

## CRDC Schedules Big Meeting In N. Y. For The 18

Prominent Union Leaders Will Address Rally To Be Held at the Hotel Diplomat on June 8

George Novack, National Secretary of the Civil Rights Defense Committee, now on a coast-to-coast speaking tour on behalf of the 18 imprisoned Local 544-CIO and Socialist Workers Party leaders in the Minneapolis Labor Case, will address a mass meeting in New York City, June 8, at the Crystal Ball Room of the Hotel Diplomat.

Outstanding leaders of unions, liberal organizations and working class political parties will speak at what is expected to be the greatest public demonstration thus far held of united labor and liberal support behind the campaign to free the 18 and secure repeal of the infamous Smith "Gag" Act under which they were convicted.

### UNION SPOKESMEN

Among the well-known union leaders who will participate as speakers are Thomas DeLorenzo, President of Brewster Local 365, CIO United Automobile Workers; Samuel Wolchok, President of the United Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Employees, CIO and George Baldanzi, Executive Vice-President of the CIO Textile Workers Union.

De Lorenzo, who is himself facing a frameup indictment growing out of his militant union activities, has recently joined the National Committee of the CRDC, as did Baldanzi, who will act as chairman of the mass meeting. Wolchok heads the union which lead the Ward strike in Chicago. Other speakers will include Roger Baldwin, Director of the American Civil Liberties Union, which has backed the defense of the 18 from the start of the case; Norman Thomas, of the Socialist Party; Daniel Bell, Associate Editor of the *New Leader* and Albert Gates, Editor of *Labor Action*.

The feature of the meeting will be the report of Novack following his three months tour, during which he presented the facts of the Minneapolis Labor Case before thousands of workers and progressives in principal cities of the nation.

### L. A. MASS MEETING

Novack concluded his west coast speaking engagements with a highly successful mass meeting in Los Angeles on May 21. He will also speak at St. Louis, Mo., Dayton, Ohio, and Pittsburgh, Pa., on his return trip to the East. In his most recent press state-

# Roosevelt Uses Plant "Seizures" As Screen For Anti-Labor Drive

## Foremen In Detroit Strike To Achieve Union Recognition

By Jeanette Lane

DETROIT—On the 28th of April, the foremen of the Conaors plant of the Briggs Manufacturing Company walked out on strike. They were followed in short order by the foremen in the other 5 Briggs plants, Hudson Motor Car Company, Packard, Aeronautical Products, Gar Wood and Murray Body. Detroit was in the throes of another labor upsurge, this time drawing in the strategic section of the workers functioning in a supervisory capacity. The main issue, and almost the sole issue in dispute, was the demand for recognition of their union—the Foremen's Association of America.

For over a year, the FAA had been asking for recognition but their case has been shunted and shoved around between the NLRB and WLB without result. In the first week of the strike, Robert Keys, president of the FAA, clearly posed the issue in dispute. "The National Labor Relations Board," said Keys, "has denied them (the foremen) the right to bargain collectively. The Manufacturers' Association has taken advantage of this to discriminate against foremen whom they suspect of union activity. The War Labor Board, for many weeks, has taken no action on urgent telegrams which I have sent, explaining that the men were insisting on a strike and that they were becoming deaf to pleas to refrain from striking. The men see discrimination by employers increasing, no avenue for negotiation, and WLB complaisance. They are human and they feel they have only one avenue left."

### THE RUN-AROUND

It was only when the foremen resorted to the only "avenue they had left," the strike, that their just demands were given a hearing. Keys castigated the WLB and NLRB for their role in collaborating with the anti-labor National Association of Manu-

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## Wall Street's New Contingent



## 'Unanimous' Convention Places Seal On Dissolution Of C.P.

"COMMUNISTS END PARTY, MAP NEW ORGANIZATION." With this front-page headline the *Daily Worker* announced May 21 the dissolution of the Communist Party and its conversion into a "Communist Political Association." The resolution to dissolve, put forward at the party convention by Earl Browder, was a mere formality, rubber-stamping a decision reached last January by Browder and his chieftains and announced at the Plenum of the National Committee. Needless to add, the convention passed the resolution "unanimously." All the known opponents of the step within the ranks had previously been stifled or railroaded out of the party.

The resolutions and other documents which the convention adopted reveal the abysmal depths of rottenness and cynicism to which this Stalinist organization has sunk in its embrace of capitalism, its support of the second World War and its rejection of the socialist struggle of the working class.

## Kelly Postal Wins Parole From State Board, Minnesota

The granting of a parole to Kelly Postal, former secretary-treasurer of Minneapolis Truck-drivers Local 544-CIO, has been announced by the Civil Rights Defense Committee which is in charge of the case. Release of the prisoner from Stillwater



KELLY POSTAL

State Penitentiary, however, is dependent upon his getting a job and approval by parole agents of his future living quarters.

The Kelly Postal case grew out of the Minneapolis labor case in June, 1941 when a long-standing conflict between Local 544 of the Teamsters Union and Daniel J. Tobin, president of the Teamsters International Union, came to a head. The membership of Local 544 voted almost unanimously to disaffiliate from Tobin's AFL union and join the CIO. As secretary-treasurer of the Local, Kelly Postal obeyed the vote and transferred the Local's funds to the new CIO union. For acting thus he was charged with "embezzlement" on complaint of Tobin and railroaded to prison for a term up to five years.

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## Army Takes Over Only After Workers Set Up Picket Lines

Government Machinery Mobilized to Break Strikes in the Interests of Big Business

By C. Thomas

As soon as the resentment of the workers, aggravated by the deliberate stalling tactics of the War Labor Board, erupts into open resistance against the provocative acts of management, the whole machinery of the federal government is mobilized as a strikebreaking weapon in the service of Big Business. That is the real significance of the farcical "seizure" of the Montgomery Ward plant at Chicago and more recently of the Ward subsidiary, the Hummer Manufacturing Company, at Springfield, Illinois. In both instances, the Roosevelt administration acted only after the workers, their patience exhausted by the interminable run-around of the WLB, struck the plants.

The workers were forced to strike in order to defend the existence of their unions against the open shop drive instituted by Sewell Avery, acting as deputy for J. P. Morgan and Company which controls Montgomery Ward. So clear-cut was the issue, that the strikes aroused the sympathy and support of wide sections of the labor movement.

### WHAT THEY FEAR

With the backing of the AFL, CIO and Railroad Brotherhood, the showdown with the open shop, union busting contingent led by Avery, gave every promise of terminating in a resounding victory for the unions. But such a victory, won by the independent action of organized labor, would raise the self-confidence of the workers and provide an infectious example for other sections of the labor movement to follow. It was this fear that motivated the seizures.

This fear was openly expressed in an opinion which Attorney General Biddle submitted to Roosevelt on the Chicago seizure. Biddle said: "The Board (WLB) also reports that there is a real and present danger that the disturbance will spread to the plants and facilities of other companies, both in the Chicago area and elsewhere . . . Local unions in Chicago in many of the important war plants have voted to support the Montgomery Ward employees who are on strike. The National Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs and Helpers, of the American Federation of Labor, in Chicago, are refusing to make deliveries to, or to take shipments from, Montgomery Ward and Company. Various affiliates of the railway brotherhoods have refused to handle de-

liveries to, or shipments from, Montgomery Ward and Company." Herein is the nub of the whole situation.

### LOOMING CRISIS

With the increasing restiveness of the workers, smarting under the arrogance of union-hating employers; with wages frozen under the Little Steel formula while the cost of living continues to soar; with the added burden of heavy taxes that fall with unjust weight on those least able to pay, the momentum of a successful strike would sweep like a prairie fire throughout the labor movement. Roosevelt's elaborate labor relations edifice could not survive such a conflagration. Since the beginning of the war, the Roosevelt administration has gone through several major labor crises. The first, that of the four coal strikes, has entered into the consciousness of the American workers as the first successful challenge to the seemingly impregnable power of the government.

In that crisis, Roosevelt's prestige suffered an irreparable blow, and showed that his previously dominating influence was insufficient to curb the legitimate aspirations of the workers. His personal appeal to the coal miners, over the heads of their leadership, to return to work was rebuffed. He never submitted his "labor influence" to another such test! In the second major crisis, that of the threatened strike of the railway workers, Roosevelt, for the first time, ordered the Army to seize the railroads before a strike occurred. This act was tempered by the granting of small concessions to the rail workers.

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## Stalinist Strikebreakers Help Avery Against Ward Workers

By R. Bell

The strike which tied up the Chicago plant of Montgomery Ward and Company was the first CIO authorized strike since Pearl Harbor. Sewell Avery, deputy for the House of Morgan which numbers Montgomery Ward as one of its properties in a far flung industrial empire, is acting as the spearhead in Wall Street's drive for the return of the open shop. So clear were the issues involved in the dispute that the entire labor movement, AFL, CIO and Railroad Brotherhood, rallied to the support of the strike. Commenting on this aspect of the Ward case, the *Midwest Labor World*, official organ of the United Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Employees of America, the union that led the strike, states:

"Not in years has such fine solidarity been shown in a strike. When AFL and CIO unions throughout the area gave moral and financial backing to the strike, when teamsters and railroad men refused to cross the picket lines, when workers hundreds of miles away, without suggestions from the URWD-SEA or any branch of the CIO, talked of boycotting Ward's, you know that such a challenge as that of Avery can inflame the nation's workers over night."

### STALINIST FINKS

This magnificent display of working class solidarity was marred by only one flagrant exception. The Stalinists ranged themselves on the side of the House of Morgan and by word and deed did everything possible to break the strike. When the strike was called, the URWD-SEA appealed to the officials of the International Longshoremen

and Warehousemen's Union, headed by Harry Bridges, to refrain from handling orders diverted from the Chicago plant of Montgomery Ward's to the St. Paul unit, which is under contract to the ILWU. The Stalinist finks responded by saying, "we will handle Chicago orders eight hours a day, call it scabbing if you want to."

### WHAT BRIDGES WROTE

On April 21, the ILWU Dispatcher, official organ of the Bridges union, greeted the strike-breaking declaration of their St. Paul henchmen by stating: "ILWU Local 215, which is the bargaining agent for employees of Montgomery Ward workers in St. Paul, immediately reaffirmed its no-strike pledge, although it received requests from the Chicago strike leaders not to handle goods." While the workers in Chicago walked the picket line in a struggle, the outcome of which will affect the fate of the entire labor movement, the Montgomery Ward locals under Stalinist control stabbed their fellow-workers in the back by demon-

stratively reaffirming their no-strike pledge.

Bridges himself, writing in the May 5 issue of the *Dispatcher* at a crucial period of the strike, declared: "The ILWU is organized in plants of Montgomery Ward elsewhere than in Chicago and under no circumstances will our union be a party to the game that was played in Chicago or anything like it. If anything, we'll be more affirmative than ever in our adherence to the no-strike pledge." Adding insult to injury, the Stalinist strikebreakers slandered the strikers by declaring, "we will fight Montgomery Ward with our own weapons and not Hitler's weapons."

But the only fight that Bridges and his gang showed was directed against the workers on strike and the "weapons" used were the typical Stalinist weapons of slandering and vilifying the leaders of the strike. These volunteer Pinkertons even resorted to the bosses technique of red-baiting the union leadership. Writing in the *Daily Worker* of April 17, Morris Childs, leading Stalinist hatchetman in Illinois, stated: "Mr. Avery owes his success in provoking the strike in large measure to a group of Trotskyites who are in the leadership of the striking local, an affiliate of the United Retail, Wholesale and Warehouse Workers. They consist of generally irresponsible elements, who

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## Appeal by Assassin Of Trotsky Denied By Court In Mexico

The Eighth Court of the Mexican Superior Tribunal last week upheld a twenty-year penal sentence against GPU agent Jacques 'Mornard, alias Frank Jackson, for the pick-axe assassination of Leon Trotsky in August 1940. This is the heaviest sentence permitted under Mexican law, and is imposed only for premeditated murder.

For almost four years the influence and resources of the Stalinist regime have been thrown behind Jackson in an effort to defraud justice. He has had the benefit of unlimited finances and legal aid. It is now reported he will appeal to the Supreme Court itself.

Jackson and his attorneys have introduced every contradictory argument possible to secure his freedom or a light sentence. The most recent appeal argued that "the homicide was committed during a quarrel" and was not premeditated—and this, in the face of the fact that Jackson had on his person a prepared "confession" when he was apprehended on the scene of his crime, and had concealed on him a knife and gun as well as the actual murder weapon.

As all the legal tricks of the GPU have failed, a plot is now reported underway to arrange Jackson's escape from prison. The Mexican press has openly charged that such plans are afoot and has published evidence of the preparations under way.

