

## SWP Expansion Program Mapped By Convention

By Art Preis

NEW YORK CITY, Nov. 20.—The Socialist Workers Party, revolutionary vanguard party of the American working class, last night concluded an historic four-day convention held at the Capitol Hotel here. Convened to prepare the socialist fighters of American labor for the great mass struggles in the period ahead, this convention was the largest, most business-like and enthusiastic national gathering of the party during the entire 16-year history of the Trotskyist movement in America.

Despite wartime reaction and repressions, the first great blows of which were struck at the SWP through the imprisonment of 18 of its national leaders, the convention recorded the growth, extension of activities, and widening of the influence of Trotskyism among the workers during the past year. The feeling of unbounded optimism which permeated the delegates reflected not only the revolutionary socialist prospects residing in the highly-organized, militant and undefeated American labor movement but the inspiration imparted by events in Europe where the greatest proletarian revolutionary upsurge in history is now taking place.

### PROGRAM OF EXPANSION

Testifying to the Trotskyist party's appreciation of the great responsibility which rests upon it in leading the working class struggle for socialism, the convention first discussed and adopted political resolutions outlining the fundamental political perspectives and tasks of the party both nationally and internationally.

To implement this political line and program, the convention enthusiastically adopted a report on party organization and a program for party expansion designed to consolidate the Trotskyist ranks and prepare the party to face the coming struggles as a firmly united, disciplined, Bolshevik combat organization.

This program of expansion, which crowned the political and

organizational deliberations of the convention, envisions a tremendous leap forward in the development and influence of the Trotskyist movement in the next period. It is realistically based on the demonstrated accomplishments of the party during the past year and the quickening pace of the leftward political trend of the American and world working class.

### GREAT FORWARD STEP

In every field of activity, this program embodies boldness and confidence in the capacity of the party and the receptivity of the advanced sectors of American labor toward Trotskyism. The convention resolved upon great forward steps in all spheres—press, publications, education and organizing staff. All the resources and energies of the party will be mobilized to bring the program of Trotskyism to the American masses.

To finance the program of expansion, the convention launched the most ambitious fund-raising campaign in the party's history. The convention delegates pledged themselves and the party branches which they represent to raise an \$18,000 Party Expansion Fund, \$1,000 for each one of the 18 Trotskyists railroaded to prison by the Roosevelt administration. The fulfillment of the fund quotas has been set for three months after the convention.

The working class political

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## Convention Greetings To Our 12 Imprisoned Comrades

This Eleventh Convention, the biggest in the history of our movement, is the greatest tribute to our leaders incarcerated in the jails of American "democratic" imperialism. It testifies to the training of our cadres and to their ability to withstand repression and overcome obstacles. In one party campaign after another our members have worked tirelessly and with outstanding success to strengthen the party. They have come to this convention with the same spirit of devotion, determined to answer the persecutions of the capitalist class and its agents by consolidating their ranks and preparing for the next forward steps of our movement.

Our thoughts and hearts are with you, the pioneer American Trotskyists, who are suffering the cruelty of having been torn from your rightful places and deprived of participating in our deliberations. But your example of fortitude and Bolshevik loyalty inspires our work.

We pledge ourselves to carry out the tasks of this national convention with Bolshevik dignity, responsibility and perseverance, so that our twelve imprisoned comrades and the six recently released will return to a more powerful party. We are confident that the great opportunities opening up for our movement in the period ahead will be utilized to the full for the expansion and strengthening of the Trotskyist revolutionary party of the American working class.

## Labor Leaders Endorse CRDC Christmas Appeal

Eight nationally-prominent trade union and civil liberties leaders have addressed a joint appeal to all labor and progressive organizations on behalf of the Civil Rights Defense Committee's campaign for a \$5,000 Christmas Fund.

The fund is urgently needed to provide relief and a little Christmas cheer for the 12 Minneapolis Labor Case victims still in prison and their wives and children. The CRDC is also continuing the fight for unconditional pardon of all 18 convicted Socialist Workers Party and Minneapolis CIO truckdrivers' leaders, six of whom were released last month, and for repeal of the anti-labor Smith "Gag" Act.

The signers of the CRDC Christmas Fund appeal are John Green, president of the CIO Industrial Union of Marine and Shipbuilding Workers; George Baldanzi, executive vice-president of the CIO Textile Workers Union; Julius Hochman, general manager of the N. Y. Joint Board, Dress and Waistmakers Union, AFL International Ladies Garment Workers Union; Willard S.

Townsend, president of the CIO United Transport Service Employees; James T. Farrell, CRDC national chairman and noted novelist; Professor John Dewey, America's leading philosopher and educator; Roger Baldwin, national director of the American Civil Liberties Union; and Warren K. Billings, who, with Tom Mooney, was one of America's outstanding victims of an anti-labor frame-up.

The appeal declares that the 18 were imprisoned "solely because of their labor activities and political opinions" and that "the

# Attempt To Disarm Belgian Workers Meets Powerful Mass Resistance

Italian Masses Celebrate 1917 Russian Revolution



In the greatest mass demonstration ever seen in Italy eighty thousand workers gathered in Rome on Sunday, November 12 to celebrate the Twenty-Seventh Anniversary of the Russian Revolution, October, 1917. They carried placards bearing pictures of Lenin, the clenched fist of Bolshevism, and revolutionary slogans. The numerous pictures of Stalin bears witness to the illusions still held by the Italian masses concerning the Stalinist party. According to the N. Y. Times, "columns of 1,000 to 2,000 people marched through the streets from all quarters of Rome, singing 'the Internationale' and 'Bandiera Rossa.'"

