement To Establish A Labor Party

By John Saunders

The March 4-5 Study Conference on building a new political party in Michigan marked an important milestone in the direction of creating an independent party of labor. Regarded prior to the Conference by the top UAW-CIO officials as the work of "two peanut disrupters", with a limited amount of nuisance value, the movement has taken root among leading rank and file UAW militants and has gained sufficient momentum to be carried through to a successful conclusion irrespective of the desires of the top leadership of the auto union. The Michigan Commonwealth Federation has the definite opportunity to win the support of major sections of the CIO organization of Michigan. When that time comes, the labor bureaucrats will be forced to go along with the ranks or lose leadership.

### MORE CAUTIOUS

This fact is already appreciated by most of the UAW-leaders who have lately adopted a much more cautious approach towards the new party than they took at their Los Angeles Executive Board meeting prior to the Labor Party Study Conference. In Los Angeles, they issued a sharp blast against the labor party movement. The size of the Labor Party Conference, however, the large number of important locals represented officially and as observers, the animated discussion, the seriousness of the rank and file delegates, the recommendations adopted and the finances obtained by the new group, all standing in sharp contrast to the apathy displayed by the members of Hillman's CIO Political Action Committee, have convinced even the most skeptical that the Michigan Commonwealth Federation is no fly-by-night movement that can be dismissed with a wave of the hand.

### UAW SUPPORT

One day after the Study Conference, the General Motors Sub-Council No. 2 in the Detroit area representing more than 80,000 workers voted full support for the new party. The officially sponsored CIO Political Action Committee, the following Sunday had a much smaller turnout than that of the MCF gathering although the new party advocates comprised a large section at the meeting.

A number of large UAW-CIO locals are in the forefront of the new party movement: Briggs Local 212, West Side Tool and Die Local 157, the four Ford Locals 600, 50, 900, and 400; Detroit Steel Products Local 351; Dodge Forge

can expect an intensification of this anti-labor party campaign in the immediate future in other local unions and even in those unions which previously supported the MCF but where Addes-Frankensteen supporters won local leadership in the recent UAW local elections.

### LA MEETING

Reuther and Thomas voted with Addes and Frankensteen at the Los Angeles Executive Board meeting to condemn the launching of the new party. Reuther is no more anxious than the others to see an independent party of labor formed at the present time. He is, however, more cautious towards the new party movement than his rivals as he is aware that there is considerable sentiment for independent political action among Michigan workers.

A head-on conflict between the Michigan Commonwealth Federation and the UAW top leadership was avoided by the decision of the MCF Study Conference not to run a presidential candidate in 1944. There is no doubt that the pro-Roosevelt forces in the MCF set-up were anxious to bring this about.

Among those openly supporting Roosevelt for a fourth term is the MCF provisional chairman, M. Hammond, president of UAW Local 157. He is perhaps the most prominent representative of the UAW local leaders who support the MCF. This group is fully aware that a new party is necessary for labor but wants to do nothing to alienate the top UAW officialdom. It opposes any policy of going over the head of the top UAW leaders by an appeal to the ranks. Although these local officials cannot stop the formation of MCF clubs in the local unions, they do everything possible to hinder this work and oppose an energetic campaign to put pressure on the top officialdom within the local unions. That is why this group is emphasizing the formation of neighborhood clubs rather than trade union clubs. Thus the local union leaders are placed in the anomalous position of placing stress on and strengthening the non-union elements vis-a-vis labor, although they fully realize that labor will have to bear the responsibility for the launching and financing of the new party. In a certain



Reprinted from Justice

sense, this group is playing the role of a liaison group between the labor party movement and the UAW top officials, for whom it is holding the door open to come in and take control of the new movement.

Allied with Hammond is Paul Silver, president of Detroit Steel Products Local 351. He is in full agreement with Hammond, but he soft-pedals his support of Roosevelt, in order to retain the friendship of the so-called Socialist Party forces who form a sizeable group in the MCF movement.

Heading the so-called SP group is Tucker P. Smith, vice-president of the Michigan CIO and regional director of the CIO United Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Employees. Working closely with Smith are Dr. Herschel Zuckheim and S. M. Menton, Educational Director of Ford Highland Park Local 400. This group prefers not to have the support of the top UAW officials as it fears it will then lose control of the new movement. This faction is really not interested in building a labor party at all, but a

third liberal party. They hold the idea that by means of local clubs, they can formulate policy and around election time utilize the funds and votes of union members to support the candidates which their clique has been influential in choosing. Playing on the rank and file fears of the union bureaucracy, this clique hopes to circumvent a struggle against the top union officialdom by building a party without an organized trade union base.

These two groups have for the time being found common ground in their aims of avoiding a conflict with the top officialdom of the UAW and CIO. There is already a considerable rank and file group of union militants, chiefly from UAW locals, in the MCF, that stands completely independent both from Smith and his group and Hammond-Silver. These union militants realize the necessity of providing the new party with a solid, organized trade union base and of adopting a bold fighting program that answers the needs of labor, of the poor farmers and of the white col-

lar workers. That these militants will make their weight and influence felt in the new party movement is already clear from the panel deliberations and reports at the recent Study Conference. These trade union fighters are now determined to go back to their shops and local unions and begin a serious fight to win the support of the Michigan trade unionists to the MCF movement.

## Second Big Strike Hits British Mines

(Continued from page 1)

reached their climax in the past few weeks. The Yorkshire miners are reported to have returned to work Monday after voting to accept the offer of wage increases for skilled workers and increases in piecework rates, two of the chief so-called "anomalies" created by the Porter awards which fixed flat minimum weekly wages of approximately \$20 a week for underground workers and \$18.25 for surface men. The Doncaster strikers, however, were reported still out.

### HOPE SHATTERED

The hope of the British capitalists and their political agents that these limited concessions will lull the miners into passivity is due to be shattered. For, as all informed observers indicate, the issue of these strikes is far more fundamental than the matter of minor wage increases. The basic demand of the miners is for the outright liquidation of private capitalist ownership and control of the mines and for their complete nationalization.

The mass resistance evoked by the Porter award, coming as it has in the fifth year of the war and on the eve of the Allies' greatest military venture, underscores the deep-rooted political factors in the miners' struggle. Patriotic appeals, the treacherous opposition of their own leaders, particularly the Stalinists, limited concessions, government threats and pressure, will in the end, not avail against the miners.

### WAR EXPERIENCE

Their experiences during the war have taught them that they can place no dependence on Churchill's government or their own pro-imperialist union leaders to offer them a program of security. The Porter award was a crowning affirmation of their growing conviction that the capitalist government acts only to preserve the profits and privileges of the mine owners. While the owners have grown sleeker and fatter on price rises and government subsidies, the miners during the war have toiled harder, longer and in more dangerous conditions for frozen wages that have melted away before the rising cost-of-living.

As the war approaches its climax, the miners have become acutely aware of the future of unemployment and mean existence under a miserable dole that awaits them, a return to the barren and bleak impoverishment they knew for long years before the present war. Their mounting bitter struggles today are a reflection of their determination not to go back again to the old intolerable way of life.

### In Detroit, Mich.

You can get THE MILITANT at the FAMILY THEATRE NEWSSTAND opposite the theatre

## Canadian News Letter

Big Business in Canada is organizing a full dress campaign to discredit the CCF. A slush fund of \$100,000 has been set up and Major Gladstone Murray has been selected as front man for the big boys' anti-labor drive. His first blast has been an accusation that the Canadian Commonwealth Federation was a "National Socialist" (Fascist) outfit. The millionaires of Canada are taking the threat of the CCF very seriously. Unfortunately the Fabian Christian Socialists who head the CCF have not shown any ability of rousing a mass protest against the big-business offensive and have thus far limited themselves to spluttering ineffectual denials.

In a carefully-planted story in the Windsor Star, "Tomest John" Bracken (leader of the recently reconstituted Progressive-Conservative Party) was discovered to bear an extraordinary resemblance to that other emancipator of mankind, Abraham Lincoln. They even doctored up a couple of photographs of Bracken, with and without the Lincoln beard, to prove the point. The story was widely reprinted in other papers, both Liberal and Conservative.

But that was just an opening shot in the campaign. Latest report is that Bracken Clubs are being formed thruout the country, and, no doubt, Bracken buttons will make their appearance. The cult of the leader is being carefully fostered in that party which has produced such a sorry collection of leaders over the past decades—even measured by capitalist standards.

Bracken, and his lieutenant, Premier Drew of Ontario, do not hesitate to appropriate slogans from the CCF program, much to the annoyance of the CCF lead-

ership. They do not hesitate to proclaim this the era of the Common Man. Premier Drew hastens to implement some of the more innocuous of these reforms stolen from the CCF and thereby completely disorientates the stumbling Ontario CCF leadership. Hitler, in his day, also knew how to steal the thunder of the "socialists."

The "Progressive-Conservatives" — the very change in the party's name is a confession of the double-faced character of the party's policy — have one program for its Western adherents with lots of accent on the "Progressive" and another program for its wealthy industrialist and banking backers in the East. Here the accent is on the "Conservative." But perhaps the finest bit of consummate gall was displayed when "Honest John" went into the province of Quebec recently and hailed the French population of Canada as a solid bulwark against the CCF. Apparently the grab-bag has a candy for French Canada as well. Well. Mr. Bracken will learn that French Canada has a long memory, and in that memory his party's name stinks, no matter what other name he chooses to give the rose. However, the sense of all this is that the Progressive-Conservatives, like Hitler's National Socialists, are all things to all men. They carry political hypocrisy to its ultimate.

It is of course premature at this stage to label the Progressive-Conservative party, "Fascist." Before a Fascist party in Canada can secure a mass basis — and that gives it meaning as "fascist" — the CCF will have been given an opportunity by the workers and farmers of Canada to carry through a socialist program.

## 10 Years Ago In The Militant

MARCH 31, 1934

GENEVA—In a ringing manifesto, "For the 4th International!", the International Secretariat of the Trotskyist movement issued an appeal to the workers of the world, from Geneva, calling on them to break with the reactionary Third International and join to form a new revolutionary workers International, the Fourth International.