## OUR GREEK MARTYRS

The murderous hand of Hitlerism has struck once again at the Trotskyist movement in Europe. According to official dispatches of the reactionary Greek government-in-exile, 17 members of the Archo-Marxists, among them Vite, the general secretary, have been executed by German occupation authorities in Athens. Four other Trotskyists, according to the same source, fell before a German firing squad in Salonika.

The "crime" of these courageous revolutionary fighters was they took part in the struggle against the Nazi oppressors in Greece. Specifically, they were charged with conducting Communist agitation and being in illegal possession of arms.

Vite was for some time secretary to Leon Trotsky when the "Old Man" lived in exile in France. He was also a member of the International Secretariat of the Fourth International. From emigration in France, he returned to Greece in 1941 or 1942 in order to participate in the reorganization of the Greek Trotskyist movement.

This is not the first time the Nazi beast has sunk its bloody claws into the revolutionary socialist movement represented by Trotskyism. Only last year, through underground channels, word came of the execution of three of our comrades before a Nazi firing squad in occupied Belgium. The fallen revolutionary fighters were comrades Renery, Van Belle and Lemmens, members of the Revolutionary Socialist Party, Belgian section of the Fourth International. Others have fallen in Holland and Norway.

Within Hitler's German stronghold itself, before the outbreak of the present war, the Trotskyists were hunted by the Gestapo and many were felled by the headman's axe.

With deepest sorrow we salute the memory of our fallen comrades, soldiers in the great battle for a socialist world. The Greek proletariat will avenge the foul murder of these heroic revolutionary fighters by sweeping away the Nazi despots. Their sacrifice will be vindicated in the coming Greek and European revolution which will project the entire Continent along the path of socialism.

# TRADE UNION NOTES

By Joseph Keller

One after another the provisions of the protective legislation won by organized labor over decades of struggle are being whittled away by federal decisions and administrative decree. The latest example is the decision of the Third Circuit Court of Appeals last week in rejecting a petition of the National Labor Relations Board to have the Edward J. Budd Manufacturing Company, of Philadelphia, held in contempt of court for writing a letter to its 15,000 workers for the purpose of preventing them from joining a genuine union after the NLRB and court had ordered the dissolution of a company union.

Under the Wagner labor relations act, the workers are supposed to be protected from the coercion and intimidation of employers. The Budd company is known as the "Ford of Philadelphia," and to this day has successfully prevented its workers from enjoying the benefits of unionization by the most vicious union-busting measures. Nevertheless, under the guise of an alleged concern for "freedom of speech," the federal court has given judicial sanction for all the labor-hating corporations to launch open propaganda campaigns that can have no other purpose than interfering with the rights of workers to join unions of their own choosing.

The Jim Crow practices of the officials of the AFL Boilermakers and Iron Shipbuilders union in their attempts to maintain a "ily-white" organization were brought out last week before the Superior Court in Providence, R. I., where Negro workers from the Walsh-Kaiser shipyard are seeking a permanent injunction against discriminatory practices in the union.

Testimony revealed that Negro workers are placed in separate "auxiliaries," which are under the "supervision" of the "mother lodges" of white workers in a given territory. Although they were assured on joining that they would have the rights of full-fledged members, the Negro members learned a few months before their local's elections last December that on instructions from the international officers they had been designated as members of a segregated "auxiliary" and their ballots in the subsequent election were marked with "C" (Colored) to distinguish them from the ballots of white workers. All Negro voters were then instructed to place their ballots in a special envelope marked "Protected."

At the hearing in the Superior Court William J. Buckley, Boilermakers' international representative, admitted that workers of any race can join on a basis of equality, except Negroes. He also testified that the "auxiliaries" could not have a grievance committee of their own but "would have the privilege of placing one member on the grievance

committee of five to represent the workers in any dispute that might arise."

In marked contrast to the policies of the Boilermakers' officialdom, is the wonderful demonstration of working class solidarity given by Local 58, United Textile Workers, AFL, which last Saturday defied the "back-to-work" demands of top union officials and the Army and Navy, and continued its six-day strike of 500 workers at the Continental Diamond Fibre Manufacturing Company, Bridgeport, Pa., to force the company to end discriminatory practices against Negro employees.

When the company refused to transfer a Negro worker with 18 years seniority to another department where he would work along with white workers, the rest of the workers, already provoked by the company's refusal to negotiate grievances, walked-out.

Local 58's president, Frank Gable, declared that "the company has refused to recognize our union ever since we voted for it last August. Sure, we have a contract but it doesn't mean a thing to the company. We've all been sore, but now we're really mad when we know how they are treating Negro workers here and refusing to give them a chance. Our boys feel that if the Negro worker can't get his rights, what worker can?"

To demonstrate that they are sincere in their determination to wipe out anti-Negro discrimination, the white workers have put aside all other grievances for later discussion, agreeing to return to work on the sole condition that the company end its Jim Crow practices.

When the AFL Executive Council turned down the application of the United Mine Workers for admission into the AFL, the council followed this rebuff to John L. Lewis by voting to issue a charter for an AFL chemical workers union to compete with Lewis' District 50 set-up.

But the organization of the chemical workers does not depend upon some magic charter, whatever its label. The greatest union in the country, the CIO United Automobile Workers, laid the foundations for its tremendous advance back in 1934 and 1935 as an unchartered step-child of the AFL. It was the early struggles of the auto workers in Toledo and other industrial centers which first built the auto union. The same is true of the steel union, second largest in the country, which was led by an organizing committee and did not receive an international charter from the CIO until 1942.

The chemical workers union, under whatever charter, will be built only on a militant program that will better the conditions of the workers and protect them from the attacks of the corporations.

# Branches Near Goal Of 3000 New 'Militant' Readers Far Ahead Of Campaign Deadline

The results in the Militant Subscription Campaign for 3,000 NEW readers by June 30 have thus far surpassed our expectations. Two-thirds of the national quota has been fulfilled in seven weeks of the three-month campaign. However, the total number of 2,566 already obtained could have been doubled had those branches which are lagging behind pitched in with the same determination displayed by the branches topping the scoreboard.

Sixteen branches are behind schedule and four are still in the zero column. No branch should be less than 50 percent. Those branches that are less than 50 percent are slowing up the campaign.

Come on Los Angeles, St. Paul, Cleveland, New Haven, Minneapolis, Chicago, San Diego, Akron, Bayonne, Flint, Quakertown — let's catch up! Come on Pittsburgh, Rochester, St. Louis, Texas — let's get out of the zero column!

## OUTSTANDING ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE WEEK

Buffalo maintained first place on the scoreboard with an increase from 260 to 350 percent.

Toledo moved from sixth place to third, leading the challenge of Reading and Philadelphia.

New York Local again sent in the highest number of subs for the week — 118.

## FROM OUR MAIL BAG

Buffalo: "It's really thrilling to see Buffalo at the top of the scoreboard. We have one girl here who is our champion sub-getter. So far she has 47 to her credit! Bet she hits 100 before we're through. We are giving a prize of Cannon's book, 'The History of American Trotskyism' to the winner."

Toledo: "We are intensifying our sub campaign and need 50 sub cards immediately. Enclosed are 20 new subscriptions obtained in our first Red Sun day door-to-door work."

Reading: "Send us 20 more sub cards."

Phila.: "Enclosed are 10 more subs. We are now about one-quarter through our housing project and have been having very encouraging success. We have even picked up a couple of subs there among Negro CP'ers and sympathizers. Oh yes! We take up Readings' challenge and we will make them do some stepping."

Minneapolis: "These 5 subs from one neighborhood were secured in an hour's time by two of our people doing house-to-house work in a territory where we hadn't distributed papers for a couple of years."

San Francisco: "Enclosed find 35 sub cards secured yesterday in our house-to-house work. We expect to go over the top next week. Please send us another 50 cards. It looks like we're going to need them very soon now."

Allentown: "I was in Reading for May Day and the battle is on between us. We mean to give them a run for their subs."

St. Paul: "We're enclosing 16 subs, St. Paul started slowly but now we're in there pitching and really hope to top our quota."

Los Angeles: "The reason that most of the trial subs come through San Pedro is that they have been doing door-to-door work. This week because of other work we will be unable to do any door-to-door work, but we expect to start the following week in a Negro neighborhood where we distributed 600 copies of the May Day issue."

Detroit: "I suppose New York has us beat double by now. But this coming week subs will really pour in from Detroit."

Chicago: "The campaign has assumed a certain impetus recently after an extremely slow start, and we expect to achieve our full quota at least, making every effort to surpass it."

San Pedro: "After having distributed The Militant in a working-class district for four weeks, we went out with the new trial sub blanks. Our first try netted 5 subs. In the next few weeks we will finish covering this district and hope to turn in quite a batch of subscriptions."

Let's finish this campaign in traditional Trotskyist manner — every branch with at least 100 percent.

## SCOREBOARD

Branch	Quota	Subs	Percent
Buffalo	50	175	350
Newark	80	152	190
Toledo	30	55	183
Reading	30	54	180
Philadelphia	30	50	166
New York	500	816	163
Detroit	300	330	110
Boston	100	106	106
Seattle	150	159	106
San Francisco	150	132	88
Allentown	15	12	80
Youngstown	50	30	60
Milwaukee	15	8	53
Los Angeles	400	176	44
St. Paul	50	22	44
Cleveland	50	21	42
New Haven	25	10	40
Minneapolis	200	79	39
Chicago	200	72	36
San Diego	50	18	36
Akron	40	10	25
Bayonne	50	10	20
Flint	15	3	20
Quakertown	10	2	20
Members-at-Large, Friends	355	64	18
Pittsburgh	10	0	0
Rochester	15	0	0
St. Louis	20	0	0
Texas	10	0	0
<b>TOTALS</b>	<b>3,000</b>	<b>2,566</b>	<b>85</b>

# "Seizures" Are Screen For Anti-Labor Drive

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The walkout of the steel workers, occurring at the time of the rail crisis, forced Roosevelt to promise the steel workers a retro-active clause. But Roosevelt had already reached the point where he could no longer make concessions. Swinging sharply to the right, he urged Congress to adopt "a national service law, which, for the duration of the war, will prevent strikes and, with certain appropriate exceptions, will make available for war production or for any other essential services every able-bodied adult in this nation."

While Roosevelt has remained in the background of the campaign for a forced labor law, his appointees have conducted an unremitting drive for labor control. When Roosevelt initiated the proposal for a labor draft he made it part of a five-point program. "I would not recommend a national service law," said Roosevelt, "unless the other laws were passed to keep down the cost of living, to share equitably the burdens of taxation, to hold the stabilization line and to prevent undue profits." Although Congress has made a shambles of his "five-point" program, the President has NOT withdrawn his proposal to draft labor for private profit.

In recent weeks, the labor movement has experienced an upsurge of militancy, characterized by increasing resistance to the union-busting drive of Big Busi-

ness. Roosevelt's "seizures" are part of his frantic effort to head off any move toward independent labor action which would unleash another major labor crisis. One that will not be so easily resolved nor so quickly allayed. The differences that divide Avery and Roosevelt are not those of basic policy and direction but solely of tempo. The real complaint of Avery and his crowd is not that Roosevelt isn't travelling in the right direction but that he isn't going fast enough nor far enough. The predatory gang of Wall Street freebooters, grown arrogant with pelf and power, want an end of "coddling" labor and an unrestrained use of the iron fist.

## "SEIZURE" HOAX

The proposal for a "Work-or-Fight" law hangs like a noose over the head of the labor movement. The workers are learning through bitter experience that the theatrical plant seizures are merely a device to break strikes and get the workers back on the job without having gained their demands. When this lesson has been absorbed it will become increasingly difficult to fool the workers into depending on a Roosevelt "seizure" to defend their unions and their contracts. The labor movement will then witness a revival of the slogan made famous by the coal miners: No contract — no work! If the government has the power to "seize" a plant, it has the power to sign a contract. The hoax of "seizing"

a plant, herding the workers back to their jobs, and then turning the plant back to the company when "the productive efficiency of the plant and facilities has been restored" will be discarded by Roosevelt for other and sharper weapons when workers adopt as their own this miners slogan: No contract — no work!

Roosevelt, however, feels that the time is not yet ripe. He counts heavily on the coming invasion to whip up a hysteria, under cover of which, labor can be crushed into submission. With the aid of his labor lackeys, he feels that he can keep the lid on for the next period. Failing that, he has in reserve, the "Work-or-Fight" bill now before the Senate Military Committee, by which workers on strike can be inducted into Army labor battalions and herded back to their jobs under penalty of a military court-martial.

These are the plans! But these plans will be swept away like chaff once the American workers take the road of independent action on both the economic and political fields.

# Mack Co. Strikers Protest War Labor Board's Stalling

ALLENTOWN, Pa., May 19— Approximately 3,000 workers at the Mack Manufacturing Corporation here today ended a four-day militant strike called in protest against the stalling of the War Labor Board on several cases vitally affecting the Mack employees. The cases involve the issues of job classification, a new contract and the lockout since May 6 of 250 workers at the company's Fullerton plant.