## Roosevelt's Henchmen Prepare To Knife Union Wage Demands

By C. Thomas

The seed of illusion planted by the labor bureaucrats, that the reelection of Roosevelt would protect the workers' standard of living, is already beginning to bear bitter fruit. The election returns were hardly in before Roosevelt's henchmen swung into action to hold the wage-freezing line against labor.

With the precision of a well-planned campaign, labor's "friend" in the White House set in motion a series of maneuvers, designed to prepare the ground for a slashing offensive against the demand of the unions for the abolition of the Little Steel formula. As was to be expected, the employer-dominated War Labor Board became the spearhead of this campaign.

The WLB waited until after the elections to release a doctored report drawn up by Roosevelt's "cost-of-living" committee, which lays the basis for a rejection of labor's demand to bring wages in line with the rising cost of living.

### PARK AVENUE LAWYER

The report was released by William Davis, the pious fraud who poses as the "impartial" chairman of the WLB, but who is in reality a Park Avenue lawyer protecting the interests of his Wall Street clients. This thimble-rigged "cost-of-living" committee was established by Roosevelt over a year ago in response to labor's charge that the Bureau of

Labor Statistics' figures on which the wage freeze is based, were inaccurate and false.

The cost of living committee of the War Labor Board was appointed by Roosevelt in November, 1943 and ordered to bring back a report within sixty days. In January, 1944, after the committee failed to submit a report within the specified time, the labor representatives on the WLB compiled voluminous statistics under the name of the Thomas-Meany report, proving that the cost of living had risen 43.5% since January 1941.

To counter the Thomas-Meany report, chairman Davis of the WLB appointed a committee of college professors headed by Prof. Mitchell of Columbia University, to "examine and report on the accuracy of the Bureau of Labor Statistics index." The Mitchell report, of course, upheld the BLS index but added a few percent for "hidden" cost-of-living increases.

### A LEGAL MAZE

The most recent "cost-of-living" report by Davis is based on the Mitchell report, which in turn upheld the BLS index, upon which the wage freeze was based. This Park Avenue shyster is a clever hand at constructing a legal maze in which even a Philadelphia lawyer would become lost! Watching Davis perform is like watching the man on the flying trapeze. He executes the most startling legal gymnastics with the greatest of ease. His twists and turns are intended to bewitch the workers into believing that their need for a wage increase is an illusion. That the cost of living hasn't been going up—it's been coming down. That the Little Steel formula has been a boon to the workers, the wage freeze a blessing, and a lower standard of living the greatest joy!

In analyzing the Davis report,

### Paris Censorship

DeGaulle, like Churchill and Roosevelt, is tramping upon that much-touted of the Four Freedoms—Freedom of Speech, which includes Freedom of the Press.

On Nov. 10, the newspaper "Franc-Tireur" appeared in Paris minus its customary editorial, which had been deleted by DeGaulle's censors. The paper is the organ of the parties composing the Resistance Movement. DeGaulle is also trying to stifle the press of the left by starving it of newsprint, the Stalinist organ, "Humanite," reports.

DeGaulle's regime is "democratic"—oh, yes! But the "opposition" press is being prevented from making its voice heard.

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## People Pour Into Streets; Defy Ban On Demonstrations

Stalinists and Social-Democrats Exposed As Sole Internal Props of Capitalist Regime

By William F. Warde

Defiantly answering the Allied-supported attempt of the counter-revolutionary Pierlot government to disarm the revolutionary fighters of the Resistance Forces in Belgium, 15,000 men and women workers marched through the streets of Brussels on Sunday, Nov. 19 in a militant and tumultuous demonstration demanding the resignation of Pierlot's government.

The unmistakably revolutionary mood of the demonstrators was evidenced in their singing of the battle-song of Socialism, "The Internationale," by the red flags predominant among their banners, and by the Hammer and Sickle emblem of the Bolshevik Revolution on their armbands.

The mile-long column of demonstrators paraded through the heart of the Belgian capital, shouting "Down with Pierlot!"

About half the marchers were women. Also among the demonstrators were a considerable number of men in Belgian army uniform. Despite a government ban, they carried revolvers, and here and there even rifles half-hidden beneath tunics, blouses and coats. They were ready to use their arms if provoked.

### POLICE PATROL STREETS

However, no clashes developed between the armed masses and the authorities, although steel-helmeted police with rifles slung over their shoulders patrolled the streets and Allied troops and armored cars were held in readiness in streets off the line of march, together with equipment for building barricades.

The Resistance fighters were protesting not only Pierlot's effort to disarm and demobilize them, but also the entire reactionary policy of his regime. They descended upon the capital from many parts of Belgium to express their indignation over the acute shortage of food, the lack of jobs, the additional privations induced by the deflationary financial

### Nazis Shoot, Hang Peace Marchers

German women staged "tumultuous peace demonstrations" in Mannheim during the week-end of Nov. 11-12 and were suppressed "bloodily" by Gestapo agents and Nazi Elite Guards, according to a United Press dispatch from Zurich which quoted eye-witness reports by travelers arriving from Germany. Earlier Swiss reports said that 21 persons had been hanged in Cologne, not far from the Allied-German battle-lines, for participating in demonstrations against the continuance of the war.