The manifesto pointed out that "Again in France is being decided not only the history of France but that of Europe and, in the final analysis, of the whole world. Should Fascism succeed in crushing the French proletariat, the whole of Europe will have to drink of the bitter cup." The manifesto concluded with the following slogans:

- Hands Off Proletarian Organizations and the Proletarian Press!
For the Democratic Rights and the Social Gains of the Proletariat!
For the Basic Right—The Piece of Bread!
Against Reaction! Against Bonapartist Police Rule! Against Fascism!
For the Proletarian Militia!
For the Arming of the Workers!
For the Dismantling of Reaction!
Against War: For the Brotherhood of the Peoples!
For the Overthrow of Capitalism!
For the Dictatorship of the Proletariat!
For the Socialist Society!

The stirring call closed: "Proletarians of Both Hemispheres! The First International gave you a program and a banner. The Second International raised the widest masses to their feet. The Third International gave the example of revolutionary action. The Fourth International will bring final victory!"

DETROIT—The insurgent movement of the auto workers for union rights was betrayed by William Green and the AFL bureaucracy. With the treacherous connivance of Green and the AFL officials, Roosevelt established the Auto Labor Board, which legalized the company union in the auto industry. The Militant wrote: "The answer of the class-conscious militant to the combination of capitalists, government officials and AFL bureaucrats who put over this swindle settlement is clear: We have barely begun to fight. When there finally breaks the broad and powerful strike wave now shaping up as a result of the growing disillusionment of the masses with the NRA, the auto workers will be in the forefront of the battle."

## Atlantic Charter -- Its Record Of Fraud

By John G. Wright

In their conduct of the second World War the capitalist rulers have already far surpassed their criminal record of the first world slaughter. They have set new marks for brutality, arrogance, cynicism. They have become accustomed to attacking defenseless civilians; destroying in a few minutes the product of decades, even centuries of labor; laying waste to cities, towns and villages on a scale that staggers the imagination. They have grown inured to publicizing this work of destroying civilization.

On the question of war aims, too, the "democracies" are matched in cynicism only by their fascist opponents. At the outset of the hostilities, Churchill waved aside all talk of war aims or peace aims, blandly announcing that the thing was — to win the war. It was not until the second year of the most destructive war in history that even a semblance of an answer was forthcoming. We refer of course to the so-called Atlantic Charter, issued jointly by Roosevelt and Churchill in August 1941 after their meeting on the high seas.

### WATERED-DOWN VERSION

In essence this Charter was nothing else than a watered-down

- 3) Casablanca, January 1943
4) Washington, May 1943
5) Quebec, August 1943
6) Moscow (Hull, Eden, Molotov), October-November 1943
7) Cairo (Roosevelt, Churchill, Chiang Kai-shek), November 1943
8) Teheran (Roosevelt, Churchill, Stalin), December 1943.

The conduct and the results of these conferences made it obvious why these "democrats" eschewed to include in their Charter any reference to the first of Woodrow Wilson's 14 Points, namely, the pledge to abolish secret diplomacy. The record of secret agreements arrived at by Roosevelt and Churchill makes all their predecessors in this nefarious art look like amateurs.

The world has been told exactly nothing about the decisions reached at any and all of these conferences. In several instances the conferees even refused to issue the customary, formal and utterly meaningless declaration.

They did not even bother to vary their pretext for this suffocating secrecy, but each time pleaded military necessity. For example, here is the joint explanation made by Roosevelt and Churchill after the Quebec Conference of August 1943:

"... It would not be helpful to the fighting troops to make any announcement of the decisions which have been reached. These can only emerge in action."

This explanation left unexplained why it would be so damaging to army morale to make public those steps which were presumably taken to implement promises for a "better world." Now let us see just what actually has "emerged in action."

No sooner was the Atlantic Charter proclaimed than Churchill made it amply clear that it did not and could not apply to the Pacific, that is, to Britain's colonial empire, first and foremost, India. Before the ink had dried on his signature to the "Four Freedoms" Churchill authorized the most brutal repressions against the Indian people, outlawing the Congress party, jailing the Congress leaders, shooting down demonstrators, and in every way trying to crush the movement for Indian independence. The British colonial despots

have since then conferred still another of their classic contributions to their rule in India—a man-made famine from which millions have already died in the single province of Bengal.

At the same time, Churchill has categorically reiterated that he intends to regain all the British colonies that had been seized by Japan including China's Hong Kong.

For its part Washington—so piously opposed (in words) to territorial aggrandizement — has already let it be known that it intends to grab and hold the Japanese islands in the Pacific.

In other words, Churchill and Roosevelt have demonstrated in action that the Atlantic Charter does not apply to the bulk of mankind who inhabit the territories bordering on the Pacific.

How do matters stand in relation to the millions on the European continent? So far as Europe is concerned the sponsors of the Atlantic charter have yet to specify a single country to which their "high principles" apply directly and immediately. Their actions in the meantime have indeed been eloquent.

In the case of Spain, London and Washington have tried their level best to win the collaboration of Butcher Franco. If they have not fully succeeded it is not through lack of effort and goodwill on their part.

In the case of France, London and Washington had no difficulty whatever in finding a common ground with Admiral Darlan and other Vichyites.

In the case of Italy, Roosevelt especially distinguished himself. On July 28, 1943 in a speech delivered in connection with Mussolini's downfall, Roosevelt vowed that "we will have no truck with fascism in any way, in any shape or manner. We will permit no vestige of fascism to remain."

Together with Churchill, he then proceeded to fulfill this pledge—and the program for a "better world"—by the deal with Marshal Badoglio and King Victor Emmanuel, most closely associated with Mussolini throughout the latter's twenty years' rule in Italy.

The deeds are in such glaring discrepancy with the promises that even the editors of the N. Y.

Times found themselves compelled to ask belatedly:

"Do Allied policies toward the Badoglio regime in Italy and Franco Spain uphold the right of peoples to choose their own government?" (N. Y. Times, March 26.)

In short, since the day of its proclamation 31 months ago, the Atlantic Charter has remained—just another scrap of paper.

Now it suddenly turns out that even this scrap of paper is highly inconvenient to the "democracies." On March 23, during interrogations in Parliament, Churchill "hinted" that the Atlantic Charter must undergo "revision," particularly with regard to its application to defeated Germany.

In other words, in the fifth year of the war, Churchill proposes to throw the Atlantic Charter into the waste basket. Secretary of State Hull, on the other hand, thinks it necessary to "reaffirm" it.

Churchill remains today exactly what he was when he signed the Atlantic Charter—the faithful, conscious promoter of the interests of British capitalists and imperialists. He deems it necessary today to renounce his own fake promises of yesterday because capitalist "democracy" has rotted to the core. It cannot any longer employ with previous effectiveness its traditional disguises, deceptions and lies.

In Churchill's opinion the interests of his class will be served best by dispensing with the Wilsonian technique. Even fake promises loom now as handicaps in the struggle to maintain Britain's colonial empire, its markets and sources of raw material. The spokesmen of U. S. capitalism still believe that to some extent they can repeat in this war their brazen deception of 1917-1918.

The course of the second World War is acting to dispel the remaining illusions about capitalist "democracy." In the last war the capitalist bandits were able to wait until the cessation of hostilities before they completely unmasked themselves at the "peace tables"; today they are compelled to reveal their true visage in the midst of the gravest war crisis in history.

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# STALIN EXTENDS PERSONAL INVITE TO CHAMBER OF COMMERCE LEADER

By Art Preis

Stalin has tendered a cordial, personal invitation to Eric A. Johnston, president of the United States Chamber of Commerce, to sojourn this spring in the Soviet Union. Johnston is a leading mouthpiece for the American capitalists and an outstanding proponent of the open shop.

An invitation from the Kremlin to Johnston is more than the expression of diplomatic amenities customarily exchanged between representatives of state. It is a demonstrative and direct bid for the favors of the American capitalist ruling class, made to one of its acknowledged key spokesmen.

The anti-labor Chamber of Commerce head has readily accepted Stalin's invitation to travel, wine and dine at the expense of the hungry, toil-worn, bleeding Soviet masses and to receive first-hand assurances from the Kremlin that it isn't fooling when it proclaims "Teheran" as ushering in a new golden era of "free enterprise" and open Stalinist counter-revolution throughout the world.

## "HONOR-ROLL"

Johnston will undoubtedly soon inscribe his name upon that lengthening "honor roll" of Johnny-come-lately "friends" of the Soviet Union, which now includes even the anti-Semitic poll-taxer, Congressman Rankin.

The Kremlin's invitation, we can be sure, was extended in no off-hand fashion. Only the most reliable and powerful agents of American "free enterprise" today receive Stalin's request for a "command performance" on Soviet soil.

Stalin probably figured Johnston's visit to the SU was long overdue, after Johnston delivered his speech on the "Seven Sins of Labor" and loudly lamented about how the capitalists since 1933 "got the biggest public beating that any group of Americans ever took."

So far as extending the hospitality of the Soviet Union to visitors from capitalist countries is concerned, Stalin is merely following a tradition established from the first days of the

and found refuge from imperialist imprisonment or execution.

With the rise to power of the Stalinist bureaucracy, a progressive change took place. The Soviet Union no longer served as the meeting ground for the leaders of the world proletarian revolution. The Comintern congresses were called less and less frequently, in 1925, 1928 and then 1935. Increasingly, these became meetings of Stalinist functionaries, called to give the formal Comintern stamp of approval to Stalin's treacheries and crimes. In 1943, Stalin formally liquidated the Third International, without a congress.

Instead of a refuge, the Soviet Union was transformed by Stalin into a trap for revolutionists. Hundreds of leading revolutionists from Poland and other countries were summoned to the Soviet Union, particularly during the period of the purges and the Stalin-Hitler pact, and simply disappeared — murdered. Jewish refugees fleeing from Hitler's terror knocked in vain on the doors of the Soviet Union.

## SOVIET TRIP

A trip to the Soviet Union became the privilege of "respectable" bourgeois elements — writers, lawyers, ministers and others of that stripe — who could be bribed or flattered into hailing Stalin and Stalinism in their home countries. A vacation to the Soviet Union became a pay-off to trade union bureaucrats and docile Communist Party functionaries and latter-day "friends" of the Soviet Union.

Today, Stalin is openly contemptuous of all but the Big Business agents of world capitalism. His invitations go to the Eric Johnstons. Johnston no doubt merits this Stalinist gesture of friendship. Only recently he declared that: "The class struggle of Karl Marx has no place in the American economy of today or tomorrow." Earl Browder himself has scarcely put it better.