The strikers, members of Local 677, CIO United Automobile Workers Union, voted to return to their jobs under the combined pressure of the company, the various government agencies who were hastily rushed to the scene, and their own international union officials. Their strike did force the WLB to agree to give immediate consideration to one of their major grievances and put powerful pressure on the company and government to speed up their cases.

## SPONTANEOUS PROTEST

The walkout began as a spontaneous protest last Monday morning. In approximately an hour, every shop was emptied of workers. Representatives of the Army, WLB, WPB, and US Conciliation Service were immediately rushed to the spot. They prevailed upon the local executive board to call a special meeting urging the workers to halt the strike and leave their problems in the hands of the WLB. Meanwhile, the Regional WLB called a hearing for today in Philadelphia for the company and union to show cause why work at all plants, including the Fullerton shop, should not be resumed.

At a packed union meeting on Wednesday, the workers voted unanimously to continue the strike until after learning the results of today's regional board hearing. This action was taken in defiance of the pleas and threats of the Army, WPB and Conciliation Service representatives, aided by the UAW international representative.

## WORKERS DEFIANT

One worker after another took the floor at this meeting to direct sharp questions at the "impartial" government agents, condemn the WLB and urge the continuation of the strike. The government officials failed to answer the pertinent question of why the WLB could summarily order the workers back on the job, but could issue no directives to the company, and why the workers alone have been forced to make sacrifices.

Another meeting was called last night, with the local executive board again urging a return to work. Realizing the combined power of the forces opposing them, including their own international officers, a majority of the strikers finally agreed to end the walkout today, return to work with morale unbroken and prepare to resume the struggle under more favorable conditions. The militant temper of the workers was further revealed by the fact that a good 35 per cent of the meeting still voted for strike.

# Worthington Steel Workers Strike As Grievances Pile Up

NEWARK, N. J., May 18 — The multitude of unsettled grievances covering the past year, which caused 3,000 members of Steel Local 1833-CIO to drop their tools and leave the 3 plants of the Worthington Corporation on Tuesday are similar to the grievances which exist for the majority of local unions today. On the other hand, the history and composition of the Local are peculiar to itself. This was the first walkout to take place in 28 years. Quite a few of the men still talk of the great strike of 1916. Each department has its core of "old timers" who are "wedded" to their jobs. The company, feeling secure on this solidly set foundation, was "shocked" by the work stoppage.

For the past year the union has been "processing" its disputed wage clause of the 1943 contract through the intricate machinery of the WLB. On May 15 this still-unsettled contract expired. The word went around that the company had refused to sign any retroactive agreement covering the 1944 contract and that the union would be working without a contract after midnight. This was the immediate cause of the walkout.

## WALKOUT SPREADS

At 12:00 midnight a group of men from the foundry, echoing the slogan of the coal miners — No contract — No work! — walked off the job. The following morning the foundry day-shift refused to start work and collected in the yard. Most of the machine shop (across the yard from the foundry) were starting the day's work. A few workers collected at the entrance to find out what was happening at the foundry. Suddenly someone shouted, "Everybody out!" Within fifteen minutes the whole plant was out on the street.

Steve Moran, president of the union, climbed to the gate-house roof and addressed the men. After explaining the no-strike pledge, reaffirmed at the National Convention of the United Steel Workers a few days before, he advised, "if you persist on your present course that you go home then wait further notification over your radio." He then urged the men to return to work. After shouts of "No, no, you don't mean that, Steve!" and "We're going home!" the men gradually left the scene leaving the plant unpicketed. No one on the night-shift entered the plant.

The next afternoon a meeting was held at the Continental Ballroom with over 2,000 men in attendance. At each request that they adhere to the "No work, no talk" policy of the conciliators the workers shouted, "No!" George Mufson, international representative of USW was booted off the floor after speaking a few sentences. Two other international representatives hovered discreetly in the rear on the speakers' platform, having been roundly booted as they came down the aisle.

Commander Yandell, representing the Navy, after commenting that he had never been booted before, told the men that there was no sense in asking for the Navy to take over as the Navy would maintain the conditions which existed during the first day of the strike.

A representative of the labor division of the WLB, round-faced, a maroon hanky in his breast pocket, took his turn by telling a joke. A pretty good joke which was received with a burst of laughter. But his plea to return to work was also shouted down. The deadlock was finally broken by a motion from the floor to return for 30 days pending a settlement. This motion was carried.

The common feeling of the men is that the walkout solidified the workers and showed their determination to fight for their rights. The prevailing attitude was: "The company needed a lesson and got one!"

## THE WORKERS AND THE SECOND WORLD WAR

A Speech by JAMES P. CANNON  
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116 University Place  
New York City



The comments in our correspondence this week are so interesting and varied that only lack of space prevents our printing ALL the letters received. We quote some of the letters from our readers.

Seattle: "Again on The Militant. Since I was so free with my criticism I think it only fair that I write when the paper, or an issue, is particularly good. I am referring to the May Day issue. First, I mustn't forget to mention the excellent cartoon. In fact, it was so symbolic and so serious a demonstration, in drawing, of events to come that I dislike calling it a cartoon. But cartoons are not always funny! So I pile one more laurel on the already very high pile of laurels to Comrade Gray. Second, the May Day Manifesto was excellent. I don't know when I have read a manifesto or resolution written so simply and to the point. It held one's interest throughout the whole manifesto and I wanted more when I came to the end."

New York City: "Congratulations on the best make-up in the 'left' press."

Worcester: "Enclosed is \$10.

This is to be split between The Militant and F. I. It is a donation from a friend in Boston."

Dayton: "I have not yet offered my congratulations on the six-page Militant, and I take this opportunity to do so. It is at a high level technically and in content."

Columbia: "The paper is wonderful! To friends-at-large The Militant is especially important — for information, inspiration, and for that feeling of comradeship with all others."

Bronx: "Find \$1 enclosed for six-month subscription to The Militant. I am sorry that I cannot afford to send more."

Upstate New York: "I am quite in sympathy with the program and objectives outlined in The Militant. My great hope is that they may be attained soon."

Flint: "The enclosed sub is for a dyed-in-the-wool Stalinist and I believe The Militant will be a very good antidote for his ailment."

Berkeley: "Send the six-month sub and any other literature which in your opinion would be helpful to a young lady in grave danger of becoming a Stalinist."

Canada: "I got the paper all right and thank you. I certainly enjoyed its contents. Very good indeed. I do a lot of conversing with friends and opponents alike. The flip-flop boys are working all the time, but their arguments are very shallow. I passed the paper around until it was threadbare and the boys enjoyed it."

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# The Fraud Of Government "Trust-Busting"

By Miriam Carter

On January 6, 1944 a familiar farce was enacted in Washington. The Anti-trust division of the Department of Justice filed a suit against Du Pont, Remington Arms and Imperial Chemical Industries of Great Britain, charging them with being monopolies in restraint of trade. The suit was accompanied by a scathing denunciation of trusts by Wendell Berge, head of the anti-trust division.

"The arrangements between these groups," he said, "if allowed to go undetected and free from enforcement of domestic laws are nothing but private treaties—as far-reaching as any governmental action but free from Congressional sanction. Their production quotas and divisions of markets are private tariffs enforced without legislative consideration." (N. Y. Times, Jan. 7.)

## Sherman Anti-Trust Act

After breathing fire and thunder against these giant, powerful monopolies, Mr. Berge promptly stated that "he would be satisfied if the defendants were to enter a consent decree providing for the remedies the Justice Department is seeking. Or, he said, if a trial is necessary, it may be postponed, as other anti-trust cases have. Even without special deferment, he added, the issues might not reach trial for a year, by which time the war may have ended." (N. Y. Times, Jan. 7.)

In this way another typical chapter was added to American government "trust busting," a history which dates as far back as 1890.

It was in 1890 that the Sherman Anti-

Trust Act was passed, to allay the discontent of the farmers, workers and small business men who had suffered from the ruthless methods used by the Robber Barons in the building of their giant trusts. However, under the Sherman Anti-Trust Act, together with the Clayton Act of 1914 which was to have put "teeth" into it, the great trusts have flourished and grown to such gigantic proportions that today they have the entire economy, as well as the government, under their thumb.

The most picturesque "trust buster" was President Theodore Roosevelt. He roared, and waved his "big stick" at the "plunderbund" as he called the trusts. Meanwhile, they quietly raked in the spoils.

Ferdinand Lundberg says in his exhaustive and authoritative study, *America's Sixty Families* that Theodore Roosevelt "like a dutiful schoolboy, submitted all official proclamations to the magnates and accepted their rescripts. . . . When Roosevelt's two terms are weighed it becomes patent that during this period, and with Roosevelt's collaboration, J. P. Morgan and Company and his clients made the greatest progress in their history. The evidence in support of this conclusion is crushing. . . . In 1900, for example, there were 149 trusts of \$4 billion capitalization; when the 'trust busting' Roosevelt breezed out of the White House there were 10,020 with \$31 billions of capitalization."

## Morgan-Rockefeller Feud

The anti-trust laws were on the books, apparently, only to be used by one giant corporation in trying to cope with a competitor. Theodore Roosevelt favored the

house of J. P. Morgan, and the twenty-five anti-trust suits brought by his administration were directed against the Rockefeller empire. According to Lundberg, "The Roosevelt-Rockefeller feud lent color to the popular misconception that the President was hostile to great wealth. But the mere composition of Roosevelt's Cabinets showed that he bore no ill will toward the 'plunderbund'."

Taft, on the other hand, who followed Roosevelt, was in Rockefeller's camp, and the forty-five anti-trust suits brought by his administration were directed at the Morgan combines.

The net result of this much publicized trust busting was the further entrenchment of the trusts and increased power of a few individuals over the whole of American life.

The Pujo Committee of 1912, set up by the House of Representatives, revealed "that J. P. Morgan, George F. Baker, and James Stillman, by means of virtual shenanigans, controlled in an absolute sense the money market of the nation. Under Morgan domination were companies with an aggregate capitalization of \$17,273,000,000, including the United States Steel Corporation, the International Harvester Company, the International Mercantile Marine, the American Telephone and Telegraph Company, the New Haven Railroad, the New York Life and Equitable Life Insurance companies, and many others."

The consolidation of the trusts at the expense of the American people proceeded at an accelerated pace during World War I, and in the post war era. More than two thirds of the \$30-billion profit made by the

corporations during the war went to those companies designated by the Pujo Committee as under the domination of the "Money Trusts."

## Graham Committee Report

The Graham Committee, appointed after the termination of the last war to investigate war frauds, reported "the various agencies of the Council of National Defense and the War Department not only permitted this violation of the statutes, but encouraged it, and in some cases ordered combinations to be made that were in violation of the law. . . . It is probably exact to say that never in the history of the country was a greater impetus given to illegal trusts and combinations in restraint of trade than was given by the practices above referred to."

The great depression which hit in 1929 and impoverished the great mass of the American people once again roused a burning resentment against the trusts. Paying lip service to this resentment, Franklin D. Roosevelt initiated the first Roosevelt administration against "economic royalists". But, just as during Theodore Roosevelt's administration, the louder the howling the more intense became the process of monopolization of American industry and finance.

Under the "New Deal", the demagogic attack on the American trusts led, in 1938, to the establishment of the Temporary National Economic Committee, a government committee set up "to make a full and complete study and investigation with respect to. . . . monopoly, and the concentration of economic power in and financial control over

production and distribution of goods and services."

## Monopolies Under Roosevelt

The TNEC met for a year and half. They questioned 552 witnesses. They came out, finally, with a vast 82 volume report that proved by detailed facts and figures "that most of the wealth and income of the country is owned by a few large corporations, that these corporations, in turn are owned by an infinitesimally small number of people, and that the profits from the operation of these corporations go to a very small group. . . ."

In 1937, they reported, 10,000 persons (.008 percent of the population) owned one fourth of all the corporate stock in the country. One half of the stock is owned by 75,000 persons, or .06 percent of the population. The Du Ponts, the Mellons and the Rockefellers themselves, control 11 percent of the total assets of the 200 largest non-financial corporations, amounting to \$8 billion.

The dominance of this small group is steadily increasing, reported this committee. "From 1919 to 1939 inclusive, 95,020 corporations have gone out of industry and commerce. This is at the average rate of more than 4,500 annually. Many of these losses have been by merger. . . ."

The economic debacle of 1929 drove many small businesses out of existence, and served to further entrench the large corporations.

Since the publication of the TNEC report this process of the tightening of trust control and dominance has proceeded at a

rapid rate. In May 1942, the War Production Board reported that 100 large companies had 75 percent of war contracts valued at \$50,000 or over. The tremendous profits raked in on their contracts by this tiny, powerful group have served to increase their share of the national income.