Instead of imprisoning these capitalist collaborators of the Nazis, Pierlot and the Allied leaders placed them in high government posts where they now run the nation and proceed against the Resistance forces who fought in the underground

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# The Uprising In Warsaw

By Paul Stevens

At the beginning of October the great Warsaw insurrection was crushed. After the insurgents had suffered 250,000 casualties, their leaders surrendered to the Nazi command. Thus one of the most heroic mass actions in history was brought to a tragic close. The dead are buried and the survivors are undoubtedly being subjected to the bestial tortures of the Hitlerite conqueror. But the action in which they fought and fell is more than an epic of heroism. It is an event of great historic significance which must be understood, so that the lessons can be learned and transformed into weapons by which the workers of Warsaw can be avenged in the coming European revolution.

No adequate picture of the events leading up to the insurrection, or of the insurrection itself, is as yet available and probably will not be until free access to the survivors can be had. Even then the picture will not be complete until the archives of the various governments involved are opened to public view. But what we could only surmise in the first flush of the struggle itself—namely, that an uprising involving the mass of the working-class population of Warsaw was being betrayed by the counter-revolutionary Stalinist bureaucracy in the Kremlin—has since found considerable substantiation in published facts.

### Background Of The Insurrection

Before we proceed with an examination of the facts that have been established, it is necessary to recall the atmosphere in Moscow and in London at the time of the insurrection. The Stalinist bureaucracy in Moscow had set up a "Polish National Council" under its own auspices in opposition to the Polish "Government-in-Exile" residing in London and enjoying the recognition of Great Britain and the United States. The Moscow "Council" and the London "Government" espoused similar social programs: preservation of capitalism in Poland and promises of reforms. Their differences concerned foreign policy: whether Poland was to be in the British or the Russian "sphere of influence." The differences emerged concretely on the question of the future borders of Poland.

The Red Army's guns were already within earshot of Warsaw. When the insurrection broke out, both parties to the dispute reacted at once: The Moscow "Council" negatively, claiming it was untimely and therefore to be opposed; the Warsaw "government" positively,

claiming it was leading the insurrection and had prepared for it by agreement, etc. Let us examine these claims on the basis of established fact.

The first reaction of the Moscow "Council" and of all the Stalinist apologists the world over was that there was no insurrection at all; that the whole thing was just a "canard" broadcast by the Polish reactionaries in London. That continued to be the Stalinist line until it became manifest from military communiques that there was a full-scale battle going on for control of Warsaw. Meanwhile the Red Army's advance towards Warsaw was halted.

When they could no longer pretend to ignore what was happening, the Kremlin gang took the line that the insurrection was premature, that it was organized without the Red Army being informed and without any attempt to correlate military operations. Charging that the London "government" was using it as a "political maneuver," the Kremlin branded the insurrection as a "crime" and refused to give any aid whatsoever to the hard-pressed insurgents. Only in the last week or two of the struggle, when the blood-letting had been heavy enough to preclude any possibility of victory for the insurgents, were feeble attempts made from Moscow to supply them. The line of the Stalinists has remained the same, however, to this day; the insurrection was a "crime," it was premature, it was undertaken without prior agreement and even against the wishes of the Red Army high command.

To date, the Stalinists and their apologists have offered no substantiation in fact for their line. But there is already ample proof at hand to contradict it.

1. Between June 2 and July 31 (the day before the uprising) there were constant appeals over the Moscow Radio for the Polish masses to take up arms against the Nazis.

2. During this time, the Stalinist Radio charged that the masses were ready to rise, but that the military leaders of the London government were restraining them. Thus, on June 5 Moscow broadcast the following: "It is generally believed that it is time to act. There is great discontent with the orders of Sosnkowski and Bor."

3. We have no reason to doubt the assertion that the masses were in an insurrectionary mood as a result of the Red Army victories, and that there was discontent with the policy of restraint

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# TRADE UNION NOTES

By Joseph Keller

## Hats Off to Union Musicians!

Our hats are off to the American Federation of Musicians who have scored a resounding victory for organized labor after a bitter two-year battle in the famous "canned-music" case against some of the mightiest monopoly corporations and the capitalist government machinery from Roosevelt on down.

When the powerful Radio Corporation of America and the Columbia Broadcasting System two weeks ago publicly acknowledged defeat and announced their willingness to sign a three-year union contract, it was a tribute to the tenacity of the union musicians of America and their loyalty to the principles of unionism.

In a biting statement following the announcement of "unconditional surrender" by the corporations, A. F. of M. President James C. Petrillo gave vent to the justified anger of every decent element in the labor movement against the scarcely paralleled campaign of capitalist press slander and misinformation against the musicians who refused to make recordings until the RCA and CBS moguls put their names to a union contract. Petrillo characterized this press campaign as "a vile, indecent and malicious campaign of libel, slander and vilification."

That's putting it mildly. Petrillo himself has been called everything from a "traitor" to an "agent of Hitler" in the public prints—all because the musicians have insisted that the two biggest monopolies in the recording industry do what 112 other concerns had already done—sign a contract whose terms had been accepted by the War Labor Board itself.

For over two years, the two monopoly firms had spread the lie, with the eager assistance of the bought press and Roosevelt himself, that the union was "impeding the war effort" allegedly because the companies refused to accept a contract providing for the payment of a fund to the union for the establishment of musical projects to provide work for unemployed musicians. That's plain nonsense—as every union man will understand when he learns what some of the major contract clauses called for.

The real reason why the big corporations held out—and why the whole capitalist class and all its press and governmental mouthpieces slung their barrage of slanderous muck at the musicians—is embodied in two principal clauses of the A. F. of M. contract. One clause gives the union the right to examine the financial records of the corporations and compels the companies to supply all information affecting the carrying out of the contract which the union "may reasonably require." The other is a clause protecting the union's right to strike.