Bolshevik victory in Russia. The difference lies in the kind of people welcomed by the Soviet Government under Lenin and Trotsky, and those since favored by the Stalin bureaucracy.

## WORKERS INVITED

In the early days of the Soviet power, invitations to visit the Soviet Union were extended to revolutionary workers, trade union representatives, refugees from capitalist oppression, leaders of the rising colonial peoples.

At the invitation of the Soviet government, thousands of the best revolutionary fighters for the toilers and oppressed of all lands assembled yearly in the capital city of Moscow to attend the world congresses of the Third International.

At the expense of the Communist International and the Soviet government, delegations of trade union workers from capitalist countries — American and British miners, French metal workers, German steel puddlers — traveled in the Soviet Union. They were invited to observe the advantages of the progressive social legislation initiated by the Bolsheviks and to witness how the workers could make a social revolution and organize society in a planned, universally-beneficial manner far superior to the "blessings" of "free enterprise."

## A HAVEN

And in the Soviet Union the fleeing victims of capitalist class injustice and savagery found a comradely haven. By the thousands, the most hounded and tortured of every race and nationality made their way there

# Stalinists Lecture FBI Agent On The Character Of The War

By Harvey Brown

Speaking before the annual convention of the National Armed Car Operators in New York City, special agent E. E. Conroy, in charge of the New York office of the FBI warned that "after the war" new problems of "crime prevention" would arise because men trained to kill would not "slump back into the normal life they pursued before they went into the Army."

The N. Y. Herald Tribune, March 21, reports that Mr. Conroy, in a blunt statement addressed to delegates attending the convention stated that: "Some of the commandos might become a particular danger, since they had been taught to kill skillfully and soundlessly, and their numbers included a certain percentage from walks of life from which they would have entered crime under normal circumstances. Now they are going to be post-graduates in crime."

"Others, who did not have criminal instincts, might be driven to make use of the technique of killing they learned in the army, Mr. Conroy said, if they became victims of unemployment or other real or fancied ills. 'Most men, where there is want, revert to the old type of savagery where they take care of their own,' Mr. Conroy said. 'The picture is not a pleasant one.'

"Mr. Conroy pointed out that 10,000,000 men who had never handled a gun or knife before had been taken from their normal civilian life, trained in methods of killing and taught the 'law of the survival of the fittest.'"

## FBI MAN

E. E. Conroy occupies a high position in the FBI and it is his business to deal in realities. The picture he paints of the situation "after the war" is not a pretty one but it is not his job to paint pretty pictures. That chore is left to Roosevelt and the other salesmen of the "free enterprise" system. As a policeman talking to other policemen, Conroy is concerned with the job of enforcing capitalist "law and order" before, during and after the periodic wars and depressions into which capitalism thrusts mankind. He recognizes that men scientifically trained in killing will not passively endure unemployment, poverty and starvation. He recognizes it and says so, bluntly and clearly, and warns his colleagues to prepare to cope with the war-born "criminals."

The capitalist press reported Conroy's speech without editorial comment. What could they say?

For that matter, there was nothing new or startling in what Conroy reported. Practically everyone, including Roosevelt's own labor bureau, has predicted that there will be anywhere from ten to thirty million unemployed "after the war." Provisions to "handle" the unemployed are included in all the "postwar plans." Along with the others, the FBI has its own "plans" for the "postwar" period. There was really nothing to get excited about and nobody did — except the Stalinists. They were offended! They were outraged!! They were furious!!!

And when the Stalinists are aroused they rush into print. In the March 22 issue of the Daily Worker the Stalinists accuse the FBI agent of "impairing the morale of America's armed forces." The Daily Worker screeched that "the people must insist that Attorney General Biddle act quickly" as "The safety of the nation our boys are defending is at stake." "The FBI chief," they frothed, "reserved his worst slanders for our bravest defenders, the heroic Commandos. Commandos, he said, are trained to kill and they are likely to start killing again if they become victims of unemployment, after the war."

That terrible word "unemployment strikes a sinister note" says the Daily Worker and then flings the accusation at the hapless head of the FBI agent that, "Mr. Conroy has no faith that 'freedom from want' can follow the war." "And what is more serious" than Mr. Conroy's lack of faith in the "four freedoms" is that "the FBI chief is blind to the character of a war that makes heroes instead of criminals." That'll teach Mr. Conroy not to go around shooting off his mouth about "unemployment after the war."

## TEHERAN

Doesn't Conroy know that Browder himself has proclaimed that Capitalism is entering a period of abundance, prosperity and peace and that the "free enterprise" system is going to assure plenty for all? Doesn't Conroy know that the Communist Party has voted to dissolve because the "decisions" of Teheran makes socialism and the struggle for socialism, unnecessary, utopian and reactionary? Where has he been since Teheran? Or is the FBI agent a "lose the war — anti-Teheran element?" — in which case Mr. Biddle really "must act" for as the Daily Worker points out, "the safety of the nation our boys are defending is at stake."

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**Michigan CIO Supports 18**

March 16, 1944

HONORABLE FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT  
President of the United States  
Capital Building  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:

We have been watching for many months the unusual developments surrounding the prosecution and imprisonment of eighteen members of the Minneapolis Truck Drivers Local 544-CIO.

The recent, most unprecedented action of the Supreme Court in refusing to review their case on the constitutionality of the law, leaves these workers without recourse or justice.

We urge, therefore, that you grant unconditional pardon or immediate release for all eighteen of these prisoners.

Respectfully yours,  
John W. Gibson, President.

JWG:BC  
Support  
10

Facsimile of the letter sent by John W. Gibson, President of the Michigan CIO Council, representing 750,000 organized workers, urging President Roosevelt to grant an immediate pardon to the 18 imprisoned Trotskyist and Local 544-CIO leaders.

# Flint Union Leader Blasts R. J. Thomas

[The feelings of the rank and file of the Auto Workers Union to the treacherous "unconditional surrender" resolution of the UAW International Executive Board are well illustrated by this article, reprinted from *The Searchlight*, official publication of Flint Chevrolet Local 659. The author, Bert Boone, is one of the co-editors of the paper.—Ed.]

By Bert Boone

The past few weeks have seen numerous attacks launched by our International President, R. J. Thomas, and our International Executive Board, through the public press upon the whole membership of the UAW-CIO.

Unless President Thomas and other members of the International Board are fearful of an uprising of the membership equal to a revolution, the result of which would cost them their jobs, and they are merely making overtures to employers for personnel directorships, I am at a loss to understand what their motives are.

I read one scurrilous attack by President Thomas in the *Flint Journal*. He said that there was no justification for a strike, no matter what the conditions may be. He actually placed the workers in the same category as the employers relative to provocation to strike cases.

I also read a news item in the *Detroit Times* dated February 27, 1944, which sounded as if it had originated in the offices of C. E. Wilson, President of General Motors. This latter slimy article pointed out what the International Executive Board intends to do to individuals who show signs of aggressiveness to the degree of calling the hands of employers who persist in making it tough for the workers. The International Executive Board has designed a set of dictatorial rules (against the workers) to deal with individuals through the local unions. Local unions failing to carry these Hitlerian dictates out upon the workers will have their charters revoked.

The International Executive Board proposes to determine the guilt of individuals who participate in unauthorized strikes, (remember all strikes are illegal according to the interpretation of the Board) and to punish members found guilty by not defending them from the wrath of their employers.

It is my opinion that any union official making such statements or adopting any such dictatorial decrees, are on the wrong pay roll and should tell Harry (tough cookie) Coen, of GM, to move over a bit, that they belong on his side of the table.

I well remember President Thomas' speech to the Michigan State CIO convention, in Muskegon, in May, 1942, when he so scathingly scored John L. Lewis for his mailed fist policy over the United Mine Workers, and now he wants to adopt practically the same policy that less than two years ago he so viciously attacked.

President Thomas, and the International Executive Board freely admit they know that the employers are provoking trouble, but their remedy for the ailment is to take the workers' jobs from them in order to subdue the majority.

I hope the rank and file members don't wait till after the war to remove such people from official position in the union. I say let's oust them.

# CIO Council Of Michigan Joins Fight To Free The 18

(Continued from page 1)

happy to tell you that when the case comes up tonight it will receive the Board's support."

Other important labor and liberal figures who have protested the imprisonments and endorsed the work of the CRDC, are Charles S. Zimmerman, Secretary-Manager, Dressmakers Union, N. Y., Adolph Held, President of the Amalgamated Bank of N. Y., Lawrence Rogin, Educational Director, Textile Workers Union of America.

## NOVACK TOUR

Youngstown, O., March 22 — George Novack, National Secretary of the Civil Rights Defense Committee addressed audiences in Buffalo, N. Y. and Youngstown, Ohio last week, second and third cities to be visited on the coast to coast national tour, part of the national campaign of the CRDC to free the 18 prisoners in the Minneapolis Labor Case.

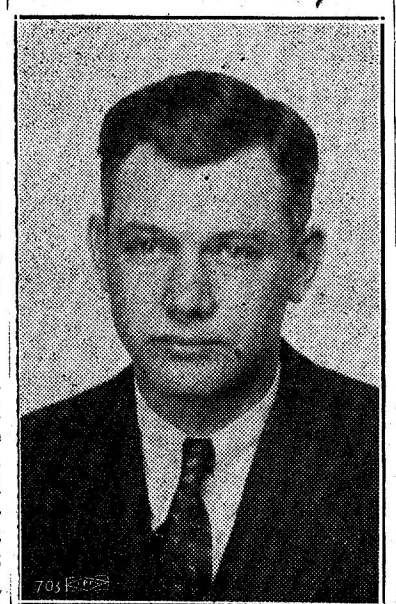
## BUFFALO MEETING

From Buffalo, Mr. Novack reported: "I surveyed the local situation and CRDC activities are in full swing. Our representatives have visited about 12 unions and have already received contributions from 3 totaling about \$100. They have spoken before 8 unions, and they will visit a number of others in the next weeks, not only in Buffalo, but in the regions nearby, such as Niagara Falls, etc. They are sending a mailing to a list of local liberals with a letter bearing the signatures of six prominent civil liberties and labor figures."