The self-styled "New Deal" administration has been the lever by which the corporations have gained ever greater control over American government, industry and finance.

When corporation abuse becomes so flagrant that it is impossible to conceal the Anti-trust division is forced to bring suit. They have a pat routine which assures the corporations in advance that the suit is just a bit of window dressing for public consumption. Moreover, innumerable anti-trust actions have been "postponed" in order not to interfere with the "war effort." The government, which never hesitates to take out the big stick against militant workers who demand a living wage, is invariably very gentle, understanding and cooperative with the rapacious trusts.

Today, as when the trusts first appeared the voluble attacks of "trust busters" have served only as a cover for the activities of the monopolists. In fact, it has been during the administration of the self-proclaimed "enemies" of the trusts, such as the first and second Roosevelts, that the trusts have made some of their greatest gains. The greater the hue and cry raised by the capitalist government against the trusts, the more lush are the profits and the more entrenched do the trusts become in American life.

# 4th Anniversary Of The Murder Of Robert Harte In The May 1940 GPU Assault Against Trotsky

Four years ago, in the pre-dawn darkness on May 24, 1940, an armed gang of some 30 Stalinist agents, firing machine guns and hurling incendiary bombs, invaded the Coyoacan home of Leon Trotsky in the first open attempt to assassinate Lenin's collaborator, organizer and leader of the Red Army and the founder of the Fourth International. The effort to fire the premises indicated the intent to destroy Trotsky's archives, especially the manuscript of his biography of Stalin.

By "an accident of war," as Trotsky himself later described it, none of the GPU machine gun slugs that riddled his room and bed found their intended mark. Trotsky and his wife Natalia, whose death was also sought, had flung themselves from their bed at the first sound of firing and miraculously escaped detection in a dark corner of the room.

But when the assailants had fled, confident that they had achieved their purposes, it was discovered that one of Trotsky's household was missing. The young American revolutionist and member of the Socialist Workers Party, Robert Sheldon Harte, one of Trotsky's secretary-guards, had been seized by the assassins.

One month later, after the Mexican police had uncovered every detail of the crime, arrested more than a score of known Stalinists and secured full confessions exposing the roles of all participants, Harte's body was found in a lime-filled pit of a cellar in an old shack near Coyoacan, admittedly the headquarters where the attack had

been organized and planned. GPU fashion, Harte had been slain with two bullets through his head. To the crimes of breaking and entering, assault with deadly weapons, arson and attempted assassination were now added the crimes of kidnapping and murder.

## GPU Caught Red-handed

The leaders of the attack and slaying were almost immediately uncovered. One was David Alfaro Siqueiros, notorious GPU gunman and one-time "colonel" of the Stalinist forces in Spain. And to establish irrefutably the fact of full Stalinist complicity, David Serrano, member of the Political Committee of the Mexican Communist Party, was named a chief organizer and participant by signed statements of four of the self-confessed assassins.

The whole political background of the crime, the vast resources that were required and which could come only from such an organization as the GPU, the confessions of the participants, including Siqueiros, were sufficient in themselves to place the guilt upon Stalin. The subsequent steps taken to save Siqueiros and the other gangsters only further revealed the powerful hand of the Kremlin.

When Siqueiros was apprehended, Stalinist pressure was brought to bear on the Mexican officialdom. He was able to flee his bail with his papers all strangely in order, first to Cuba, and then to South America. No official efforts were made to extradite him. And now, he has returned to Mexico, where he freely walks the streets, the mighty arm of Stalin ever around him to ward off the blows of Mexican justice, and openly talks of making a "cultural" tour of the United States under the auspices of Nelson Rockefeller's committee for the coordination of inter-American affairs.

The real object of the May 24 mass assault was fulfilled less than three months later, when the GPU agent Frank Jacson succeeded in gaining access to Trotsky's study and brutally murdering him with a pick-axe.

## Robert Sheldon Harte

Robert Sheldon Harte was not the first of the courageous young revolutionists who have sacrificed their lives in the defense of Trotskyism, the ideas and program of Marxism-Leninism. Among the innumerable victims of the GPU terror machine have been thousands of Trotskyists in Soviet Russia and Spain.

Not a few of Trotsky's closest co-workers fell under the murder-blows of Stalin, including Erwin Wolf, Rudolph Klement, Ignace Reiss, and Trotsky's own son, Leon Sedov. Through their murders, Stalin vainly sought to drown the ideas of Trotskyism in blood.

Bob Harte began his life in the socialist revolutionary movement when he joined the Socialist Workers Party in New York City. He had been brought up in wealth and comfort. But he hated the system which gave unlimited luxury and privilege to the few, and condemned the many to poverty, insecurity and class oppression. He sought a solution to the abominations of capitalism and found it in the Trotskyist movement. From then on, he devoted his whole life to the struggle for the socialist emancipation of the workers, participating with all his energies in the activities of the Socialist Workers Party.

When he volunteered for his mission as a secretary-guard for Trotsky, Bob knew well the dangers he faced. He understood the relentless vengeance Stalin ceaselessly sought to visit on Trotsky and his collaborators. He fully appreciated that anyone who stood at Trotsky's side and tried to ward off the assassins' attacks might himself be struck down. As a true Bolshevik, he took his post and died defending it.

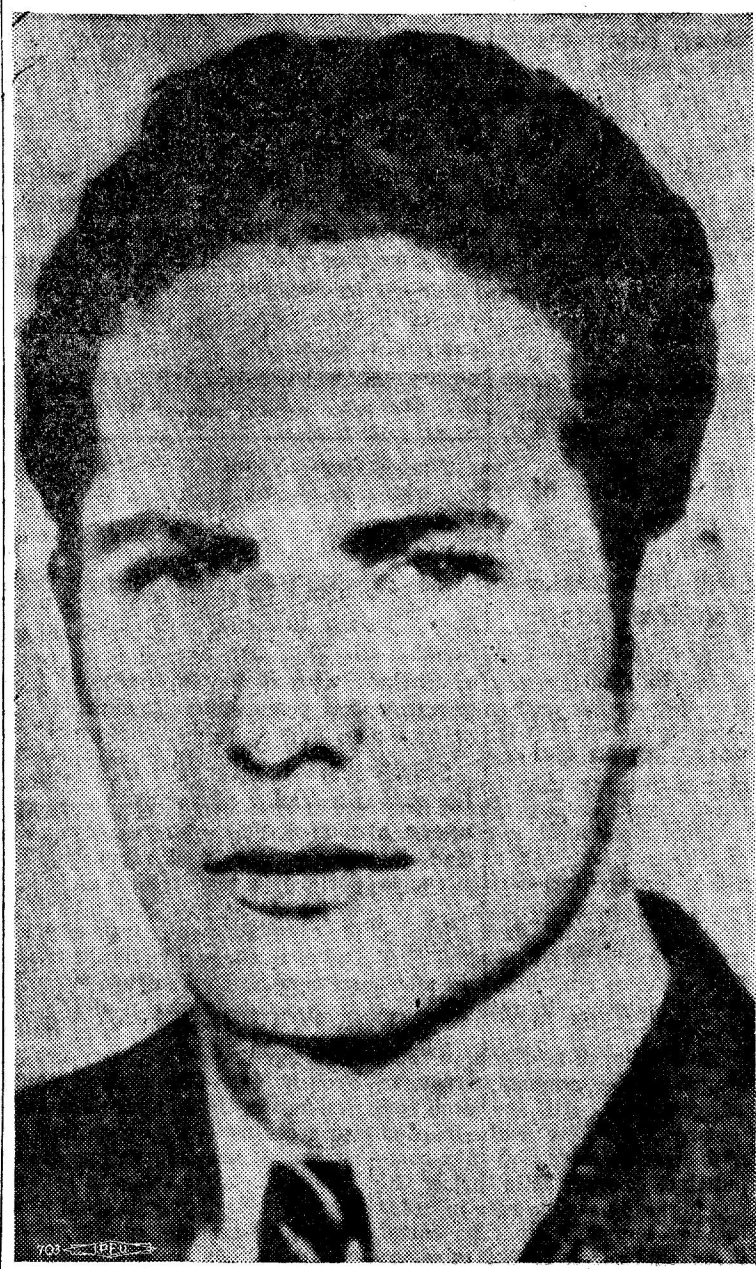
Those who struck him down have thus far gone free. They are the representatives of a political system, Stalinism, which is so corrupt and degenerate that it can maintain itself, in the final analysis, only

In preparation for the convention which was to place the formal seal upon the transformation of the Communist Party into an agency of capitalism and reaction, Browder and Co. attacked, excommunicated and drove from the ranks every voice of opposition. Three oppositionists were hounded out in New Haven on the grounds of alleged "conclusive proof that they established relations with the Trotskyite section of Hitler's fifth column in America and thus were guilty of treason to the working class and the nation."

Trotskyism is the Leninism of today. The Trotskyists are the only consistent leaders in the fight for the socialist revolution, which in turn is the only REAL FIGHT against Hitlerism and fascism.

The American ruling class recognized this when it railroaded 18 Trotskyists to prison in the famous Minneapolis trial. All the lies and slanders of Browder and his cohorts will not serve to conceal the progressive, revolutionary role of Trotskyism as the sole unbending fighter for both the immediate and historic interests of the workers.

Trotskyism, we repeat, is the Leninism of the present day. It is the inheritor and guardian of the great traditions of revolutionary Marxism. The Trotskyists snatched the stainless banner of socialism from the defiling hands of the Stalinist betrayers. Proudly and unflinchingly they hold this banner aloft, supremely confident that the workers will rally behind it.



ROBERT SHELDON HARTE, 1915-1940

by terrorism, the machine-gun blast in the dark, the bullet from ambush, the pick-axe in the hand of a hired assassin. That is because the counter-revolutionary ideas of Stalinism could not and cannot be defended in any other fashion. All their rottenness stands instantaneously exposed under free discussion.

But counterposed to such systems of reactionary terrorism is the mighty million-headed revolutionary movement of the masses. The impending struggle of "the vast majority in the interests of the vast majority" will impose its own historic justice that will avenge Bob Harte's death, and all the countless victims and martyrs of capitalist reaction and its agents. That is the only vengeance Bob himself, as a Trotskyist, would have wanted.

The Trotskyist movement for which he gave his life, the program and ideas of world socialism, is spreading inexorably through the world. Out of the bloody chaos and putrefaction of world capitalism are growing the forces of proletarian revolution, which will sweep the old, decayed order into oblivion, Stalinism too, that monstrous by-product of world capitalist reaction and pressure, will go down with the evil forces that buttress it. Triumphant socialism, freeing mankind of oppressions, wars, class tyranny, want, will avenge all the Bob Hartes.

On this fourth anniversary of his death, we salute his memory. His memory will remain with us, and with all the honest revolutionary youth, as a model of Bolshevik courage and devotion, an enduring inspiration to those who fight to build a new and better world.

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# Working Conditions In Rubber Industry

By Theodore Kovalesky

Recently *The Militant* has printed stories concerning the venal leadership of the United Rubber Workers of America. Led by Sherman Dalrymple, the URW executive board has instituted a terroristic campaign of expulsions against militant unionists who have fought for democracy in the URW and for the rights of the rubber workers in the plants.

Just who are the rubber workers, these members of the powerful union with the stirring tradition of the sit-down strikes? They are long-suffering toilers who for years have drugged under the most heartless speed-up, sweatshop conditions, which squeezed the last ounce of production, the last gram of energy out of their bodies.

Much of the work in the rubber plants is done under the piecework system, perfected by the late unlamented Charles Bedaux, bosom friend of top Nazi officials. Not long ago this same system, but under the label of "incentive pay" was enthusiastically hailed by the Stalinists and other reactionaries. In rubber plants tire builders, bead makers, or sporting equipment workers, are paid regular piece rates. Calendar crews, tire curing workers, and others who work in gangs are usually paid in piecework "pools," each member of the group receiving a certain percentage of the total piecework earnings. And here in the rubber factories the viciousness of the piecework system is most strikingly evident, for the jobs are timed to a split second. Time studies here all start with such opening lines as: "Walk to position . . . 02 seconds."

## A KILLING PACE

Not an uncommon sight at the "pits" in the curing room of a large tire company is to see men jump out and race down the aisles for about 300 feet to the locker rooms. What for? In order to pluck out bits of cigarettes out of little niches in the wall where they had hidden them, light them, take two or three hungry puffs, snuff out the butts, hide them again, and rush all the way back to the pits. Occasionally during lunch time, a man will put two sandwiches together, one on top of the other, and hurriedly cram the food into his mouth. All this is part of the piecework routine in the rubber industry.

Work is hot, heavy, fast and unhealthy. Rubber is cured at temperatures varying around three hundred degrees Fahrenheit, and the air is always heavy with steam. Near the "heaters," big, sweating men work stripped to the waist at a feverish pace.