The employers and the Roosevelt administration were prepared to "fight it out on that line" by any means and at any cost rather than permit the precedent to be established that union labor has the right to examine the books and records and uncover the business secrets and hidden profits of the corporations. And they were doubly infuriated by the fact that the A. F. of M. stuck to its guns and refused to yield the right to strike in wartime or any other time.

But whether their workers are musicians or steel puddlers, the bosses are helpless and useless. It is the workers and producers who create everything, and the musicians have once more proved this to the hilt. When the various prominent musicians who previ-

ously had recorded exclusively for RCA and CBS threatened to sign contracts with other companies at the expiration of present agreements, the corporations quickly came to heel.

The dirtiest and most scandalous blow delivered on behalf of the monopoly corporations during the long struggle was dealt by that "friend of labor" President Roosevelt. Even after the WLB had approved the terms of the demanded contract, even after his own appointee Economic Stabilization Director Vinson had formally acknowledged that the refusal of the musicians to make recordings could in no sense be construed as "impeding the war effort", Roosevelt intervened in an unprecedented action for the anti-union monopolies.

He abused his personal authority and prestige as the President of the United States and Commander-in-Chief of its armed forces in a last-minute attempt to pressure and intimidate the musicians into capitulating to the corporations. He "requested" the union to yield on the grounds that it was "encouraging" other unions to strike in wartime, even if the musicians themselves were within their legal rights. He brazenly proclaimed that he had not found a law yet which he could use against them — BUT HE WAS GOING TO GET BUSY AND FIND ONE. A frame-up artist—remember the Minneapolis Labor Case!—was revealing his intention in advance of perpetrating another frame-up.

But this "stab in the back" failed. The Musicians' Union indignantly rejected and denounced this effort at intimidation. A few weeks later, the hold-out companies yielded.

For their courageous and loyal union fight, the A. F. of M. is owed a debt of gratitude by the entire labor movement. Militant workers everywhere will be inspired by this example of a union which stuck to its guns, stood solidly together, refused to be intimidated, confronted every enemy — and won.

Not much publicity has been given the significant action of the CIO International Woodworkers of America at its recent convention held in Vancouver, British Columbia, when the IWA delegates elected to attend the National CIO Convention were instructed to oppose the unconditional no-strike pledge.

The IWA-CIO convention was marked, like the CIO Automobile Workers convention, by a bitter conflict over the no-strike policy. During the past 10 months the industry on the west coast has been hit by several wide-spread strikes. It was evident that delegates and leaders were acting under the militant pressure of the rank-and-file.

In order to avoid a showdown fight at the convention, the delegates were persuaded to postpone a decision on the two resolutions submitted to them by the resolutions committee, which refrained, however, from making a recommendation. One, backed largely by the Stalinists, was for unconditional reaffirmation of the no-strike pledge; the other contained an amendment whereby the union reserved the right to strike "if the life of the union is endangered."

President Lowry, who presided at the convention, ruled that the deferment of action left the previous no-strike policy still in effect. He declared, however, that "labor surrenders to no one on the No-Strike Pledge when the life of this union is at stake."

# Trial Pamphlet Sales Campaign Near Goal

By The Campaign Manager

With final reports from many branches not yet in our hands, the scoreboard shows 98 percent of the 10,000 goal already filled. Thus the campaign nears its end with the assurance that once more, as in all recent campaigns, the branches of the Socialist Workers Party have gone over the top in fulfilling their pledges. As an indication of what the distribution of these 10,000 pamphlets will mean in the further growth of the party's influence, we would like to quote in full a letter from Philadelphia received in this week's mail:

## From Our Mailbag

"During the Norman Thomas Socialist rally here at the Academy of Music on November 3, 1944, I was very glad to see *The Militant* on sale outside the meeting, and copies of 'The Case for Socialism' of which I also bought the set for 25 cents.

"I am now reading these pamphlets over for the second time, and sure find them factual. It is just a matter of time when Socialism will revolutionize modern society, and establish a better form of non-corrupt government.

"I am enclosing 10c. in stamps for which please rush me a copy of the new booklet called 'The Russian Revolution' by James P. Cannon. I will also appreciate a copy of Pioneer's new catalogue on books on Socialism and the labor movement by Leon Trotsky. Can you place me on the mailing list from time to time covering new books, etc.?"

Just as the friend from Philadelphia found that reading and rereading the Minneapolis Labor Case pamphlets gave him a clearer understanding of Marxist principles, so will other thousands of workers who now have the sets in their homes. These pamphlets give an answer to the problems facing the workers today. Our latest report from San Francisco points out the extent to which doubts and fears of the future under capitalism, are pervading the workers on the West Coast.

"We sold 16 more pamphlets this week, covering an Oakland district consisting mainly of shipyard workers from the South. With few exceptions, all expressed doubt and fear as to their remaining in the Oakland area for even the next six months. All of them can see the lay-offs coming and feel that as the cutbacks occur, they will be the first to get the axe. Many have no place to go back to, while others have a little piece of land or perhaps just a hut in one of the Southern states. All view the coming period with great fear."

This increasing restlessness of the workers makes it doubly important that we continue to reach them with the Marxist literature which explains to them in simple language, why the capitalist system cannot offer them any security, and how they can work for a Socialist system that will supply their needs. The close of this campaign, therefore, marks a splendid beginning to the work we must continue to do in popularizing the Minneapolis Case pamphlets which are such an effective introduction to the ideas of Socialism.

Complete sets of "Socialism on Trial," by James P. Cannon, "In Defense of Socialism," by Albert Goldman, "Who Are the 18 Prisoners in the Minneapolis Labor Case?" and "Why We Are in Prison," are still available to readers of *The Militant*, who will continue to be visited by our agents. Or, you may write directly to us for your set, as other readers have already done. Write to Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Place, N. Y. 3, N. Y., enclosing 25 cents in stamps or coin. Individual copies of the pamphlets can be obtained at 10 cents each.