Three famous former class-war prisoners have already written letters to President Roosevelt, urging the pardon of the 18. They are Angelo Herndon, victimized for his activities on behalf of the unemployed; Joseph Gilbert, famous free-speech fighter jailed in Minnesota during the first world war; and Warren K. Billings, framed with Tom Mooney for their militant labor activities in 1917. In Youngstown, the Local CRDC

is working to get resolutions of support from the various CIO and steel workers unions. "They will visit also, Newcastle, Pa. where CIO officials are sympathetic to the case, and from whom they expect to receive moral and material support," stated Mr. Novack. "I believe that from now on Youngstown will be heard from a great deal."

Mr. Novack will visit Akron next, where a meeting has been arranged for him on March 24 at the AFL Teamsters Hall. He will then visit Cleveland and Toledo.



GEORGE NOVACK  
CRDC Secretary

On March 29 Mr. Novack is scheduled to address a large meeting in Detroit at the church of Reverend Owen D. Knox. Reverend Knox is a nationally known civil liberties figure and a member of the National Committee of the CRDC. Speakers, in addition to George Novack, will include Reverend Knox, Rev. Horace White, prominent Negro minister and defender of civil liberties, Tucker P. Smith, Executive Director of the Joint Board United Retail, Wholesale & Department Store Employees of America CIO, Matthew Smith, National Secretary Mechanics Educational Society of America.

# Civil War Rages In North Italy

(Continued from page 1)

count of the north Italy strike, news of which was almost completely suppressed by the Allied censorship, it was "a success, not a platoon suspension of work but a direct, challenge to the Gestapo, a direct attack on the Nazi-Fascist war machine and an armed fight which lasted for days."

## WIN CONCESSIONS

So fierce and determined was this bitter struggle that the Nazi were compelled to yield to several of the most important immediate demands of the workers. "The strike had these results," states Avanti. "The deportation of 1,000,000 Italian workers to Germany has been halted, the return of Italian workers from Germany has begun and the punishment of Italians refusing to respond to the Fascist military draft has been softened."

These gains wrested from the Nazis could only have had the effect of encouraging the workers to further resistance.

## INFLUENCE IN EUROPE

The tremendous proletarian struggle in North Italy has already demonstrated the unconquerable power of the working class. The effects of this struggle will be felt not only throughout Italy, but all of Europe, and in Germany itself.

Each blow struck by the Italian workers raises new hopes in the European working class. Seeing what the Italian workers, surrounded on all sides by the most powerful armed forces of world imperialism, have been able to accomplish, the masses of Europe are being inspired to take their fate into their own hands and spread a revolutionary conflagration that will shrivel into ashes all the vaunted military might of the imperialists.

# On The "Boredom" Afflicting The Communist Party Members

By Norman Daniels

Principles are to a political party what backbone is to an individual. They keep the party erect, sustaining the entire frame, giving it shape, determining its movements.

The Stalinists have long ago abandoned all socialist principles. Their actions are governed by only one consideration — the exigencies of Stalin's foreign policy. The Stalinist Party differs from a human being. The Stalinists do not stand erect; they don't walk. They crawl. Like some snakes they blend with the surroundings. They assume a protective coloration according to the needs of the moment. Right now their color is red white and blue.

## NEW SPECIES

With the years, the Stalinists have housebroken a new species of scribes never before known even in the practice of corrupt capitalist journalism — let alone revolutionary journalism. Not only are the Stalinist scribes devoid of the principles and working class characteristics of revolutionary journalists. They do not even possess that flicker of individuality which is sometimes found in a writer of the kept capitalist press.

Picture to yourself a parade of snakes. Imagine them crawling in formation and then at a given signal executing the most intricate twists and turns while maintaining perfect formation. This is what Stalinist journalism is like.

There is, however, one scribe on the Daily Worker who is not as agile as the rest. He is a bit clumsy. He keeps formation as long as the parade moves in one direction, but fumbles and falters every time there is a new turn. We are of course referring to Mike Gold. It isn't that he is not willing. He is more than willing — he is anxious. Perhaps this is what is wrong with him. He is over-anxious. This emphasizes his clumsiness all the more. For this reason he has been kept in the background by the Stalinists, despite his years of zealous service, which should give him seniority over almost everyone on the staff of the Daily Worker, including the editor.

## TYPICAL EXAMPLE

Here is a typical example of Gold's clumsiness: Roosevelt,

Churchill and Stalin had met at Teheran. The world was treated to a series of photographs of this meeting and very little of anything else. For Browder, however, this was more than enough. From a study of the photographs he concluded that this was his cue not merely to publicly renounce socialism — he has long ago renounced it in practice — but to crawl on his belly and lick the boots of the Wall Street magnates. All the scribes on the Daily Worker followed their chieftain. Mike Gold was no exception. But in his own fumbling way he turned his head in the wrong direction. He looked at the membership of the Communist Party. Here is how he reports the reactions of a typical CP audience to one of his speeches:

"The audience consisted of middle-aged folk, tired after a day in store, home or factory. 'They smoked cigarettes and fidgeted in their seats. They scratched where the winter underwear irritated their legs. They coughed and grunted. Every few minutes somebody would rise and walk to the toilet for a rest, acting as mysterious as a hunter stalking a rabbit.' (Daily Worker, Feb. 14, 1944).

## LOW MORALE

Mike Gold is here bewailing the low morale among the Stalinists. Recalling the old days, he con-jinues:

"Yet in the old depression period of 1930, it took no brilliant organizer to hold the attention of members of the Unemployment Councils. 'Nobody then had to convince the people that they and their children were in a dangerous spot. A speaker did not have to prove to them that they were not eating three hearty meals a day. Their hollow bellies knew it too well and their anxious minds were searching for some way out of the calamity that had fallen on twenty million Americans.

"So they listened to any speaker with keenness and fervor. They needed no fancy oratory to stimulate them. All they wanted to hear was the message of organization.

"No, you did not speak to bored or inattentive audiences at the Councils, though most of them had known only beans and tea for a year or more."

Mike Gold poses here an important problem — the problem of morale. Mike Gold poses the

problem, but he does not dare seek an answer. The mere posing of the question, however, gets him into trouble with his masters. His column has not appeared in the Daily Worker in the last weeks.

Far be it from Mike Gold to look for trouble. But he seems to be unable to avoid trouble every now and then. He got into difficulties when he referred to Browder's new line as "a pill fit only for a horse." For this he was whipped publicly in the Daily Worker (Feb. 16). Now he is in trouble for merely mentioning the low morale of the CP membership. But Mike Gold is not seeking the answer to this question of morale. All he does in the remainder of his article is to scold the membership for not realizing that the issues today are far more important to their welfare than those of unemployment. He dangles before them the danger of fascism which he claims stems in the main from the Republican Party.

But nevertheless Gold has posed here a highly important question, well worth examining. What builds morale — the spirit of devotion, enthusiasm, readiness to sacrifice? There is one rule that applies equally to political Parties and armies in the field. To have high morale, people must feel that they are fighting for a better world for themselves and their dear ones, for humanity as a whole. In a word, to have high morale, one must be imbued with high ideals. Decaying capitalism, devoid of any ideals, fighting robber wars, knows enough to harness all the propaganda agencies at their command to create the illusion that their wars are fought for high ideals. The first world war was sold as a war to "make the world safe for democracy," even though it actually made it safe for unemployment, fascism and another more gruesome global war. A large part of Europe, the small countries as well as mighty France, collapsed with hardly a struggle in the early stages of this war largely because the masses could no longer be deceived by the old empty shibboleths of the last war.

For a political party, morale is just as important as it is for an army. While the state has the power to dragoon people into the army, leaving them at times little choice as individuals except to "fight and get it over with," a political party is, except for totalitarian countries, a voluntary

association. The morale of the members depends on the inspirational quality of the ideals embodied in the program and the principles of the party.

Democratic and Republican parties represent the capitalist class in power and are able therefore to dispense patronage on an immense scale. This is the foundation of their powerful machines. Yet even they find patronage insufficient, by itself. This is why these parties try to wear the ill-fitting mantles of Thomas Jefferson and Abraham Lincoln. The depression of 1930, however, had been so disastrous for the masses, that they could no longer be satisfied with the dead heroes and issues of the past as a substitute for a program.

Mike Gold's party, the C.P., also, has its own bit of patronage which it dispenses through its apparatus, through the International Workers Order, through the unions it dominates, etc. This helps maintain the machine, but it cannot make for high morale in the ranks. The C. P. has no program, no principles and no ideals to inspire its members. The Stalinists cannot inspire anyone when they mouth the worn phrases of "free enterprise" of maintaining capitalism in power for generations to come. Its policy, to grovel in the dust before capitalism, is hardly a line to inspire. To curry favor with capitalism, it is forced to strip itself of even socialist phraseology and pretence at the very moment when the need for socialism is greatest. No wonder Gold's audience is bored. No wonder "every few moments somebody would rise and walk to the toilet for a rest..."

The working class is capable of high feats of courage. It is capable of magnificent heroic struggle and of great sacrifices. But only if it is led by a party of men with backbone, with firm principles standing erect and fighting for their ideas, even when those ideas are not popular for the moment, yes, even if it means going to jail for these ideas. The problem of morale for a workers' party is in reality inseparable from the problem of program and principles. High morale is the privilege of the party fighting relentlessly for a socialist world. That is why high morale will never again be within the reach of the degenerated, corrupt, treacherous Stalinist Party.



# The Negro Struggle

By Charles Jackson

## A Negro Labor Leader at Half-Way House

One of the keenest analyses of the destiny of the Negro worker in the post-war period to appear in the Negro press in recent weeks was presented in an article by Horace Sheffield in the Michigan Chronicle of March 18. Sheffield, an outstanding trade-union leader in the Detroit area, evidently has the foresight to recognize the signs of reaction in this country. He correctly envisions the Negro worker being the first victim of such reaction and he therefore deplors the apparently indifferent attitude of the average Negro worker with regard to trade-union activities.