## WORKING CONDITIONS

In the mixing room, under a weird yellow glare from the chemical-stained windows, shadowy figures move among the roaring, snapping mills that grind the rubber. Thick clouds of lamplack fill the air where millmen are mixing stock for tire treads. These men are dyed as deep a black as the rubber itself. As long

as they work there, they can never get entirely clean.

At the calendar line there are more mills, little, speedy, corrugated "cracker" mills side by side with the larger rollers which further soften up the rubber for the calendar rolls. Speed, always speed! Stories are told of workers who have caught their hands and arms in these rolls. You look at the calendars and mills and shudder inwardly when you hear about the kid they took down the aisle in a cart one night moaning, "One arm! What the hell good am I going to be for the rest of my life?"

There are relatively few fatalities in the rubber factories as compared to the mines and steel mills, but who can watch the tire builders racing feverishly against split seconds at their tire drums without feeling that these men are shortening their lives considerably? All of them are muscular, but many lack sufficient flesh to cover their painfully taut sinews. They work with a nervous, unabating haste.

Women workers as is the custom are even worse off. With that same urgent speed a woman worker has to rush through her eight hours at lower rated jobs, making beads, breakers and other parts of tires or inner tubes. In some cases, women even do the same jobs as the men, but at a lower rate of pay.

Conditions such as these are the daily life of thousands of working men and women in the rubber factories. These were the conditions that impelled the workers to organize and fight against cops and tear gas on the picket line. Work such as this has built the tires and the thousand rubber appliances used by modern civilization . . . and it has built a tough section of our working class, that is capable of waging great battles. We shall hear a great deal more from them.



by C. Charles  
★  
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Reproduction of plaque in memory of Robert Sheldon Harte. This plaque was placed in the courtyard of Leon Trotsky's residence in Coyoacan, Mexico.

# Dissolution Of C.P. Voted At Convention

(Continued from page 1)

keynote was "national unity" between the workers and the exploiters in the interests of defending capitalism. But this little contradiction did not bother the hand-picked delegates in the least.

## THE NEW CONSTITUTION

The pro-capitalist, anti-working-class, counter-revolutionary nature of the new Stalinist set-up is plainly revealed in the new constitution which provides for the expulsion of anyone who seeks to "subvert, undermine, weaken or overthrow any or all institutions of American democracy." This naturally applies, in the first place, to any rank-and-filer who may express doubt about, not to mention actively oppose the strike-breaking activities of the leading Stalinist coterie and its open collaboration with Wall Street against the workers, or who still want to struggle for socialism.

tential recalcitrants, the convention threw a verbal sop in the direction of working-class militants by adopting a resolution supporting the demand of the steel workers for a 17-cent-an-hour wage increase, declaring: "The wage demands of the steel workers deserve the active support of the entire nation. The steel workers, now as in the past, are championing the interests of the entire labor movement."

No class-conscious worker should be misled by this slightest-of-hand trick by the Stalinist political shysters. They pay lip service to the justice of the workers' struggle to maintain their living standards against the assaults of capitalism — only in order to stab the workers in the back when they go out on strike. They did this when the coal miners struck. Most recently they attacked and scabbed on the Ward strike which was supported by virtually every section of the labor movement. They have every intention of continuing their strikebreaking role.

# William Haywood -- A Soldier To The Very End

## Homage To A Great Working Class Fighter

May 28, 1944 marks the sixteenth anniversary of the death of William D. Haywood, one of the greatest and most loved figures in the history of the American labor movement.

Haywood, born February 4, 1869, spent his entire life in the struggle for the emancipation of the working class. At the age of 15, he left home to work in the mines of Nevada, where he entered the labor movement as a pioneer unionist in the Western Federation of Miners in 1887.

For more than a decade thereafter, Haywood worked militantly within the American Federation of Labor, until he broke with the AFL leadership to turn to the work of building the IWW at the 1904 convention of the Miners' Federation. He was chairman of the founding conference of the Industrial Workers of the World in 1905.

Constantly under threat of prosecution for his labor activities, Haywood was loved by the workers as much as he was feared and hated by the bosses. As a leading member of the Socialist Party, he was elected as a delegate to the Socialist Congress of the Second International in 1910. In this, the most militant period of the American Socialist Party, under the leadership of Debs, Haywood was a devoted worker for its program and served on its National Committee. When the opportunist leadership took over the SP in 1912, Haywood broke with them and was removed from his post on the National Committee. He continued his struggle against opportunism when the first World War broke out. With the outbreak of the Russian revolution he rallied to the banner of the October revolution.

Haywood was naturally one of the targets when, upon the outbreak of the first World War, the bosses seized the opportunity under the cover of "patriotism" to launch their attacks against the most militant section of the American working class, in preparation for entry into the imperialist conflict.

Persecution of the IWW reached a fever pitch in the Mesaba iron range of Minnesota in 1916; almost simultaneously came the frame-up of Mooney and Billings in California; then the murder of Frank Little in Montana. Laws against "criminal syndicalism" were invoked. In September, 1917, in two widespread raids, officers and members of the IWW were arrested by the thousands, kept in jail for months awaiting trial. Over one hundred leaders, including Haywood, were finally found guilty in Chicago, in the spring of 1918, and given sentences ranging up to 40 years. When an appeal for a new trial was granted, Haywood and several others were released on bail in 1919. In Chicago, Haywood read that he was sought by the government on new frame-up charges; federal arrests of all members of the Communist Party and Communist Labor Party were being prepared; the application for a new trial for Haywood was finally denied by the United States Court of Appeals. Haywood sailed for the USSR, where he spent the remainder of his life.

The article on Haywood which appears below was written by James P. Cannon when the news of Haywood's death reached the United States. It appeared originally in the Daily Worker on May 22, 1928.

By James P. Cannon

The death of Haywood was not unexpected. The declining health of the old fighter was known to his friends for a long time. On each visit to Moscow in recent years which our Party work necessitated we noted the progressive weakening of his physical powers and learned of the repeated attacks of the fatal disease which finally brought him down. Our anxious inquiries during the past month, occasioned by the newspaper reports of his illness, only brought the response that his recovery this time could not be expected. Nevertheless we could not abandon the hope that his fighting spirit



William Haywood, 1869-1928

and his will to live would pull him through again, and the news that death had triumphed in the unequal struggle brought a shock of grief.

### A Soldier to the Last

The death of Haywood is a double blow to those who were at once his comrades in the fight and his personal friends, for his character was such as to invest personal relations with an extraordinary dignity and importance. His great significance for the American and world labor movement was also fully appreciated, I think, both by our Party and by the Communist International, in the ranks of which he ended his career, a soldier to the last.

An outstanding personality and leader of the pre-War revolutionary labor movement in America and also a member and leader of the modern Communist movement which grew up on its foundation, Bill Haywood represented a connecting link which helped to establish continuity between the old movement and the new. Growing out of the soil of America, or better, hewn out of its rocks, he first entered the labor movement as a pioneer unionist of the formative days of the Western Federation of Miners thirty years ago. From that starting point he bent his course toward the conscious class struggle and marched consistently on that path to the end of his life. He died a Communist and a soldier of the Communist International.

### Haywood's Memoirs

It is a great fortune that he finished his memoirs and that they are soon to be published. They constitute a record of the class

struggle and of the labor movement in America of priceless value for the present generation of labor militants. The career of Haywood is bound up with the stormy events which have marked the course of working class development in America for thirty years and out of which the basic nucleus of the modern movement has come.

He grew up in the hardship and struggle of the mining camps of the west. Gifted with the careless physical courage of a giant and an eloquence of speech, Bill soon became a recognized leader of the metal miners and developed with them through epic struggles toward a militancy of action combined with a socialistic understanding, even in that early day, which soon placed the Western Federation of Miners, which Haywood said "was born in a Bull Pen," in the vanguard of the American labor movement.

It was the merger of these industrial proletarian militants of the west with the socialist political elements represented by Debs and De Leon which brought about the formation of the IWW in 1905. The fame and outstanding prominence of Haywood as a labor leader even in that day is illustrated by the fact that he was chosen chairman of the historic first convention of the IWW in 1905.

### First Convention of the IWW

The brief, simple speech he delivered there, as recorded in the stenographic minutes of the convention, stands out in many respects as a charter of labor of that day. His plea for the principle of the class struggle, for industrial unionism, for special emphasis on the unskilled workers, for solidarity of black and white workers and for a revolutionary goal of the labor struggle anticipated many established principles of the modern revolutionary labor movement.

The attempt to railroad him to the gallows on framed-up murder charges in 1906 was thwarted by the colossal protest movement of the workers who saw in this frame-up against him a tribute to his talent and power as a labor leader and to his incorruptibility. His name became a battle cry of the socialist and labor movement and he emerged from the trial a national and international figure.

He rose magnificently to the new demands placed upon him by this position and soon became recognized far and wide as the authentic voice of the proletarian militants of America. The schemes of the reformist leaders of the Socialist Party to use his great name and popularity as a shield for them were frustrated by the bold and resolute course he pursued. Through the maze of intrigue and machinations of the reformist imposters in the Socialist Party, he shouldered his way with the doctrine of class struggle and the tactics of militant action.

### Headed Left Wing

The proletarian and revolutionary elements gathered around him and formed the powerful "left wing" of the [Socialist] party which made its bid for power in the convention of 1912. The "Reds" were defeated there and the [Socialist] party took a decisive step along the pathway which has led to its present position of reformist bankruptcy and open betrayal. The subsequent expulsion of Haywood from the [SP] National Executive Committee was at once a proof of the opportunist degeneration of the [Socialist] party and of his own revolutionary integrity.

Haywood's syndicalism was the outcome of his reaction against the reformist policies and parliamentary cretinism of the middle class leaders of the Socialist Party—Hillquit, Berger and Co. But syndicalism, which in its final analysis, is "the twin brother of reformism," as Lenin has characterized it, was only a transient theory in Haywood's career. He passed beyond it and thus escaped that degeneration and sterility which overtook the syndicalist move-

ment throughout the world during and after the war. The [first] World War and the Russian revolution did not pass by Haywood unnoticed, as they passed by many leaders of the IWW who had encased themselves in a shell of dogma to shut out the realities of life.

### Haywood Becomes a Communist

These world-shaking events combined with the hounding and dragging of the IWW by the United States government—the "Political State" which syndicalism wanted to "ignore"—wrought a profound change in the outlook of Bill Haywood. He emerged from Leavenworth Penitentiary in 1919 in a receptive and studious mood. He was already fifty years old, but he conquered the mental rigidity which afflicts so many at that age. He began, slowly and painfully to assimilate the new and universal lessons of the war and the Russian revolution. First taking his stand with that group in the IWW which favored adherence to the Red International of Labor Unions, he gradually developed his thought further and finally came to the point where he proclaimed himself a Communist and a disciple of Lenin. He became a member of the Communist Party of America before his departure for Russia. There he was transferred to the Russian Communist Party and in recognition of his lifetime of revolutionary work, he was given the status of "an old party member"—the highest honor anyone can enjoy in the land of Workers' Triumph.

As everyone knows, Haywood in his time had been a prisoner in many jails and, like all men who have smelt iron, he was keenly sensitive to the interests of revolutionaries who suffer this crucifixion. He attached the utmost importance to the work of labor defense and was one of the founders of the I.L.D. He contributed many ideas to its formation and remained an enthusiastic supporter right up to his death. What is very probably his last message to the workers of America, written just before he was stricken the last time, is contained in a letter published in the June 1928 number of the Labor Defender.

As a leader of the workers in open struggle Haywood was a fighter like of which is all too seldom seen. He loved the laboring masses and was remarkably free from all prejudices of craft or race or nationality. In battle with the class enemies of the workers he was a raging lion, relentless and irreconcilable.

His field was the open fight and in mass strikes his powers unfolded and multiplied themselves. Endowed with a giant's physique and an absolute disregard of personal hazards, he pulled the striking workers to him as to a magnet and imparted to them his own courage and spirit.

### Haywood and the Akron Strike

I remember especially his arrival at Akron during the great rubber workers' strike of 1913 when ten thousand strikers met him at the station and marched behind him to the Hall. His speech that morning has always stood out in my mind as a model of working class oratory. With his commanding presence and his great mellow voice he held the vast crowd in his power from the moment that he rose to speak. He had that gift, all too rare, of using only the necessary words and of compressing his thoughts into short, epigrammatic sentences. He clarified his points with homely illustrations and pungent witticisms which rocked the audience with understanding laughter. He poured out sarcasm, ridicule and denunciation upon the employers and their pretensions and made the workers feel with him that they, the workers, were the important and necessary people. He closed, as he always did, on a note of hope and struggle, with a picture of the final victory of the workers. Every word from beginning to end, simple, clear and effective. That is Haywood, the proletarian orator as I remember him.