We would like, in this final report, to give special mention to branches which did outstanding work in the Literature Campaign, going far over their quotas by consistent work through the entire two months. Flint, with 320 percent; Toledo with 305 percent, a large percentage sold directly in the shops; Milwaukee with 200 percent, many of them sold at Socialist Party meetings in this one-time Socialist Party stronghold; Reading with 169 percent, here again putting a living program of Marxism into the hands of members of the moribund SP. Buffalo, Philadelphia, San Francisco, Saint Paul, Youngstown, Cleveland and Los Angeles have also all gone over 100 percent.

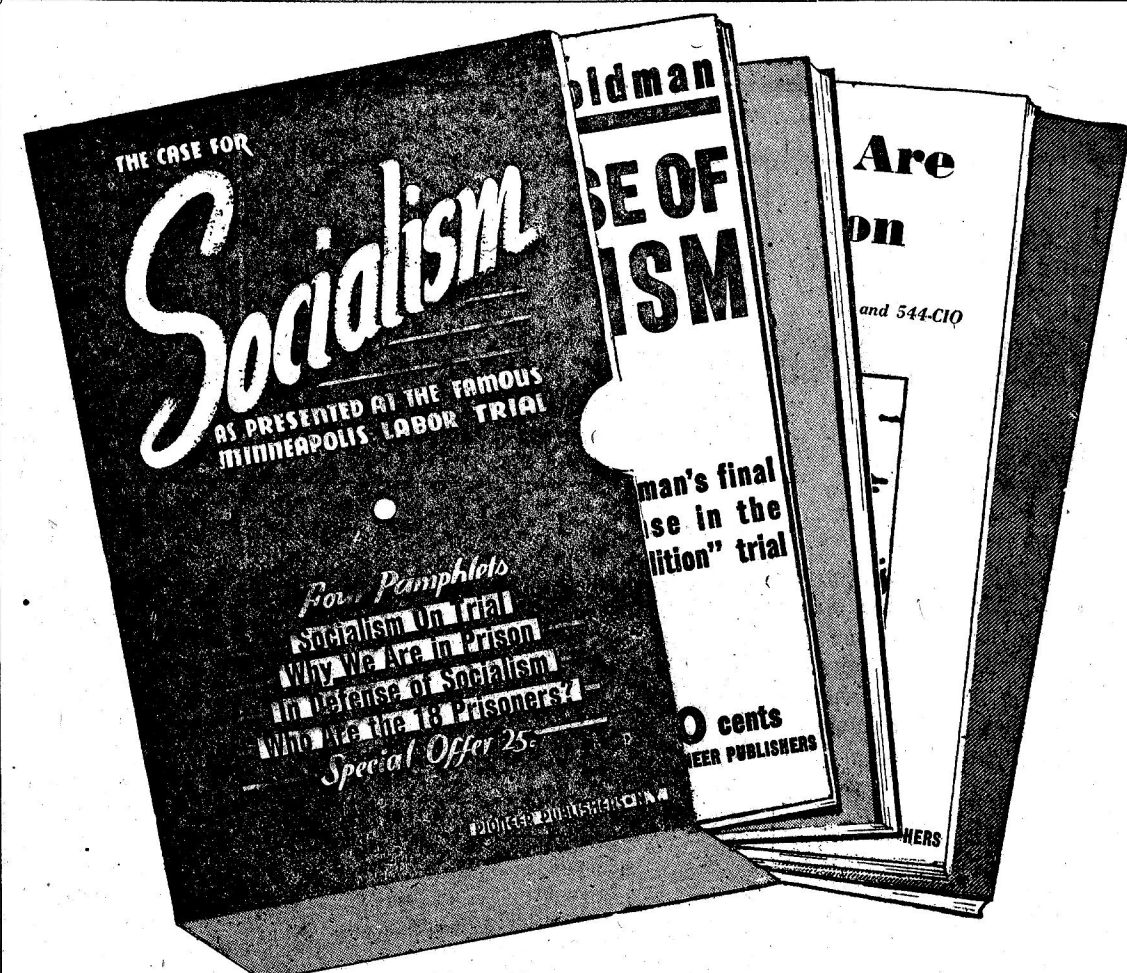
## SCOREBOARD

	Quota	Sold	Percent
Flint	10	32	320
Toledo	160	488	305
Milwaukee	80	160	200
Reading	90	152	169
Buffalo	400	560	140
Philadelphia	80	100	125
San Francisco	350	404	115
St. Paul	140	156	112
Youngstown	120	132	110
Cleveland	200	212	106
Los Angeles	1500	1524	102
Chicago	700	700	100
Detroit	1000	1004	100
Minneapolis	330	330	100
Rochester	140	140	100
New York	2800	2672	95
Allentown	40	36	90
Akron	70	58	83
Seattle	500	400	80
Boston	230	132	57
Bayonne	180	96	53
Newark	700	284	41
San Diego	80	24	30
New Haven	40	0	0
Pittsburgh	10	0	0
Quakertown	10	0	0
St. Louis	10	0	0
Texas	30	0	0
Total	10,000	8792	98

## The New 'Friends' Of The Soviet Union

The Soviet Union under the regime of Stalin has acquired some strange "friends." In Madison Square Garden on Nov. 16 the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship put on a stylish celebration to commemorate the 27th anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution.