Says Sheffield: "Dress rehearsal, on a comparatively small scale, of the impending economic disaster awaiting literally thousands of Negro workers in the post-war world is being staged daily." He gives us a concrete example: "Indicative of what will result by reason of the continued apathy of the average black worker toward the labor movement was demonstrated recently at a local plant when the management arbitrarily discharged its entire Negro working force. . . . Negroes, themselves, unconsciously facilitated this move on the part of reactionary management through their reluctance to become active participants, in concert with their white brothers, against the continued efforts of this management to abrogate the rights of all working people. While Negroes constituted approximately 45 percent of the total working force in this particular plant their active participation and assumption of responsibility in the union was negligible."

### VICIOUS METHODS

Describing the vicious methods used by the ruling capitalist class he says: "It is generally known that employers are deliberately planning to weaken the unions by stirring up controversies within the unions, such as white against black. . . . A scarcity of jobs will aid them in this nefarious scheme." In Sheffield's opinion: "The only practical solution to this dilemma lies in the CIO's post-war program of full employment for all, regardless of race, creed or color. This, the Negro must support actively and continuously for therein lies his only hope for post-war economic security."

We certainly cannot disagree with Sheffield as far as he goes. The capitalists will certainly be forced to pit the Negro worker against the white in their attempt to keep the masses subjugated. For us Negroes, conditions are bound to get worse. Furthermore, we agree with Sheffield's opinion that: "The only real and potent ally that the Negro has in his struggle for survival in industry is the organized labor movement." In the common struggle for better working conditions and higher wages the white worker needs the support of the Negro worker just as the Negro needs the support of the labor movement. Therefore organized labor in order to survive must

back the Negro just as strongly as organized capital attempts to enslave him. This basic fact is verified daily. We see the CIO more and more taking the lead over all other types of organizations in going to bat for the Negro people.

### NEGLECTS POLITICS

Sheffield, however, while drawing the correct deductions from these facts, completely neglects the political aspects. Specifically, he does not explain how the CIO will be able to carry out its admirable program in a capitalist world. No mention is made of the independent political action that must now be initiated by the trade unions if they expect to have a voice in government policy.

"A job at union wages, a well built home, good food, clothing and medical care, good schooling for children and an adequate income even if unemployed. . . . all of these necessities for decent living are the things that are beneficial for society as a whole. But under capitalism the interests of the greedy few are served in preference to the interests of the exploited many. Not one of these listed items could be granted to the masses without cutting into the profits of the greedy few. Following the present trend towards dictatorship, what voice will organized labor have in protecting the Negro worker—or any worker? Without independent political action by the workers the agencies of government will continue to be the mouthpiece of the big employers who will still comprise the ruling class."

In judiciously advising Negro workers to take a more active part in union activities, Sheffield should further explain to us that political action as well as economic action is necessary if the labor movement is to go forward. As a practical application, for example, of increased union activity, we would have heard Mr. Sheffield speaking out for the trade unions at the recent founding conference of the third party in his state, the Michigan Commonwealth Federation. The CIO must gain a strong independent political voice if a labor program is to be heard and heeded.

### HALF WAY

If you are only half way to town you are still in the country. When an otherwise progressive trade-union leader sees the signs of the times, properly directs us to our only historically logical ally, shows us the program of this ally would assure us economic equality but fails completely to explain that this program has no chance of being put into effect so long as the present ruling capitalist class remains astride the backs of white and black workers; when this trade union leader fails to recognize the need for political independence of labor, then such a trade union leader, as far as the welfare of the masses of Negro workers is concerned, is still in the country.

### PIONEER PARAGRAPHS

## HOW LENIN CHARACTERIZED IMPERIALISM AND ITS WARS

On November 1, 1914, at the beginning of the last imperialist war, Lenin wrote: "Imperialism has placed the fate of European culture at stake. After this war, if a series of successful revolutions do not occur, more wars will follow — the fairy tale of a 'war to end all wars' is a hollow and pernicious fairy tale. . . . Workers, call this prediction to mind! The present war — the second imperialist war — is not an accident; it does not result from the will of this or that dictator. It was predicted long ago. It derived its origin inexorably from the contradictions of international capitalist interests. Contrary to the official fables designed to drug the people, the chief cause of war as of all other social evils — unemployment, the high cost of living, fascism, colonial oppression — is the private ownership of the means of production together with the bourgeois state which rests on this foundation."

our planet correctly, scientifically, and rationally, according to a general plan. So long, however, as the main productive forces of society are held by trusts, i. e., isolated capitalist cliques, and so long as the national state remains a pliant tool in the hands of these cliques, the struggle for markets, for sources of raw materials, for domination of the world, must inevitably assume a more and more destructive character. State power and domination of economy can be torn from the hands of these rapacious imperialist cliques only by the revolutionary working class. That is the meaning of Lenin's warning that without "a series of successful revolutions" a new imperialist war would inevitably follow. The different predictions and promises which were made have been submitted to the test of events. The fairy tale of the "war to end all wars" has been proved a lie. Lenin's prediction has become tragic truth.

With the present level of technology and skill of the workers it is quite possible to create adequate conditions for the material and spiritual development of all mankind. It would be necessary only to organize the economic life within each country and over

(From "Manifesto of the 4th International on the Imperialist War and the Proletarian Revolution," page 5. Published by Socialist Workers Party, 1940. 46 pages, 5c. Order from Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Pl., N.Y. 3; N. Y.)

# The Cause That Passes Through A Prison

[The following article, part of which is reprinted here, was first published in the Labor Defender of September, 1926, for the second annual conference of the International Labor Defense. James P. Cannon was at that time National Secretary of the I.L.D. and under his leadership the I.L.D. grew to a powerful mass organization which espoused a program of militant class-struggle labor defense. Especially noteworthy was the great campaign for Sacco and Vanzetti, which reached almost every corner of the American labor movement and resounded throughout the world.]

This article, with its lessons of labor defense, is especially applicable today, when Cannon himself along with 17 others of the Minneapolis prisoners, is behind prison bars. The labor movement now has the duty of learning again its obligations to its class war prisoners, to support them and to take up their defense.—Ed.]

By James P. Cannon

The path to freedom leads through a prison. The door swings in and out and through that door passes a steady procession of "those fools too stubborn-willed to bend," who will not turn aside from the path because prisons obstruct it here and there.

The doors of the San Quentin penitentiary swung outward the other day and three men stepped forth and drank in their first breath of freedom for several years. They were workers, members of the I.W.W., who had just finished a sentence under the criminal syndicalism law. On almost the same day, at the other end of the country, in Massachusetts, John Merrick began to serve his sentence imposed for activity in a shoe workers' strike several years before. A week or so later, George Papcun, a young man who distinguished himself in the struggle to organize the coal miners of Pennsylvania, was convicted of sedition and took his first steps in the long tortuous path which leads through technical motions and appeals to the prison.

### Sacco and Vanzetti

In the state penitentiary in Massachusetts, Sacco and Vanzetti wait for the final judgment to be passed upon them because they are rebels and foreigners. The United States Supreme Court will decide the Ruthenberg appeal in the October term. The warden of the Michigan state penitentiary is ready.

The mills of capitalist justice grind out victims for the penitentiary. If you put your finger on any corner of the map of America, whether Texas, California, Washington, Pennsylvania, Maine, Massachusetts, West Virginia, New York, you can say with certainty: "In this state is a penitentiary which confines labor prisoners."

In one sense of the word the whole of capitalist society is a Bastille. For the great mass of people who do the hard useful work there is no such word as freedom. They come and go at the order of a few. Their lives are regulated according to the needs and wishes of a few. A censorship is put upon their words and deeds. The fruits of their labor are taken from them. And if, by chance, they have the instinct and spirit to rebel, if they take their place in the vanguard of the fight for justice, the prisons are waiting.

The procession that goes in and out of the prison doors is not a new one. It is the result of an old struggle under new forms and under new conditions. All through history those who have fought against oppression have constantly been faced with the dungeons of a ruling class. The greater the cause has been and the deeper it has been rooted in the needs and sufferings of the masses, the more it has been menaced by the tortures of prison cells. The number of victims taken from among the ranks of those who have fought for a cause has been the measure of its greatness, and no cause is a great one which has not produced fighters in its ranks who have dared to face arrest and trial and imprisonment. And the fear of a ruling class and the effectiveness of those who struggle against them can always be measured by the number upon whom they wreak revenge in this way.

### Class War Prisoners

The class war prisoners of today, just as those in previous periods of history, are representatives of the most courageous and advanced section of the oppressed but upward-striving class. As a rule they are individuals of particular audacity and ability who have stood out conspicuously in their environment as leaders and militants and have thereby incurred the hatred of the oppressors.

Even in prison they continue to serve their class. Read the prisoners' letters which appear every month in the Labor Defender. See their dauntless spirit reflected there. See how little confinement has been able to tame their spirit or to weaken their faith in the eventual triumph of their class.

The fortitude with which they bear their ignominious punishment and the fidelity to principle which they show in almost every case, gives them a power as an inspiring and forward-driving force in the labor movement as a whole, which cannot be over-estimated. The service they render is as great as their sacrifice is heavy.

### Honor and Esteem

The class conscious worker accords to the class war prisoners a place of singular honor and esteem. The class war prisoners are stronger than all the jails and jailers and judges. They rise triumphant over all their enemies and oppressors. Confined in prison, covered with ignominy, branded as criminals, they are not defeated for they are the banner-bearers of the class that is destined to triumph. They are the representatives of an idea that will crack the walls of every prison and crumble them into dust.

There is a way of saying that the class war prisoners are victorious which smacks of superficial optimism and which offers little consolation to men who spend long, almost forgotten years behind the gray walls of the jail. We do not mean to speak in this sense, as though it were an automatic process. The victory of the class war prisoners is possible only when they are inseparably united with the



JAMES P. CANNON

living labor movement and when that movement claims them for its own, takes up their battle-cry, remembers its obligations to them, and carries on their work.

The matter-of-fact attitude which shrugs its shoulders lightly at the procession of rebel workers passing through the prison doors, passes it off as "part of the game," lets the prisoners lie there year after year neglected and forgotten and lets the prisoners' helpless dependents shift for themselves, is a poisonous and dangerous attitude indeed. That way spells defeat for the class war prisoners and for the things they stand for. There has been too much of this in the past, as many a prisoner could tell with bitter words if he wished to speak about it.

### Great Tasks

We believe it is one of the great tasks of the movement to make war upon this attitude and to eliminate it entirely. There are plenty of signs already that our efforts are meeting with success and that the claim of the class war prisoners is beginning to occupy a prominent place on the agenda of the labor movement.