There was another side to Bill Haywood which was an essential side of his character revealed to those who knew him well as personal friends. He had a warmth of personality that drew men to him like a bonfire on a winter's day. His considerateness and indulgence toward his friends and his generous impulsiveness in human relations were just as much a part of Bill Haywood as his iron will and intransigence in battle.

"Bill's Room" in the Lux Hotel at Moscow was always the central gathering place for the English speaking delegates. Bill was "good company" in the best sense of the old-fashioned term. He liked to have people around him and visitors came to his room in a steady stream; many went to pour out their troubles, certain of a sympathetic hearing and a word of wise advice.

### Feared by Ruling Class

The American ruling class hounded Haywood with the most vindictive hatred. They could not tolerate the idea that he, an American of old revolutionary stock, a talented organizer and eloquent speaker, should be on the side of the exploited masses, a champion of the doubly persecuted foreigners and Negroes.

With a twenty year prison sentence hanging over him he was compelled to leave America in the closing years of his life and to seek refuge in Workers' Russia. He died there in the Kremlin, the capitol of his and our Socialist Fatherland with the red flag of his class floating triumphantly overhead.

Capitalist America made him an outlaw and he died expatriated from his native land. But in the ranks of the militant workers of America, who owe so much to his example, he remains a citizen of the first rank. He represented in his rugged personality all that was best of the pre-war socialist and labor movement, and by his adhesion to Communism he helped to transmit that inheritance to us. His memory will remain a blazing torch of inspiration for the workers of America in the great struggles which lie before them.

His life was a credit and an honor to our class and to our movement. Those who pick up the battle-flag which has fallen from his lifeless hands will do well to emulate the bigness and vision, the courage and the devotion which were characteristics of our beloved comrade and friend, Bill Haywood.

# CARTEL SWINDLERS NEVER SLEEP

By Ralph Graham

While the working-class is shedding its blood on the many battlefields of the imperialist war, the moguls of American big business are engaged, not only in coining outrageous profits from the slaughter, but in perfecting arrangements for reviving the cartel system whereby monopoly capital divides the world market with trusts in foreign countries, thus subjecting the workers to an international system of exploitation.

Cartel arrangements between American and German firms have merely been suspended "for the duration," but the secret agreements in which these arrangements were made have never been cancelled. If German capitalism survives the present war, the agreements will again become operative.

This is made clear in a monograph published by the Senate Military Affairs Committee, entitled "Economic and Political Aspects of International Cartels." In April, 1941 the American firm of du Pont suggested to I. G. Farben, the German chemical trust, that exchange of technical information between the companies under various cartel agreements be suspended during the war emergency, "bearing in mind the constantly growing list of difficulties, particularly in the nature of government restrictions on the exporting of technical information." However, du Pont's letter continued, "all other obligations in the contracts to remain as at present."

### TEMPORARY CHARACTER

I. G. Farben accepted this proposal in a cablegram which confirmed the temporary character of the arrangement. Du Pont's foreign relations department then adopted a resolution for suspension of contractual arrangements with I. G. Farben and other firms in Axis countries "until the termination of the present international emergency."

Explicit in this resolution is the understanding that suspension of the cartel agreements is only temporary and that these agreements will become operative again when the war is over. Meanwhile, the organizational framework of this and other cartels are being preserved against the day when the "war for democracy" shall be over.

The Soviet journal, War and the Working Class, called attention to this fact only recently, that "men representing international Anglo-American and German interests are working in test secrecy in Switzerland in links between British

and American monopolists, on the one hand, and German monopolists on the other." The journal mentioned the firm of du Pont as one of the monopolies which have "provided for immediate renewal after the war of interrupted cartel arrangements with German companies." The monopolists, it was declared, "are already searching for ways and means of creating a high-price world monopoly after the war under the guise of 'reconstruction' of Europe's economy by the efforts of the old international cartels. They want the German monopolists to participate in this."

The cartel system embraces a variety of strategic industries, including steel, chemicals, rubber, diamonds and tin, and its ramifications are world-wide. The purpose of the cartel is to fix and maintain artificially high prices which would be impossible without international agreement. The purpose is effected by limiting and apportioning output, allocating territories, regulating sales. Cartel members license their patents to one another and exchange technological information. Occasionally they reduce prices—but that is done only when a competitor is to be eliminated or forced to join the cartel.

### CARTEL FIRMS

Cartel firms buy up and suppress patents covering improvements in the quality of consumer's products, especially where such improvements would prolong the life of the product and thus reduce the volume of sales. They also deliberately reduce quality. A case in point is given in the monograph quoted above. General Electric is charged with reducing the life of lamp bulbs and discouraging bulb-testing by purchasers. The same firm was reluctant to introduce the much more economical and longer-lived fluorescent lamp for household use.

Another case is that of du

Pont, which, having developed a pigment which could be used either in paint or in textile dye, held it from the market pending discovery of some way by which it could be made useless as a dye, in order to maintain the prices at which other dyes were selling. One of the methods proposed to make it unfit for dye, quoted from a memorandum of a conference on the subject, was as follows: "It is known that certain resins and solvents are irritating to the skin, often causing dermatitis. It might be possible to formulate a CPC composition which will make textile materials irritating to the skin."

Methods such as these are employed by the monopoly trusts in all countries. All are designed toward the same end: fixation and maintenance of non-competitive, monopolistic prices at the highest possible rate in order to reap super-profits. The cartel gives expression to this purpose in the field of international trade. In the economic crisis after the last war the market for natural rubber sagged to a point at which the rubber planters were faced

with ruin. They rescued themselves and converted their plantations into highly profitable enterprises by forming a cartel known as the International Rubber Regulating Committee and including rubber interests in Britain, India, Siam, France and the Netherlands. The world's rubber-producing territory was divided into nine zones and a quota established for each. Exports were restricted. As a result, world stocks were cut in half in the course of two years and prices had doubled. And while the rubber monopolists raked in enormous profits, the producers of the raw product—Chinese laborers in Malaya, Annamese workers in French Indo-China, and Indonesians in Java and Sumatra—were eeking out a miserable existence on near-starvation wages.

It is the same story as regards the powerful diamond cartel which controls with an iron hand the output and distribution of diamonds both for personal adornment and for industrial purposes. This powerful international trust has been able to boost the price of diamonds about 60 percent

since the start of the war. At the center of the trust is De Beers Consolidated, a billionaire British concern which controls 95 percent of the world's diamond output through ownership of or cartel agreement with all the principal mines in southern Africa.

### DIAMOND MINES

The great diamond mines in Kimberley, Union of South Africa, are De Beers' greatest single property. Here thousands of indigent natives toil in the hot, steamy underground for wages equivalent to about \$10 a month. They live in company compounds, fenced with barbed wire and constantly under guard lest they attempt to smuggle out diamonds which they could conceal on their persons during work. As double insurance against this happening, each worker as he comes off shift is subjected to a close search. He is made to strip off his clothing and while this is being gone over, the worker's hair, ears and mouth are examined, also the spaces between his toes. He is then given a rapid-action cathartic and the stool examined for stolen gems. If a gem should be found, the unfortunate native faces a severe beating-up by guards and a long prison sentence.

The war has disrupted the

working arrangements of most of the international cartels, but the profit-making aims of the great capitalist trusts which originally inspired their formation remain. Capitalist appetites, far from diminishing, have grown. The cartel system, with all that it entails in exploitation and human suffering, will unfold its ugly tentacles again unless the workers, its victims, put an end to the capitalist system.

### TRUST-BUSTING

Efforts at trust-busting by ambitious government lawyers and loud denunciations of the wicked trusts by well-intentioned but muddle-headed liberals, are no answer to the problem presented by the trust and cartel. After half a century of trust-busting activities, the monopolies in this country are more powerful than ever. Their international ties, as they themselves admit, are only "suspended" as far as "enemy" countries are concerned. The trust and the cartel are inseparable from the capitalist profit system. They are, in fact, the quintessential expression of that system in its highest development, and their baneful existence can be ended only by ending the system that nurtures them.

## FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

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## THE MILITANT

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The Negro Struggle

By Charles Jackson

Walter White's "Fight" Against Jim Crow

Walter White, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, after his tour of the war fronts has brought back with him...

Further, "America must be made a full democracy, and now." That is the "simple and inescapable conclusion." But in action, as we know, Mr. White immediately tosses this objective in favor of an entirely different one...

Segregation is intended to keep the workers divided and to maintain a "surplus" of labor on the market.

On the Poll Tax

The need which we mentioned last week for the Negro people to demand independent political action on the part of labor was again demonstrated...

Economic Rivalries Within The Anglo-American War Coalition

By James Cowan

Try as they will to conceal the real nature and aims of the present world war, the capitalist "democracies" continue to reveal, in deed and word, its predatory character as a struggle for markets, raw materials, spheres of influence, profits—and for strategic military, naval and air bases essential to make them secure against all rivals.

But in action, as we know, Mr. White immediately tosses this objective in favor of an entirely different one. In a recent broadcast he talked just as eloquently of "decent Americans interested in but one objective—winning the war as speedily as possible."

The British and American monopolists are joined in a coalition to bring about the defeat of their German and Japanese rivals. But in the midst of the conflict there are regular outcroppings of the antagonism between the two Allies whose greedy appetites manifest themselves at every turn.

In opening the conference of British Empire premiers in London at the beginning of this month, Churchill underscored the reality of these conflicts when he said: "The commonwealth and the Empire now have fighting on their side very powerful allies — the Soviet Union and the great Republic of the United States."

A CLOSED PRESERVE At the center of all the rivalries is the competition for trade. Profits of the air and communications and oil monopolists depend upon volume of trade in manufactured articles.

Churchill's fear of Britain's "powerful allies" and his obvious warning in their direction are a forecast of continuing struggle after Germany and Japan have been downed.

Stalinist Strikebreakers Help Avery Against Ward Workers

(Continued from page 1)

like Avery also want to embarrass the Roosevelt administration and hamper the war effort and national unity. They see in the strike an opportunity to further their own anti-war activities.

DAILY WORKER LIES

According to the Daily Worker, the strike was a political conspiracy engineered by "irresponsible elements" in the leadership of the union. There is nothing original in this accusation.

CALLING KELLY'S COPS

The "restraining hand" of the "city administration" can only refer to Mayor Kelly's cops! Shades of the Memorial Day Massacre when the "restraining hand" of Mayor Kelly's cops fired without warning into a holiday crowd of men, women and children on their way to picket the Republic Steel plant in Chicago in the 1937 Little Steel strike!

out, has always had urgent need for markets in which to dispose of the products of her industry and thereby pay for the huge quantities of food she must import to feed her population. This has grown more difficult from year to year as world markets narrowed and American competition grew.

Another source of British earnings was the great merchant marine. Before the war, the trade of all nations, including a large slice of American trade, was carried by ships flying the Union Jack.

For these and other related reasons, the Economist points out, Britain's need for markets becomes a vital problem of survival. The British capitalists intend to make bids for market outlets by every known device of cut-throat competition.

But here they come into sharp collision with the interests and plans of American imperialism. The productive plant in the U. S. has expanded enormously during the war. If a catastrophic economic crisis is to be avoided at the war's end, markets must be found for the productive output of this mammoth industry — abroad.

James Lawrence Fly, FCC chairman revealed the motive behind the proposed merger when, as quoted in an article in Fortune magazine on this subject, he declared: "America's international communications system must act as an instrument of national policy."

SOURCE OF CONFLICT

But here they come into sharp collision with the interests and plans of American imperialism. The productive plant in the U. S. has expanded enormously during the war.

PROMOTING MONOPOLY

Thus while one agency of the government, the Department of Justice, still adheres formally to the anti-monopoly, trust-busting policy of the Administration, another agency, the FCC, is actively promoting a monopoly in the field of communications.

This growing tendency toward monopoly, fostered and promoted by government as a means of implementing imperialist policy, is shown most plainly in the sphere of inter-continent and transoceanic air transport and symbolized by the monopoly stranglehold which Pan American Airways has obtained over a period of years with the generous assistance of Washington.

The Militant

may now be purchased at 242 Broadway, San Diego, Cal.

THE END OF THE COMINTERN

By James P. Cannon

The Manifesto of the Fourth International

36 PAGES

10 CENTS

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10 Years Ago In The Militant

MAY 26, 1934

MINNEAPOLIS—"In the most imposing display of labor solidarity and militancy Minneapolis has ever seen, a mighty picket line of the General Drivers' Union, 5,000 strong, swept the Wholesale Market clear of every scab, cop and deputy putting a complete stop to every attempt to move commercial trucks."