The star speakers' list included such sterling proletarian revolutionists as Hon. R. Stettinius, Jr., Under-Secretary of State and U. S. Steel magnate; the Earl of Halifax, British Ambassador to Washington; Hon. Joseph E. Davies, corporation lawyer and big business lobbyist; Henry J. Kaiser, shipyard and steel magnate; Corliss Lamont, son of J. P. Morgan's partner; Bishop G. B. Oxnham.



The four pamphlets above, packed in an attractive container, are being offered to new readers of *THE MILITANT* for only 25 cents, by Pioneer Publishers. The regular price is 40 cents.

# Roosevelt's Henchmen Prepare To Knife Union Wage Demands

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no wonder that the industry members of the WLB hailed the Davis report as a confirmation of their contention that the wage-freezing line must be held against the workers.

## ADMIT COSTS ROSE

Immediately following the publication of the Davis report, Fred M. Vinson, Roosevelt's economic "stabilizer," rushed into print with a statement endorsing the report. After announcing how gratified he was at "this confirmation of the general belief that a good job has been done in stabilizing wartime prices and living costs," he added: "I am frankly disturbed to note, that after a year of complete stability, the cost of living has risen slightly but perceptibly during the past six months. This must stop. The Price Administrator and I will use special vigilance to this end."

This is truly amazing! Have the "Economic Stabilizer" and the "Price Administrator" been asleep while the cost of living has been rising "slightly but perceptibly" during the past six months? But they promise to stay awake in the future and will even use "special vigilance to this end."

The workers can now rest easy and forget about the trouble they have been having in trying to stretch their deflated wages to meet inflated prices. Roosevelt's "stabilization" watchdogs are "frankly disturbed" and promise to stay awake — in the future — to frighten off the price-gougers and rent hogs who have been picking the workers' pockets. But the dollar patriots have found out long ago that the bark of Roosevelt's "price control" watchdogs is much worse than their bite.

## CALL TO POLL-TAXERS

Another stalwart Administration supporter, Senator Russell, poll-tax Democrat of Georgia, issues a clarion call to reaction to rally around Roosevelt's wage-freezing standard by proclaiming that "those who are holding the line against inflation have got to be supported and I'd hate to see the Little Steel formula entirely discarded." Yet another Southern Senator chimed in with a warning that general wage increases "might upset budget calculations."

The labor-hating, Jim Crow Democrats work hand in hand with the Assistant President, the poll tax ex-senator from South Carolina, James Byrnes, who is Roosevelt's War Mobilization Director. His particular task is to line up the poll-taxers whenever there is a dirty job to be done.

against labor or the Negro people. All evidence points to the fact that Byrnes is on the job.

While the Wall Street plunderbund has its whole gang of political agents maneuvering to knife labor's demand for a wage increase the chicken-hearted labor bureaucrats whine and complain of their inability to hold the line against their own membership unless they are thrown a few crumbs. Hillman, Murray and Co. had no sooner finished taking bows for their aid in electing Roosevelt than they were

down on all fours cringing and crawling before their "friend" begging for a handout. These heroes for a day have led the unions into a blind alley.

The workers can defend their standard of living only by breaking decisively with all the spurious "friends of labor" and by regaining their independence of action. Demand that the labor members resign from the wage-freezing War Labor Board! Rescind the no-strike pledge! Build labor's own political party — the Independent Labor Party!



The task of getting renewals from regular subscribers whose subscriptions have expired has been systematically organized by our San Francisco agent. Other branches will be interested in the method which is proving so successful for San Francisco:

"On our regular subscriptions, Comrade Joyce is handling the renewals. And she is doing an excellent job. Every week she turns in a renewal or two. She is doing the work in a most systematic fashion. In many cases she gets the phone number, establishes the hours they are at work, arranges for definite appointments, etc. It is a slow task, but with patience and persistence it is well rewarded."

Our agent in Buffalo has been placing *The Militant* on a newsstand there for the past several weeks. The newsstand dealer has expressed sufficient interest in the paper to push its sale and thus guarantee this stand becoming one of our regulars. Our agent writes: "The newsstand man, by the way, is very enthusiastic about *The Militant*. He takes it home and reads it himself every week before selling it and says, 'That's a wonderful paper.'"

The circulation of *The Militant* is increasing steadily through the sale of 3-month introductory subscriptions. We quote reports from two of our agents.

Los Angeles: "I am enclosing ten special subs. Among these are an additional group obtained from the aircraft plant I mentioned in a previous letter. The total to date, in this plant, is twenty-five, and six of these people attended our meeting on the anniversary of the Russian Revolution."

Milwaukee: "Last Sunday we went out on trial subscription

mobilization in a working class neighborhood. The results were good, 7 25c. subs were sold in the space of two blocks and a contact was made. Because of the severe weather we did not stay out very long."

Subscribers are devoting themselves to the task of introducing *The Militant* to their friends. A subscriber in Hanford, Washington has sent in at least fifteen subscriptions during the past few months. Several subscribers in the Bay Area are doing as well, according to a report from our San Francisco agent, which follows:

"The value of the trial sub card is becoming more and more apparent. One of our regular subscribers in Oakland this week took a one-year renewal and requested ten 25c. cards to distribute among his friends at the shipyard in which he works. One of our trial subscribers who recently renewed has demonstrated his interest by already securing eight trial subscriptions from among his neighbors and fellow workers at his shipyard. He has also offered to help us in our recall work at the project where he lives, visiting people who promise us subs but do not have the money at the time we visit them, seeing those we do not find home on Sunday, etc."