The never-to-be-forgotten conference of earnest militants held on June 28th last year to launch the International Labor Defense marked a turning point in the struggle to unite the imprisoned fighters with the militant labor movement. The conference which founded International Labor Defense set before the organization a number of serious and difficult tasks. In the year which has intervened, substantial progress has been made in all directions.

The burning issue of labor defense has been raised more insistently and in a more organized fashion than ever before in America. The assistance given to prisoners and their dependents during the past year, though pitifully small when measured in comparison to their sacrifice, still is something — a sign of remembrance and an act of practical solidarity. The legal defense of persecuted workers has been put on an organized basis and not a single one has appealed to us in vain.

### Labor Publicity

Our development of publicity for labor defense, the crowning achievement of which is the solid establishment of the Labor Defender, which represents an entirely new departure in American labor journalism, has been a fruitful and substantial work indeed.

The I.L.D. way, which is the way of brotherly solidarity and unity, has made its impression deep and indelible on all sections of the conscious and militant labor movement. And most important of all, a solid organization has been built up embracing many thousands of militant workers of diverse views who are uniting in practical solidarity under the banner of the I.L.D. This is exerting a powerful influence for unity in other activities in the class struggle.

### Workers' Shield

International Labor Defense is not a separate and independent movement of itself; it is a part of the whole labor movement. It is a shield for the workers as a whole in their daily struggle in their battle for liberation. It keeps the issue of liberation of the imprisoned labor fighters constantly before the eyes of labor, the issue which stone walls and prison bars often cause workers to forget their brothers and comrades.

The work of International Labor Defense is by its very nature work for the class struggle and for solidarity. Thousands of workers who are going into activity for I.L.D. are being led by degrees into the main stream of the class struggle itself, not only as sympathizers but as participants, as active soldiers. By its work and organization I.L.D. draws greater numbers of workers into the movement and reveals to them, with the aid of their own experiences, more and more the role of our class government.

## Cleveland Steel Local Fights Against Murray

(Continued from page 1)

Murray himself took the lead in the attempt to housebreak the local. He appointed Jack Ferline, a Stalinist hack on Donovan's staff as receiver, and instructed him to take over the records and funds of the local.

### LOCAL MEETING

The question of turning the local's books and records over to Murray's flunkies was taken up at a meeting of the local. Four international representatives who were present at the meeting were invited to leave so that the membership could conduct its business without interference. When they left, they took the local's charter with them. The local membership refused to turn the books and funds over to Murray's receiver. Further, the members of Local 1519 agreed that they would not return to work unless the international executive board rescinded the suspension of the local's grievance committee. "The

attitude of the membership' of the steel worker's fight for a new contract embodying wage demands beyond the Little Steel formula, Phillip Murray is on the spot. He has got to produce—or else he will be faced with a major revolt within the ranks of his own union.

With an eye on the national convention of the United Steelworkers of America scheduled for May, Murray is moving to behold those individual militants and militant locals whom he would otherwise have to confront on the convention floor. Murray is facing a convention where he will have to give an accounting of his leadership in the struggle against the Little Steel formula. The steel workers have been without a contract for months; they are daily confronting the increasing arrogance of the employers; their grievances have been ignored, their dignity trampled upon by the slave driving steel bosses. All this time they have been bound hand and foot by the unconditional no-strike pledge.

With the entire labor movement closely watching the conduct

of the steel worker's fight for a new contract embodying wage demands beyond the Little Steel formula, Phillip Murray is on the spot. He has got to produce—or else he will be faced with a major revolt within the ranks of his own union.

### MURRAY ON SPOT

The militants must begin to prepare now to challenge the bankrupt policies of the Murray leadership at the convention, by demanding that the wage dispute of the steel workers be taken out of the WLB morgue and pressed forward through the independent action of the union. In order to win a new contract embodying their wage demands and enforce the contract after it is gained, the union must rescind the 'no-strike' pledge. Such action will go a long way toward restoring the dignity of the working man and dispelling the arrogance of the steel barons.

## CIO Heads Attempt To Purge Militants

(Continued from page 1)

Wire Company in Cleveland, O. This was the first action of its kind in the Ohio district of the steel union and follows the precedent established by Thomas of the UAW and Dalrymple of the URW. Phillip Murray, appointed a receiver to take over all records and funds of Local 1519 and to conduct its affairs. The Cleveland Plain Dealer reports that: "The move was seen as part of the recent effort by CIO unions to take stronger measures to implement the no-strike pledge."

### GREAT FEAR

What are the labor bureaucrats preparing for? Auto, rubber and steel—these unions are the backbone of the CIO! They have a fighting tradition and have occupied the forefront of the progressive labor movement. What is the great fear that permeates the bureaucrats in their mad war on the militants in these unions? We know that all three unions are currently engaged in wage negotiations with the corporations. They, as well as the CIO

## Recognition Of Badoglio And The Game Of Power Politics

By A. Roland

Cordell Hull has requested from Stalin in a polite diplomatic note an explanation of the Kremlin's unilateral recognition of the Badoglio regime in Italy. The tone in which the note is couched is of a piece with the kid-glove care with which both Roosevelt and Churchill have "handled" Stalin in the period since the invasion of Russia by Hitler. The diplomatic language however but thinly disguises the extreme distrust of the allies toward the Kremlin.

The great victories of the Red Army since the failure of the German Wehrmacht to take Stalingrad, have permitted Stalin to follow a relatively more independent course in his policies. The Allied imperialist leaders have wryly swallowed many a bitter pill concocted by the Kremlin dictator. One reason for this—not the sole reason—was the fact that the United States and England were still unable to invade the continent. The Red Army fought the powerful German armies practically alone. But the political reason for the yielding to Stalin's demands outweighed the military. The allied imperialists were uncertain of Stalin's future course in relation to Germany.

### TRUMP CARD

Stalin held one trump card which Roosevelt and Churchill suspected he might play at some stage of the war. This was the possibility of a separate peace with Germany. The Russian bureaucracy had created the so-called Free German Committee with a program that offered peace to a Germany that had rid itself of Hitler. It was the German Generals who were asked to head the revolt against Hitler. Stalin proposed to make an alliance with the Junker-led German army in order to counterbalance the power of the Allies. It was at this period that the Stalinist clamor for a second front died down. This policy of Stalin's very likely encouraged Hitler to think that he might stave off complete defeat by driving a wedge between the Anglo-American camp and the Soviet Union.

Soviet recognition of the Badoglio regime without consultation with the United States and England, is directly related to Stalin's program for Germany. It is an attempt to give assurance to the German officer caste that Stalin can be trusted to carry out his side of a bargain. No doubt there are many other motives connected with Stalinist aims in the Mediterranean. In any case the move was aimed against the present allies of Stalin. True the action was more symbolic than real. After all it was the Allies, recognition or no recognition, who placed Badoglio in power and kept him there.

### SHARP TURN

Stalin's ability to pursue big maneuvers in the game of power politics will soon come to an end. The invasion of the continent by the armies of England and America will bring about a sharp turn in the war, not merely in a military sense but in the corresponding political sense. Once these armies are firmly lodged on the continent, the fear of a separate peace between Germany and Russia will be dissipated. Roosevelt and Churchill will feel it less and less necessary to placate Stalin.

The tension will likewise be heightened in the camp of the United Nations as the war in the Pacific draws nearer its ultimate conclusion. The defeat of Japan is a foregone conclusion. But just how will it occur? The strongest part of the Japanese army is located in Manchuria, on the Siberian border. It has been suggested that even if the Japanese mainland is overrun, the Manchurian army, basing itself on

the vast stocks of raw materials in that colony, might still be able to continue the struggle. At any rate, that Japanese army will have to be displaced, whether by force or by treaty. Who will then march in to take over this rich possession? Will the Chinese get Manchuria? Or will the United States army march in to take possession "temporarily?"

### ASIA'S FATE

This question involves the fate of China and Asia for a long period after the war. The Soviet Union would hardly desire to see a powerful United States army lodged right at its back door. Rather than risk that possibility, the Soviet Union might well feel it necessary "to enter the war against Japan, in order itself to decide the fate of Manchuria. But what will be the attitude of the Anglo-American imperialists to such a step? Tension is bound to heighten at this stage of the war.

England and America will at this stage have strong armies in Europe. They will dominate the seas. The Pacific will have become an American lake with the former Japanese bases in its hands. In such an eventuality, the imperialist leaders will not be disposed to yield to Stalin in the slightest. The Kremlin, no longer able to pursue its policy of playing off one force against another, will find itself more and more dominated by the Anglo-American camp.

Stalin sees no other way out of such a situation than by trying to outsmart the imperialists in the game of power politics. He is bound to fail. If the Junkers of Germany refuse to accept the offer of Stalin, it is not merely because of distrust of Stalin. For more important is their fear of the German workers and peasants. The overthrow of Hitler, even under the auspices of the Generals, would release tremendous explosive forces inside Germany. These forces would be even mightier than those released in Italy by the downfall of Mussolini. The German officer caste feels its fate tied to that of the Nazis. They now base their hopes of avoiding complete defeat on Hitler's political plans to create a rift in the enemy camp.

### MORE REACTIONARY

Whichever course the Stalinist bureaucracy pursues, whether a rapprochement with the Kings and Generals of the fascist countries, or a policy of appeasement toward the Allies, the policies of the Kremlin can only become more and more openly reactionary. If Stalin's game with the German Generals fails, he believes that he can still be sufficiently useful to the Allies in staving off European revolutions to avoid an immediate and open conflict with the allied imperialists.

The coming turn in the war will change the situation for the Stalinist apparatus. It will be placed between the upper and the nether millstones. It will face on the one hand the menace of the most powerful imperialist coalition that the world has ever seen. On the other, it faces all the dangers of proletarian revolution in one or more of the European countries. The remarkable victories of the Red Army have given the appearance of strengthening the Stalinist apparatus beyond all bounds. And this was certainly the case for a brief spell. But this will not last indefinitely, even during the war. Coming events cannot help but undermine the position of the Stalinist apparatus. Stalin is far from being all-powerful as so many have been dazzled into believing. The cataclysmic social forces that will be released as the war approaches its climax cannot be controlled by any Kremlin autocrat.

nationally are committed by conventional action to smash the Little Steel formula.