Called on Tuesday, May 15, the strike powerfully answered the bosses' refusal to recognize the Drivers' Union. With superb organization, strikers massed their strength at a central headquarters, despatching flying squads of pickets to strategic points to bring to a standstill all trucking with the exception of milk, ice and beer drivers who, already organized, were given permission to operate.

Minneapolis industrialists through a "Committee of 25" chosen from the infamous "Citizens' Alliance," tried first to break the strike by moving bread from the bakeries; frightened by the scope of the strike, the bakers retreated. Next, the Committee tried to enlist the farmers against the strikers; farmers' trucks were turned back at the city limits on Saturday. Twice defeated, the bosses turned frantically to terrorism, tripling the police force, importing gunmen, arresting 200 pickets. Again on Monday the police slugged and arrested men, women and children on the picket line; 35,000 building trades workers gave labor's answer to this brutal attack by calling a sympathy strike, while the Communist League (Trotskyist) raised the demand for a general strike. The bosses capitulated, agreeing to negotiate and stop all transportation during a 24-hour truce on Tuesday.

NEW YORK—Drawing the lessons of the Minneapolis strike, James P. Cannon wrote in The Militant: "The whole union went into action on the picket line in mass formation; thousands of other union men went with them; they took along the necessary means to protect themselves against the murderous thugs. . . . This was an example of mass action which points the way for the future victorious struggles of the American workers."

He pointed out the special features of this struggle; the participation of the strikers' wives, who ran the commissary, picketed the mayor's office, in every way doubled the strength of the workers, giving the strike a spirit and solidarity essential to victory; the building trades workers' sympathy strike demonstrated the importance of united action in the labor movement, which Cannon sharply contrasted with the Stalinist ultra-left, divisionist policy of "red trade unions." And finally, "among the leaders of this strike are a number of Bolshevik militants. . . . The most important of all prerequisites for the development of a militant labor movement is the leaven of principled Communists. The labor movement grows as a result of this fusion and their influence grows with it."

SHOP - TALKS ON SOCIALISM

By V.

So you can't have Socialism because it's against human nature? Why? "Because," says Doubting Tom, "no one would work if he didn't have to. These workers would lay down on the job. A few suckers would have to do all the work, etc."

Well, in the first place, no real socialist ever said that socialism would tolerate the shiftless and the sponger — the parasite who will not work, but lives like a wood-tick or a bed-bug off the blood of men who do work. It's this cock-eyed capitalist society that breeds the parasitic blood-suckers like the Du Ponts and Morgans who never see the inside of a factory but clip their coupons on the sands of Miami or in the penthouses of Park Avenue.

"Still," the wise guys will say, "the worker in the plant will take it easier and easier. He's pretty sure he won't get fired. Doesn't he elect his own boss under socialism? He'd wait for the other fellows to do the work. Soon more and more would do this. And then where would you be, etc., etc.?"

This argument boils down to the idea that you work only because there's a boss over you. But the real whip is economic necessity, not the foreman. The main "incentive" under capitalism is the fact that you have to work to live. This incentive is reinforced under Socialism, for under this system no parasites are admissible. The workers and peasants under Lenin and Trotsky wrote that right into the constitution of the first workers' state.

But the whole thing is that it would not be the grim necessity and the dirty thing it is now. Socialism in addition has other incentives of its own, for the good living of all would depend on the good work of all. Machines would be really utilized for maximum production. From being drudges and slaves of machines, men would really for the first time employ machinery for the benefit of all.

And if you take the trouble you can even see today that there are other reasons for working than just because the boss has it up your back. Yes, even in this dog-eat-dog system, where they steal a man's youth and then throw him on the scrap pile, you've seen not one worker but dozens who took a pride in doing good work for its own sake, in fact even when the company didn't want it, but wanted shod quality so they could get more quantity. And you've seen workers who worked like hell just to show how good they were to the other guys. And especially since this war profiteering began, you've seen men actually quit the job rather than do the lousy work they are sometimes asked to do. And workers in the company's service for so many years that they have long forgotten the hope of promotion, coming in every day like clockwork, 20 minutes ahead of time — never late in their lives. Why? Because they're afraid of the company? No. Because they're proud of their records. They take a pride in doing their jobs right and living their lives right. All this in a system where they have to work six and seven days a week just to live — in a system where the biggest crooks are those uncaught. If men can show such conscientiousness with so little inspiration, how many millions more will be inspired to equal and greater efforts when they see that they are working for themselves and not the parasites

PIONEER PARAGRAPHS

THEORY PLAYS A DECISIVE ROLE IN POLITICAL ACTION

In the course of twenty years, from 1924, when the fatal theory of socialism in one country was first promulgated, to the sorry, dishonorable end of the Comintern in 1943; in that whole tragic degeneration, we can see above everything else the decisive role of theory in political action. Stalin didn't begin with the dissolution of the Comintern. He began with the theory of socialism in one country. From this false theory everything else has followed — the betrayal of the world proletariat, the isolation of the USSR behind her national barriers, the purges, the Moscow trials, the mass murders, the assassinations, and finally, the dissolution of the Comintern.

READ 'THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL'

CRDC MASS MEETING

Hear GEORGE NOVACK National Secretary, Civil Rights Defense Committee Account of his three months coast to coast tour covering all principal cities in behalf of the 18 prisoners in the Minneapolis Labor Case.

Chairman: George Baldanzi Executive Vice-Pres., Textile Workers Union of America Thursday, JUNE 8, 8:15 P. M. HOTEL DIPLOMAT (Crystal Ball Room) 108 West 43rd Street, New York City ADMISSION: 25 CENTS

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# THE MILITANT

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— LEON TROTSKY

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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.

## English Trotskyists

In jailing four leading members of the Revolutionary Communist Party, including Jock Haston, the party's general secretary, the Tory-capitalist government of Churchill and Co. is pursuing a clear-cut aim.

Its purpose is to stifle the revolutionary voice of Trotskyism in the midst of the great forward surge of the British working-class which was highlighted in recent weeks by the strikes in the coal mines and engineering plants. The British Trotskyists are being railroaded to prison only a few short months after the liberation by Churchill's government of the fascist leader, Sir Oswald Mosley.

After nearly five years of "blood, sweat and tears," during which their conditions of life have steadily worsened, the British workers have taken once more, and vigorously, to the road of class struggle against the capitalist exploiters. For five long years they have been tied to the capitalist war machine by their treacherous Labor Party and trade union leaders under a "truce" which made a real defense of their living and working conditions well-nigh impossible.

Today, the British workers are beginning to break away from the leading-strings of capitalism and defying the labor flunkies of the exploiting class, the Bevins and the Morrisons.

The British capitalists pretend to see a dark, sinister underground plot behind the great movement of working class resurgence and the growth of revolutionary activity. Unable to confound the revolutionists in the eyes of the workers by means of argument, they resort to slander and defamation, culminating in the frame-up.

This was the method twenty years ago when the workers of England, following the worst period of the post-war depression, regained their confidence and began to fight back against the exploiters. At that time a Tory newspaper forged the notorious "Zinoviev Letter" in order to "prove" that back of the insurgence of British labor was a deep-dyed plot by Moscow.

But the real plotters were the British capitalists. Their plot to smear the labor movement and its revolutionary vanguard — at that time the British Communist Party — served its purpose for a day. And then the "Zinoviev Letter" was proved forgery. The radicalization of the workers continued and culminated in the great general strike

of 1926. The plot against the English Trotskyists will fail, too.

Churchill and his labor lieutenants realize that the radicalization of the British workers, if unchecked, may assume menacing revolutionary proportions. They seek to halt the leftward tendency by striking blows at the Trotskyist movement.

But Trotskyism is the quintessential expression of the working-class struggle against capitalism. Leaders and activists may be imprisoned, but the movement itself cannot be destroyed. Despite the imprisonment of many of the leading representatives of Trotskyism in this country after the famous Minneapolis trial, the movement in this country continues to live and grow. It will be the same in England. Repressions cannot halt the advance of this movement which leads the fight for a socialist world.

## Poll Tax

The Senate debate on the anti-poll tax bill was such a patent fraud that most political commentators treated the spectacle as a bad joke. Writing in the *N. Y. World Telegram*, Thomas L. Stokes, Scripps-Howard staff writer, characterized the farce in the following words: "The perennial anti-poll tax spectacle in the Senate, which was not even good theater this visit, has reached its preordained climax without anybody being fooled. Everybody connected with the performance, except perhaps a few sincere souls, felt relieved today anticipating the ringing down of the curtain. For the whole thing has been a fake."

To the venal politicians in both major parties the 10,000,000 people, white and black, disfranchised by the poll tax, are nothing but pawns in the game of politics. The Republicans and Democrats, their camp followers and apologists, are solely concerned with garnering votes for their respective candidates. Walter White, head of the NAACP, the liberals and Stalinists direct their main fire at the Republican, Dewey. The Republicans point to the fact that all the poll-taxers are in the camp of the Democrats. Each tries to shift the blame on the other for the defeat of the anti-poll tax bill.

Dewey, prospective Republican candidate for president, piously proclaims his "opposition" to the poll tax requirement. Roosevelt, head of the Democratic party, also says he is "against" the poll tax. Bilbo, poll tax Senator from Mississippi, who once sponsored a bill to send all Negroes to Liberia, says: "I agree with Governor Dewey in the matter, and I also agree with President Roosevelt. The poll tax is wrong. It ought to be abolished." That makes it practically unanimous! Yet the poll tax continues to remain as a symbol of race discrimination, bigotry, reaction and political oppression, through Republican and Democratic administrations alike. No amount of mummery can cloak the responsibility of both capitalist parties for perpetuating the poll tax system.

It is only when the downtrodden and oppressed, both black and white, unite in their own independent Labor Party, that the death knell of the poll tax system will be sounded.

## CIO In Politics

When the CIO Political Action Committee was first established, Philip Murray proclaimed: "For the first time in American history, the forces of labor are now setting up a nation-wide organization to protect the political rights of the working man, as well as the rights of the returning soldier, the farmer, the small business man and the so-called 'common man.'" "We are, for the present," said Murray, "committed to no man or political party. We shall, 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."

Having apparently "perfected" its organization and "agreed upon its general principles," the CIO Political Action Committee met in national conference at Chicago last week. The purpose of such meeting, according to Murray, was to draw up a program for the welfare of the "common man." Then, and only then, Murray contended, would the CIO Political Action Committee endorse that party which, at its national convention, incorporates the CIO program in its platform and commits its candidates to the support of that program. The conference met, labored, and brought forth—a blank check, which was handed to the Democratic Party to be filled in by the political deputies of the Wall Street plunderbund, who will control the convention, write the program and name the candidates of that party.

This is putting it mildly! The sum total of the labor of the national conference of the Hillman-Murray Political Action Committee, was to give full, unqualified and unconditional support to the titular head of the Democratic party, Franklin D. Roosevelt. The cringing servility of the labor lackeys is best exemplified by their action in throwing their good "friend" Henry Wallace, to the wolves. Wallace, whose purely verbal and literary "liberalism" has offended the Wall Street freebooters, will be "endorsed" says Hillman, "if he is renominated" by the Democratic convention. All pretense of independent political action has been thrown overboard by the Murray-Hillman clique who announce, in advance, that they will gratefully accept whatever crumbs the political bosses are kind enough to throw their way. Where is there a parallel for the lying hypocrisy of the mealy-mouthed flunkies of the American capitalist class?

# L. A. Unions Back CRDC

LOS ANGELES — An enthusiastic and attentive audience of some 150 workers turned out here last Sunday night to hear George Novack, national secretary of the Civil Rights Defense Committee, and three trade union guest speakers at a meeting called to push the campaign for the release of the 18 leading members of the Socialist Workers Party and trade union militants who were railroaded to jail under the infamous Smith "Gag" Act.

Indicating their solid backing of the campaign to win a pardon for the eighteen, who are serving their sentences in Federal penitentiaries, the workers in the audience contributed \$190 to the CRDC, thus subscribing the equivalent of a month's prison money for each of the prisoners. Greetings were read at the meeting from Warren K. Billings who together with the late Tom Mooney was sent to prison in a frame-up connected with the Preparedness Day bombing in San Francisco in 1916.

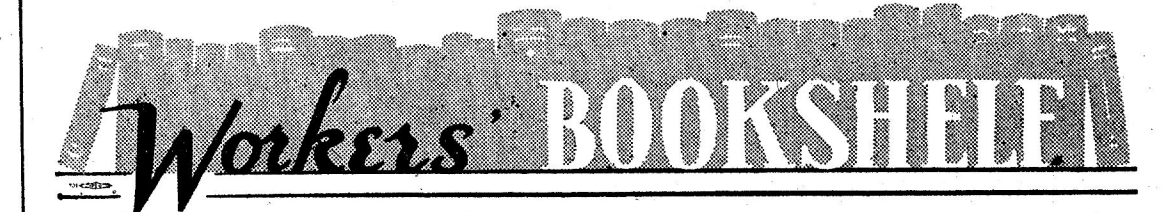
"The prosecution of the eighteen in the Minneapolis case," wired Billings, "is the same kind of frame-up as was perpetrated by organized capital against Mooney and myself during the first world war."