An idea found of help to Detroit is sent to us with the thought that it may be useful to other branches:

"On the pamphlet and call-back campaign, we here in Detroit found that we had a half-dozen mothers who were anxious to participate but couldn't because of their children. We solved the problem by meeting at headquarters on Sunday, where one mother took care of the children. The other mothers were thus freed for work. This helped a great deal in making the branch mobilizations a success. Perhaps this could also help other branches."

Excerpts from the pamphlet, "American Workers Need A Labor Party," by Joseph Hansen (to be published soon by Pioneer Publishers) printed in several recent issues of *The Militant* are bringing in many advance orders and comments. One of our readers in St. Louis expresses appreciation for this timely pamphlet: "Please send me Joe Hansen's

## Latest Issue of FI Features Articles On Soviet Union

The November issue of *Fourth International*, now on sale, features a series of articles weighing the economic and political perspectives facing the USSR as it celebrated the 27th Anniversary of the October Revolution.

"The Future of the Soviet Union and the Victories of the Red Army," by a European comrade, analyzes the role of the Stalinist bureaucracy, which is maintaining a precarious position in conflict with the economic foundations of nationalized property. The diplomatic moves of Stalin are examined against a double background: the conquests of the Red Army have diminished the danger of capitalist restoration by external attack; simultaneously, the continuing attempts of the bureaucracy to bolster their position against the masses has raised to immediacy the danger of capitalist restoration from within. This danger is also analyzed by A. Roland, in "Political Economy Under Stalin." Roland cites the growth of "free markets" and the atomization of industry during the war, as symptoms of the growing danger, which has been made clear by the recent theoretical writing of Stalin's economists.

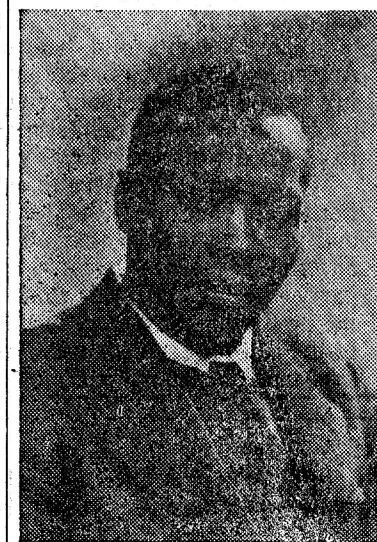
"How We Made the Russian October," from Trotsky's pamphlet "From October to Brest-Litovsk," appears in the *Arsenal of Marxism*. The editors' "Review of the Month" describes the rise and degeneration of the workers' state.

The first of two installments of "Problems of the European Revolution," by a group of European comrades, appears in this issue. Replying to revisionists of Marxism who see in the European upheavals only a struggle for restoration of the national states on bourgeois-democratic foundations, these comrades pose the necessity for socialist revolution: "He who wants first to liquidate the 'main enemy,' or the 'main obstacle,' i.e. fascism or national oppression, and only then to think of modifying capitalist conditions, is unlikely to witness any changes in the bourgeois system, and still less to see the advent of Socialism. That would be the road towards the victory of reaction."

"The Coming Upsurge of American Labor," by William Simmons, describes the stages of development of the labor movement from the era of Samuel Gompers, through the militant strikes of 1934-37, the retreats under wartime repressions, and the rise of a new wave of militancy exemplified in the fight against the No-Strike Pledge.

Single copies may be obtained for 20 cents, yearly subscription \$2, by writing to Business Manager, 116 University Place, N. Y. 3, N. Y.

## Seeks Pardon



Convicted of punching a seab driver during a strike, Carl Gilmore (above) was sentenced in Oct., 1940 to 9 to 10 years in prison. Gilmore is a member of the Binghamton New York Teamsters' Union, AFL. In response to the protests of fellow workers, Gilmore was paroled by executive action in December, 1942. Now attempting to obtain full pardon for Gilmore, the Workers' Defense League asks all defenders of labor and minority rights to write to Governor Thomas E. Dewey, Albany, N. Y., requesting immediate pardon.

new pamphlet on 'Politics' when it is ready for delivery. Thanks to him for the splendid job of writing this educational and well-needed work, also to Pioneer for publishing it. Give it widespread circulation. We need more similar works on other questions, i.e. the post-war world under capitalism, war—the world's worst saboteger, capitalist imperialism—breeder of wars, etc. Such pamphlets will get quick response."

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## THE MILITANT

A WEEKLY NEWSPAPER

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# How To Win The Struggle For Negro Equality

Following is the text of a speech delivered by Charles Jackson, writer of "The Militant" column, "The Negro Struggle," before the Forum of the New York School of Social Science, on Sunday, November 12. We print it in this issue for the benefit of readers outside New York who did not have the opportunity to hear Comrade Jackson.

This speech is being printed in place of Comrade Jackson's regular column, "The Negro Struggle", which will be resumed next week.

In order to carry on an effective struggle for Negro equality we must first trace back the stream of inequality until we have found and marked the source from whence it flows.

Just what comprises Negro inequality? If not the whites, certainly every Negro here knows the answer to that one. In the South the Negro knows what it is to be denied, either through legal maneuvers or intimidation, the right to vote. He knows what it is to be contemptuously referred to as boy, George, Uncle, or just plain "nigger." He knows what it is to enter a street car and meet the signs: "This end of car for white people; this end of car for the colored race." He may know what it is to see an innocent man beaten, dismembered, hanged, shot and burned to a crisp on some trivial accusation and without a trial.

In this nation's capital, a woman recently reported that she was raped by a Negro. Police rounded up eleven Negroes in 24 hours. The woman then admitted that she had fabricated the story. In the deep South usually the first Negro would have been lynched, without a wait of 24 hours.