Is their current drive to purge the militants perhaps a preparation in anticipation of the rejection of the union's wage demands? They are well aware that a new gigantic labor revolt is liable to break when their current demands are flatly rejected. They haven't the courage to fight the corporations and the anti-labor policies of the government. So, they are now turning their guns on their own membership. This is the true meaning of the present drive to "discipline" the workers and to purge the militants out of the CIO.

The danger exists throughout the CIO unions. If the militants in auto now take the initiative in halting this fink drive of the top

bureaucrats, they will find support and backing in the rubber union, the steel union and in numerous other sections of the CIO. The bureaucrats cannot be fought by isolated sporadic flareups and departmental strikes. These very often only play into the hands of the corporations and the labor fakers. What is necessary now is to organize the leading local unions in auto, rubber and steel behind a fighting program and then wage a determined fight for the program.

## For a Rising Scale of Wages to Meet Rising Living Costs



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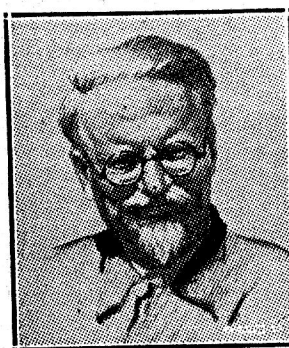
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To defend the USSR as the main fortress of the world proletariat, against all assaults of world imperialism and of internal counter-revolution, is the most important duty of every class-conscious worker.

— LEON TROTSKY

## JOIN US IN FIGHTING FOR:

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

## Hillman's Politics

With the approach of the presidential election campaign all pretense of "independent political action" is being dropped by the leaders of the CIO Political Action Committee. When the committee was first established, Philip Murray announced that the CIO was "committed to no man or political party. We shall," said Murray, "in the next few months, have our organization perfected and its general principles agreed upon. We shall then, before the national conventions of the two major parties, hold a national meeting or conference of our own. 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." Such was also the general policy adopted by the last CIO convention, a policy ostensibly binding on all officials of the organization.

For months, Sidney Hillman, chairman of the CIO Political Action Committee, toured the country, tongue in cheek, preaching the program outlined above and demanding, in the name of "unity" that all labor party movements dissolve themselves into his committee. After liquidating a number of such promising movements in New Jersey, Pennsylvania and elsewhere, Hillman returned to New York where he undertook the task of taking over the New York organization of the American Labor Party. For months a cat and dog fight has ensued between the Hillman-Stalinist combination and the Dubinsky-Social Democrats for control of the ALP.

As both factions stood for essentially the same program the struggle took on the character of a filthy mud slinging campaign. Alarmed at the possibility of a split that would endanger the fourth term campaign for Roosevelt, Mayor La Guardia intervened and offered a "peace plan" to both factions. Point number one in the proposal was that: "A joint statement be issued immediately by Messrs Hillman and Dubinsky and their committees that they are wholeheartedly in favor of the renomination and re-election of Franklin D. Roosevelt for President of the United States." The *N. Y. Times* reports that the Mayor's proposal "was promptly accepted 'unconditionally' by Sidney Hillman." Upon what authority do Messrs. Sidney Hillman and Co. "promptly" and "unconditionally" scotch

the decision of the CIO convention and the program adopted by the CIO Political Action Committee as announced by the head of the CIO, Philip Murray?

Instead of calling Hillman to order, Murray sends him a congratulatory letter saying: "I have followed closely your efforts in New York and other states to work out a basis for united action by labor unionists and other progressives, and have noted how carefully you have adhered to the purposes and policies outlined by the last CIO convention." Irony stands disarmed before such impudence and treachery!

## Baruch Plan

Roosevelt has certainly carried the ball for Wall Street on the Baruch Plan. The plan was hardly submitted when Roosevelt promptly accepted all of its recommendations and made provisions to carry them out. It is not for nothing that the bankers, speculators and stock jobbers of the nation hailed the Plan as the new Magna Charta of the "free enterprise" system.

Why not? It guarantees to turn over billions of dollars of government-owned plants and equipment to the Wall Street plunderers at a fraction of their original cost. Now Wall Street is assured that the golden shower will not stop with the war.

The March 1 issue of the *Mine Workers Journal* aptly characterizes the gigantic steal: "The Baruch report represents the hope of the international bankers to keep their war profits, to avoid a capital levy that would make them pay some part of the cost of the war, and to keep the American workers in the chains of frozen wages paid for being frozen to a job."

The "statesmen of labor" however, far from organizing a struggle against this Wall Street outrage, have actually, in the person of its two major leaders had the effrontery to endorse, with "critical" amendments, the Baruch Plan. Handing over billions of dollars worth of plants and equipment to the corporations as a gift is OK with Green provided a "labor representative" is included. Philip Murray is also ready to go along with "the general approach of the report." But, of course, like Green, he thinks there ought to be a more "effective participation of labor." In other words all Murray and Green demand for labor are a few more jobs for a few more labor bureaucrats.

The labor bureaucrats have been a party to the war-time crimes of the Roosevelt government against the people. Murray and Green now hasten to show us that their betrayals of labor will continue after active hostilities cease. These labor flunkies are surely not so stupid that they do not realize the enormous strengthening and enrichment of the profit-gorged monopolies prepares the ground for a new explosive economic crisis and spells new depressions, unemployment, insecurity, misery and degradation for the masses of the people.

By their support of the Baruch Plan, these labor scoundrels demonstrate how fraudulent are all their "post-war" plans and programs to guarantee full employment, adequate housing, guaranteed annual wages, social security and so forth. They are obviously not serious about any of these objectives and simply trot out these fine-sounding programs to assuage the resentment of the rank and file workers.

## Veterans And Labor

The CIO has announced that it will hold a conference in Washington on April 6 and 7 to explore the possibility of forming a veterans' organization to embrace its more than 1,000,000 members now in the armed forces. All honorably discharged CIO war veterans have been invited to attend.

The proposed veterans' conference is a step in the right direction. There exists a crying need for an organization that will help unite the workers in the factories and the workers in uniform. The American Legion, which now presumes to speak for the war veterans, is a notorious anti-labor outfit whose strikebreaking activities after the last war are well known to the entire labor movement.

As the labor movement now well understands, Big Business is campaigning to poison the minds of the soldiers against the workers and to drive a wedge between the two. It has already laid long range plans to mobilize the soldiers into anti-labor detachments. For its own self-preservation, organized labor must take positive and decisive measures to prevent the union-hating American Legion from becoming the organization that speaks for the veterans of the second world war.

The coming CIO veterans' conference, it must be frankly stated, can make an effective contribution in this direction only if it spurns the policies of capitulation and crawling of the top CIO "labor statesmen" and strikes out on its own. The unity of labor and the soldiers can be forged only on the basis of struggle for a bold program designed to answer the needs of the soldiers. Such a program must not only deal with the needs of the CIO war veterans now "honorably discharged" but must answer the needs of all the toilers now in the armed forces.

Such a program would include a genuine fight for the soldier's democratic rights in the armed forces, military training under workers' control, trade union wages for all workers drafted into the armed forces, the building of an independent party of labor which will struggle for jobs and security for the veterans in common with all of labor. Such a program would squelch the insidious schemes of the plutocracy to turn the army against the labor movement; such a program would guarantee the unity of the workers in uniform with the workers in industry. Such a program would cut the ground from under the American Legion and all of its reactionary anti-labor schemes.

# State Department Plans French 'Badoglio' Deal

By Ralph Graham

By refusing to accord full diplomatic recognition to de Gaulle's French Committee of National Liberation, the state department in Washington has given notice of its intention to repeat in France — when that country has been freed from the Nazi grasp — the policy it has pursued in Italy, the policy of creating and propping up a reactionary military dictatorial regime whose essential task will be to prevent the popular masses from giving expression to their own will.

It has been made clear in Washington that Gen. Eisenhower will have the power to deal with, and buttress the rule of, such local authorities as may be found when the Allied armies march in. Beyond the requirements of military "expediency," no account will be taken of the fact that these authorities have all been in close collaboration with the Nazis for close to four years and that they have earned the undying hatred of the French masses.

### AMERICAN AIMS

The American capitalists have no more intention of permitting the French masses to exercise the right of self-determination — although this is supposed to be guaranteed by the Atlantic Charter — than they have in the case of Italy. The expulsion of the Nazis from France is likely to produce a mass upsurge in that country which will even overshadow the recent events in Italy. The tortured and exasperated people will without doubt resist

any attempt by the rotten capitalist clique to continue under the protection of Allied bayonets the oppressive rule which they have maintained under the protection of Nazi bayonets. It is Wall Street's intention to oppose and frustrate the mass will of the French people.

Because of the opposition which was aroused by the deals with Darlan and Badoglio, Washington has been obliged to deny that it contemplates making deals of any kind with "Vichyites." Eisenhower, according to a recent report, will merely be empowered "to deal with whatever authorities" he finds in France if they are considered "acceptable," but not with Vichy.

### TRANSPARENT FRAUD

No more transparent fraud could be imagined. There is no such thing as an independent authority anywhere in France. Every local authority in the country, from provincial governments down to the administrations of the smallest arrondissements, has been nominated, appointed, placed in office and kept there only by Vichy — which means in the last analysis, by the French capitalists and the Nazis.

For the American imperialists it is not a question of dealing with the French authority which is most representative of the masses of the population. Neither the de Gaulles outside of France nor the Vichyites within possess any true representative character. Both stand for sections of the French bourgeoisie, although de Gaulle at the present time may have something of a popular following in France. The popularity

of the Vichyites can be determined by the frequency with which they fall victims of assassination.

Nevertheless, de Gaulle and his coterie of capitalist patriots, willing and anxious as they are to serve the Anglo-American camp and to harness the French masses to its war machine, are not to be given sole recognition. The "democratic" imperialists, while recognizing de Gaulle's usefulness, wish to retain a free hand.

### NECESSARY ALLY

Why? Because the bulk of the French bourgeoisie, which is in metropolitan France, represents a necessary ally against the coming French revolution. Roosevelt knows that they will have to treat with this rotten, reactionary class, prop it up and preserve it against the coming revolutionary assaults of the masses, so that France may be preserved for capitalism. The fact that this class has collaborated with the Nazis in oppressing the masses will give them no more pause than did the like situation in Italy.