Bernard Appel of Local 84 of the ILGWU announced that his union strongly supported the CRDC campaign for a pardon for the eighteen. Similar support was announced by Eugene Judd, vice-president, for General Motors Local 216, United Automobile Workers (CIO) which invited Novack to address a meeting of its members on May 25. Negro interest in the case was shown by a message from the

Los Angeles branch of the NAACP which, though unable to be represented at the meeting, pledged all support to the movement for a pardon.

Still another message was read from Oscar Soares, secretary-treasurer of the Los Angeles Division of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters (AFL). He apologized for his inability to be present at the meeting and said he had sent a telegram to President Roosevelt in the name of his union asking a pardon for the Trotskyists and trade union militants.

The Los Angeles meeting was another high point in the Novack national tour, the purpose of which is to consolidate the work of local CRDC organizations and advance the campaign for liberation of the 18 victims of Roosevelt's gag law.



THE LOOM OF LANGUAGE, by Frederick Bodmer; Lancelot Hogben, Editor. W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., New York. Illustrated, \$3.75. 692 pp.

As in the first World War, millions of armed men coming into contact with foreign peoples has aroused wide interest in other languages. The insular antipathy of Americans toward foreign tongues is rapidly turning into its opposite. A host of new language textbooks have appeared on dealers' shelves alongside fresh editions of older works offering short cuts into Spanish, French, Italian, Portuguese, German, Dutch, Norwegian. Before the war such books would have collected only library dust.

That such a book as *The Loom of Language* could appear indicates the effect of the war upon the cultural superstructure of American society, for this book attempts to present in popular style a comparative study of the principal world languages.

The book is undoubtedly an effective guide for the beginner seeking familiar paths in the wilderness of a foreign language. From the hybrid character of English, *The Loom of Language* demonstrates that Anglo-Americans enjoy peculiar advantages in learning either Teutonic or Romance tongues. The demonstration includes numerous tables which present comparative lists of words, roots, declensions, conjugations, etc. of the principal European languages. This method combined with the detailed explanation of the evolution of modern languages from common ancestral forms provides the student with some effective tools for acquiring a new language.

The book's eye view of all languages enables a beginner to make an intelligent choice of a particular language to learn since he will have an accurate idea of the relative difficulties facing him. Especially valuable are the suggestions as to what not to learn in studying a new language, a most refreshing contrast to the dreary method of the usual high school or college text. Bodmer is listed as author; Hogben as "editor." Bodmer provides the comparative philology. Hogben is unquestionably responsible for the style, and is likewise undoubtedly responsible for dragging Hegel in by the hair from time to time. Hogben's earlier book, *Mathematics for the Millions*, suffers from these same intrusions. We suspect that Hogben's real concern is the dialectic in dialectic materialism; Hegel with his well-known preoccupation over religion merely offers a convenient whipping boy. In fields so rich with examples of dialectic as the evolution of mathematics and language, the philosopher opposed to dialectic feels called upon to deal it a blow even though he must force the opportunity.

Main weakness of an otherwise excellent book, however, is precisely its lack of dialectic. Anyone with even a smattering of dialectic materialism will find one instance after another in *The Loom of Language* where the study of the development of language loses its sharpness and distinctness because of this weakness.

The latter part of the book deals with "Language Planning for a New Order." The author and editor look forward to the day of a single world language. Their speculations are politically quite interesting.

They believe first of all that "as far as we can see into the future, there will always be a multiplicity of regional languages for everyday use." But these languages will increasingly be supplemented by study in schools of another language which will tend to become universal. Agreeing upon one interlanguage for the school children of the entire world, however, "is not a language problem. It is a political problem." (Emphasis in original).

The authors speculate whether the future interlanguage will be of whole cloth, or a modification of one of the existing languages. English they believe has many grammatical advantages over most other languages in addition to being already in use over wide areas. "But political objections to such a choice are formidable. It is most unlikely that a socialist Continent would decide for Anglo-American as its interlanguage if Britain remained hostile to the new order."

Bodmer and Hogben do not believe that it is possible to introduce language planning under capitalism. This section, therefore, is addressed largely to those who will lead the society of the future; it is an attempt to outline the problem for their sympathetic understanding.

The authors even reserve the final paragraph of their book for a blow at the present system of economy and those pacifists who (before the second world war) believed removal of language barriers an effective way to end war: "Of itself," they contend, "no such change can bring the age-long calamity of war to an end; and it is a dangerous error to conceive that it can do so. We cannot hope to reach a remedy for the language obstacles to international co-operation on a democratic footing, while predatory finance capital, intrigues of armament manufacturers, and the vested interest of a rentier class in the misery of colonial peoples continue to stifle the impulse to a world-wide enterprise for the common wealth of mankind. No language reform can abolish war, while social agencies far more powerful than mere linguistic misunderstandings furnish fresh occasion for it."

Reviewed by JOSEPH HANSEN

# Senate Labor Committee Reveals Living Cost Rise

Skyrocketing living costs have struck so harshly at the 20,000,000 wage-earners at the bottom of the nation's income scale that they can scarcely keep body and soul together, declares a recent study of a subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Education and Labor.

In citing the "hardships imposed upon them by the war," the committee proposed that the Little Steel formula and other wage-freezing devices shall not be applied to heads of families earning under \$200 a month and unmarried workers getting \$150 a month or less. At present price levels the Senate committee disclosed, even an income of \$50 a week provides the average family "only a very narrow margin of living."

Millions of unorganized office workers, store clerks, school teachers and low-pay government employees, as well as those forced to live on fixed-income social security payments or servicemen's allowances are among the worst sufferers of the price gouge.

The committee itself refuted the false contentions of the Bureau of Labor Statistics that living costs have advanced only 21.3 percent, and charged that the BLS figures were only a "barometer" of changes of certain prices but in no sense an adequate measure of the cost of living rise.

Among the important items the BLS "barometer" overlooks, according to the committee report are, "deterioration in quality of goods, disappearance from the market of cheaper grades, new types of expenditures incurred by workers who migrate to war jobs, 'black market' operations which are hidden from view, and differences between prices in various types of communities and geographic regions."

This committee report thus exposes the anti-labor character of the Roosevelt administration's use of the BLS figures in justifying its wage-freeze.

# Big Oil Companies Control Petroleum Administration

Another "New Deal" idol of the liberals, Secretary of the Interior Harold L. Ickes, is revealed to have feet of clay. Congressman Voorhis, of California, last week charged in the House that the Petroleum Administration for War, which is headed by Ickes, is nothing but a "stooge" of the big oil corporations and is aiding the oil barons to rivet their monopoly control on the petroleum resources of the nation.

Voorhis, an outstanding authority on the oil question who uncovered the Elk Hills oil scandal, revealed that Ickes' petroleum organization has over 100 members who are also on the payrolls of the biggest oil companies, including a number of leading corporation executives.

The major companies, aided by Ickes' policies, have created a monopoly-induced oil shortage in this country, Voorhis declared. Ickes has curtailed independent production, placed restrictions on the smaller companies in drilling new wells, opposed the importation of Mexican oil despite the claimed shortage, and has turned over the operation of government-owned and built tankers exclusively to the big monopoly interests whose agents run the PAW.

While Ickes is helping to foster the Arabian oil deal, to use hundreds of millions in public funds in aiding the American oil imperialists snatch the Middle East oil fields, the companies have kept concealed the existence of vast undeveloped oil reserves now in their possession in this country, Voorhis disclosed. The government is allowing these companies to keep control of some 49,000,000 undeveloped acres of oil land, while producing from only 3,763,000 acres.

In the meantime, Ickes has agitated for boosting oil prices and grabbing foreign oil lands.

# What OPA Tried To Hide About Food Trust Profits

Suppressed Office of Price Information profits reports were recently secured and made public by "People's Lobby." These reports which the Roosevelt administration had deliberately concealed from the public because they give a damning picture of the greed and corruption of the capitalist ruling class, reveal that the real reason for the price rises is this, that the war profiteers have been picking the pockets of the workers.

One section of the report discloses the wartime profits of the food trusts. Since food constitutes the largest single item on workers' budgets, these figures on food profits give a more accurate indication of the extent of living cost increases than figures on other necessities such as clothes, rent and medical care.

According to OPA Study No. 9, dealing with the meat packing corporations, as summarized by the "People's Lobby" bulletin, "aggregate profits in 1942 of 53 companies were over four times the pre-war level, on only 83 percent higher sales. . . . On each dollar of capital invested in the 53 companies, the return in 1942 was 3 1/2 times the 1936-39 average."

The tremendous increase in profits over sales and in the rate of profit on each dollar of capital investment is attributable to only one thing — deliberate price gouging under the pretext of scarcity.

The summary of OPA Study No. 8 on fruit and vegetable canners discloses that "profits before income taxes of fruit and vegetable canners were five times as great in 1942 as in the years 1936-1939, on less than twice the pre-war volume of sales. . . ."

Similar wartime profits steals are reported for the big corporations in the milk and milk products, bakery, cereal and flour industries. These 1942 profits, however, are far less than the profits realized in 1943 and this year.

Instead of expropriating these profiteers who have been sucking the very life-blood of the working people, the administration has imposed a wage-freeze on the victims of the food trust while protecting the profiteers by hiding the true facts of their extortionate practices.

# International Notes

## MEXICO

In line with the action of the American Communist Party, which has dissolved itself at Browder's command into a formless "political association" in order that it may be able more effectively to serve as a tool of Big Business and a betrayer of the working-class, the Communist Party of Mexico has entered the Partido Revolucionario Mexicana.

The PRM, with its following among the middle class in Mexico is under the leadership of the present President Avila Comacho, avowed tool of Wall Street monopoly capital. Senor Villalobos, PRM chairman, spoke at the Communist Party convention at which the decision to enter the PRM was made. According to the *Daily Worker*, he praised the "true patriotism" of the Stalinists and their campaign for national unity and greater war production.

In keeping with the current line of subservience to capitalism and support of its imperialist war, the Stalinist convention sent messages of greeting to Roosevelt, Churchill and (of course) Stalin. There were other times when Communist Party conventions were proud to confine their greetings to the working-class and its leaders, above all to the revolutionary vanguard, and to class-war prisoners confined in the dungeons of capitalism. Today they send salutations to the political representatives of the capitalist enslavers and exploiters of labor, the imperialist war-mak-

ers. Such is the measure of their corruption and degeneration!

## ITALY

The capitalist press has maintained the tightest censorship over events in northern Italy since the great strikes which several weeks ago paralyzed industry in the cities of Milan, Turin and Genoa. But news does appear in the European press.

Thus the Basler National Zeitung published a dispatch from Chiasso on April 24 which told of the continuing mass onslaughts against the fascist "Republican" government of Mussolini and the Nazi occupation authorities. This dispatch tells of "almost daily-occurring murders of Fascist dignitaries and militia officers." The Nazi-Fascists are taking savage reprisals by executing hostages and sending expeditions against armed partisans in the mountain areas.

"This situation," says the Swiss paper, "increasingly threatens to unleash civil war. Following Mussolini's recent decree, promising leniency, Farinacci published in Regime Fascista an urgent conciliatory appeal, in order to check the 'fratricidal war' against the 'Republic'."

According to the same source, Mussolini announced that the Fascist Party had lost 1,023 members killed by anti-Fascists and that 535 officers and soldiers of the Fascist Republican Guard had met the same fate. And still the opposition grows, both in scope and intensity. Some details of recent actions are given by

the Swiss Telegraph Agency, which quotes from the first communiques issued by the organized Italian resistance movement.

Guerrillas in the province of Padua killed eleven German officers and four Fascists, in addition to capturing five prisoners. In the Val di Lanzo region of Piedmont heavy fighting occurred in which there were 200 German and Fascist casualties. The guerrilla partisans lost 100 dead. Similar actions occurred in the Cuneo region and in the Rieti region.

The ranks of the partisans, depleted by casualties, are rapidly filled by draft delinquents and deserters from the Fascists. On April 30 the Stockholm paper published an article by its Rome correspondent, Hamris, in which it was declared that "Fascist attempts to enroll soldiers has proven a complete failure. Once a group of 1,000 men reported and was equipped with arms. It was then sent to a sector; the next day all had deserted."

The heroic struggle against the Nazis in northern Italy is continuing without let-up. It gives the lie to those who assert that the Italian masses are inert, cynical and played out by more than 20 years of Fascist enslavement. The unquenchable will of the masses to struggle for freedom holds the promise of a great revolutionary forward sweep and a bright future under Socialism.