Thus, in the coming Allied invasion of France, we shall see a fresh demonstration of the reactionary policies of the Allies, new evidence of the hypocrisy of the authors of the Atlantic Charter. While proclaiming their love of democracy, their devotion to the idea of self-determination for all nations, they act invariably as promoters and partners of reaction, as allies of the counter-revolutionary European capitalists against the workers.

# AFL-CIO In Sham Battle Over Policy In WLB Wage Dispute

(Continued from page 1)

right of the miners to a decent standard of living. It required four coal strikes to supplement the statistics, before Roosevelt and the steel corporations which dominate the coal industry, were convinced that the miners really needed a wage increase. In the rail wage dispute, the representatives of the Railroad Brotherhoods submitted voluminous statistics proving that the railroad workers were underpaid and had to have a wage increase. Yet, after a run-around that lasted over a year, it required a strike vote and the real threat of a strike to win a modest wage increase.

Philip Murray and William Green did not back the coal and rail struggles. Instead they stabbed the coal miners in the back; they disassociated themselves from the railroad workers. By their treachery they helped Roosevelt to reestablish again the shaky structure of the wage freeze. So, in spite of the victories of the miners and railroad workers, the steel workers and the others are again confronted with the Little Steel formula.

A victory of the steel workers,

however, would unquestionably blow up the whole administration wage freezing program. It would open such a gap in Roosevelt's "wage stabilization" policy that the rest of the labor movement would come pouring through. It would mean the end of the Little Steel formula. Yet, Murray and Green, triply armed with an unconditional, no-strike, no-strike-pledge, which they tirelessly iterate and reiterate on all and every occasion, vie with each other over who is to get the "credit" when the Little Steel formula is smothered by the eloquence of their "testimony." Murray and Green are out to outdo the biblical Joshua, who blew his horn and the Walls of Jericho came tumbling down!

Is it then any wonder that Murray, Green and the other bureaucrats have earned the contempt of the employers, the administration, Congress and even the insipid "public" representatives of the WLB. The capitalists know they have nothing to fear from these inflated windbags, full of sound and fury, signifying nothing. The workers are getting fed up with the whole burlesque performance that is being passed off as a "fight" against

the Little Steel formula. The miserable conduct of the labor bureaucrats is proof positive that they have no intention of conducting a struggle to extricate the labor movement from the straitjacket of the Little Steel wage freeze.

It is clear that the militants in the unions will have to take the initiative in mobilizing the ranks around a program of independent action to break the Little Steel formula. The War Labor Board is nothing but a puppet show designed to divert the attention of the workers while the administration maneuvers behind the scenes, perfecting its plans to keep labor in chains. Put an end to the farce by demanding that the "labor representatives" resign from the War Labor Board!

Experience has shown in the only two important cases in which the unions were able to make gains, the mine and rail workers, that testimony, statistics, palaver, have no effect unless backed by the power of the strike weapon. Rescind the no-strike pledge! Then, and only then, will Big Business and their political stooges be convinced that labor means business in the struggle against the Little Steel formula.

# International Notes

### PARIS

Paris, one of the leading cities of the world, reflects in both its material conditions and its mood the state of all Europe after more than four years of steady ruination in the second imperialist world war.

It exudes the putrescence of capitalist decay, with the vultures of the capitalist class picking at its carcass, while the specter of revolution hovers near.

A graphic picture of capitalist Paris in its death agony has been drawn by Kathleen Cannell, a newspaper correspondent who left there on Feb. 27 to be repatriated to this country. Her story appeared in the *New York Times* on March 17.

"The Paris air," she declared, "is more highly charged with menace than at any time since the French Revolution. Invasion, civil war, famine, prison—whatever form the future may take—Parisians are momentarily expecting the deadliest phase of the war."

There is the familiar contrast between the riotous living of society's elite and the terrible hardship and suffering of the common people. While at least 60 percent of the population is declining into anemia because of undernourishment, "the black markets provide almost anything that money—lots of money—can buy. Hunger and extravagance are the two extremes under which the people live, depending upon the state of their purses."

While the poor work and worry, she states, "the black market molls dance over this volcano. They defy restrictions with monumental feats that take two out-sized felts or six meters of fabric to erect. They compete pure silk or wool costumes in extravagant silhouettes, with wooden shoes, bare legs and an odd pint of assorted jewelry—real and false."

The meat ration in Paris when Miss Cannell left was from 60 to 90 grams a week, but during five weeks last fall no meat was distributed. In seasons when eggs are plentiful the allotment is one or two eggs per person per month. The monthly ration of an ersatz coffee is 120 grams. Salt rations are half sand and pure salt is unobtainable. Vegetables are scarce. Innumerable people exist on dried beans, carrots or potatoes boiled in water day after day. Fruit is reserved for "special categories"—sick people and children.

Armed gangsterism flourishes a long side terrorist activities directed by the underground movement against the Nazi and the French capitalist collaborators. Thousands troop out into the countryside each day and return at nightfall with a rabbit, a chicken or a duck which they sell at a profit of about 100 francs a piece. Theaters, the opera, concert halls and other places of entertainment are packed nightly by members of the bourgeoisie and their families.

Practically everything can be had on the black market—at a price—and the ruling class suffer very little inconvenience, Miss Cannell observed. "Butter is 600 francs a kilo, about ten times the taxed price. Oil is 1,000 francs a litre, eggs from 10 to 25 francs a piece, condensed milk (offered only by the case) is 150 francs a tin. Every little butcher shop will supply you with clandestine meat at from 250 to 350 francs a kilo, except for pork, which is from 350 francs up. Tea costs 4,000 to 6,000 francs a kilo, coffee from 3,500 to 5,000 francs. . . . Snowy cakes at somber prices can be ordered sub rosa from most confecturers."

Miss Cannell points out that the French peasants and the lower middle class elements in the cities are still somewhat better off than the poorer sections of the population, especially the workers, for they still have savings to draw on and can therefore get supplies on the black market.

"The question that terrifies many is what will happen if the war is prolonged and all savings are gone."

The reporter, understandably, does not identify those who are thus "terrified." We know who they are—they are the capitalist rulers of France and their black market molls, extracting their last hectic enjoyment from dying Paris before the waves of revolution wash over their heads.

# Arabian Oil Deal Termed "Imperialist Adventure"

Testimony to the outright imperialist character of Roosevelt's Arabian oil deal comes from a man who ought to know, Bainbridge Colby, Secretary of State under President Woodrow Wilson and the author of the government's foreign oil policy following the last war.

Colby last week charged that Roosevelt's \$165,000,000 project for pipe-lines and refineries in the Middle East to aid the American oil monopolies in their conflict with the British interests constitutes a "government adventure" which is the "most imperialistic ever undertaken by the United States."

"If such policies are pursued in oil and other fields our country appears committed definitely to future wars in bewildering places and to constant maintenance of American armed forces all over the world," Colby declared.

Pointing to the reactions of small nations which are victims of the looting of their natural resources by the big imperialist powers, Colby stated that such a policy "has been for years looked upon with special hostility by many smaller nations."

"And whenever it occurs it is noticed particularly by Latin American countries. . . . And yet we say we want South America's good will."

Colby likewise assailed the pretext of war-time "necessity" used by the administration in its latest move to help the American capitalists grab up all the oil in the world. "Sanctioning such policies under war powers when not really part of the war effort is an inexcusable abuse of the nation's trust."

The American companies already control almost 60 per cent of the world's oil supply. The latest imperialist swindle guarantees Standard Oil, Gulf and Texas corporations the full profits as well as outright ownership of the government-financed properties in Arabia within 25 years.

# Capitalist Press Supplies All Labor News For Army

The Army intends to continue using the dispatches from the anti-labor capitalist press associations for its digest of news, including reports on the labor situation, which it is feeding the soldiers in its overseas papers and radio broadcasts, according to the statement of Undersecretary of War Patterson in a recent conference with a joint AFL-CIO protest committee.

The committee asked Patterson to use his good offices to see that the soldiers are given the truth about the labor situation in this country rather than the distorted and falsified reports of the anti-union press associations and big newspapers.

The union committee cited the case of Marine Sergeant John R. Devereux, nephew of the commander of the Wake Island defenders, who on his return from 22 months in the South Pacific stated with astonishment that he thought he would find "that the whole country was tied up with strikes" and declared that the soldiers should get "more and straighter news" about the workers at home.

Patterson admitted that the claims of leading administration officials about the soldiers being bitter against the workers are exaggerated. Nevertheless, he indicated, the War Department would continue to present "both sides" of labor conflicts as gleaned exclusively from the boss papers.

# Army 'Scottsboro' Case Revealed By The NAACP

Jim Crow in the Army follows the most vicious pattern of the white Southern ruling class, even to the perpetration of a new "Scottsboro" case. Two young Negro soldiers in New Caledonia last June were sentenced to life imprisonment by an all-white officers court-martial on the charge of "raping" a confessed prostitute who admitted accepting money from the soldiers.

The facts concerning the frameup are contained in a brief filed with Secretary of War Stimson by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. The brief charges the military authorities with "bias and persecution" and "brutal coercion" in forcing "confessions" from the imprisoned youths, Frank Fisher, Jr., 21, and Edward R. Loury, 22.

According to the NAACP brief, the evidence presented at the court-martial was of the most contradictory type, with favorable testimony being excluded. The alleged victim, Louise Mounien, a professional prostitute, herself objected to the arrest of Fisher and Loury.

Two official medical reports of examinations made of the woman within 24 hours of the "rape" revealed that she was infected with venereal disease and that there was no marks of violence or other indications that she had been forcibly attacked. This evidence was withheld from the court-martial.

The incident which led to the frameup occurred early in May 1943, when the two convicted soldiers and another were riding home from a carnival. On the way, in an area known as "Prostitute Hill," they encountered the woman with a white officer, Lt. Robert L. Engels. This officer admitted having sexual relations with the woman.

The Negro soldiers asked for her favors, and she submitted without "physical resistance" or "verbal protest" even when another couple passed within a few feet. She then accepted \$3 from the soldiers.

The white officer, against the objections of the woman, brought the charges against the two Negro soldiers, who were brought to trial and sentenced within 24 hours. They are now in the U. S. Penitentiary, McNeil Island, Washington.

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