Even in some Northern states the Negro knows what it is to be turned down at a theater box office or else directed around the alley to the balcony entrance. He may know what it is to insist that a waiter serve him a drink in states where there is a civil rights law and then have the waiter break the glass in his face. Negro women in Indiana who were delegates to a convention of the Mothers of World War II were recently refused rooms in an Elkhart hotel. They had to return home. In Washington, D. C., in the Church of the Immaculate Conception, a Negro woman was asked to get off her knees and go behind the ropes to the Negro section to pray. Even in death the Negro cannot rest. In a Catholic cemetery in Chicago, plans were recently made to dig up the grave of a colored woman buried accidentally among the whites.

In the South or the North, the Negro knows what it means to be segregated into a ghetto of shacks near the railroad tracks. He knows what it means to be discriminated against in industry: to get the dirtiest jobs at the lowest pay, to be the last hired and the first fired.

The unkindest cut of all, however, has come since this "land of the free" has been engaged in the present colossal slaughter which, they would have us believe, is being waged for the most lofty and humanitarian ideals. In a war for "democracy" the Negro has been officially labeled a second-class citizen by his own government. In the Army, the Navy and the Marine Corps, Negroes are set aside in separate regiments, quarantined from English-Americans, Italian-Americans, German-Americans, Japanese-Americans and Jewish-Americans. Any soldier with a "drop of Negro blood" in his veins must, on orders of President Roosevelt and his War Department, and in violation of the Selective Service Act, train and fight not in the regular army, but in the Jim Crow Army. There he is sure to get the dirtiest and most hazardous work and the added scorn and persecution of white civilians and soldiers alike.

## Persecuting Negro Soldiers

The anticipated results of this policy are occurring every day. In Petersburg, Virginia last week, a local policeman arrested a Negro soldier for some undetermined reason and took him to the fire house. Another soldier asked the policeman what the trouble was, and he was also arrested. Sergeant Abraham Jackson made similar inquiries and was ignored. Thereupon he started for the fire house to rescue his men. He was promptly shot down by the local police. At last reports he was not expected to recover. But let us not be too hard on the police system of the capitalist government. In Miami, Florida, five Negro policemen were hired — but with a reservation: they cannot arrest any white person, no matter what crime he may be in the act of committing.

Reported by the N. Y. Times and the Pittsburgh Courier of Nov. 11, and incidentally by The Militant some three weeks earlier, was the reactionary policy established in regard to the all-Negro 92nd Division now in combat on the Italian front. The policy is this: as Negro officers are killed, they are replaced by whites, instead of the customary replacement by advancing lower officers. Also there must not be, under any circumstances, a Negro officer who is superior in rank to a white officer in that sector.

We understand what Negro inequality is. Now just what is the Negroes' conception of equality? What does the Negro want? The Negro wants what everyone else wants — no more, no less. He wants a dependable annual wage capable of bringing him all the necessities of a healthy, happy life. In short, economic security. He wants political freedom, a voice in the way things are done, a vote, and a representative who understands his problems. In addition to this he wants complete social equality. Let us get this straight — the mind, body and emotions of the Negro are inherently the same as those of any other race. Therefore, just as the white man would resent the stigma of social inferiority, so does the Negro resent it. To stamp an entire group of individuals as inferior simply because they have more melanin or less carotene in their skins — absolutely inert pigments — to do so is contrary to scientific truth.

Now what is the direct instrument of repression that condemns the Negro to second-class citizenship? It is the State, that is, all the various agencies of government from top to bottom. Through their actions and their failures to act, they condone, teach, foster and enforce the oppression of the Negro people. Who protected Noble Ryder, the recently freed murderer who lynched an aged Negro preacher in Liberty, Mississippi? The sheriff. Who upholds white supremacy in the South? The courts. Who holds Negroes in Georgia in the chain-gangs for stealing a loaf of bread? The State. Who leads the pack in race-baiting? Your government officials such as Chauncy Sparks and the poll-tax senators. Who tenaciously insists upon a Jim Crow army? Roosevelt and his War Department. Who carries out this policy? The brass hats in the Army and Navy.

The Federal Housing Authority recommends discrimination in its official manual. The Office of War Information has a standing order that a messenger shall watch the news ticker and bring all copy on race or color to the "Negro Censoring Division." At the Arlington Hotel in Hot Springs, Arkansas, the Army set up a rehabilitation center for soldiers and their wives. The management of this hotel happens to house, without discrimination, Indians and all other races and nationalities. A Negro lieutenant and his wife registered at the hotel and were given rooms. But as soon as this was discovered by a white army captain, he ordered their removal. They were removed.

But how about individual prejudices? Remember, these are not inherited, they are acquired. H. Scudder Mekeel, associate professor of anthropology at the University of Wisconsin, told the National Committee for Mental Hygiene last week: "With Brazil and Russia as examples, we can say that racial prejudice is not inherent in the human animal. . . . What we need to do is to deflect, modify or transform the processes at work in our society so that children will no longer learn prejudice and discrimination. . . . The cradle is the best place to start."

## Jim Crow Propaganda

Well, that's not news to the American educators. Not for nothing are the "nigger" dolls used in the nurseries and the tale of "Little Black Sambo" taught in the kindergartens. The history books, the comic strips, the radio and the cinema all contribute to the formation of the Negro stereotype — a petty thief, a clown, an ignorant. Whoever attempts to teach equality is usually stymied. Last month, the subway lines right here in New York barred a poster showing babies of all races side by side. You remember the revealing pamphlet "Races of Mankind" which torpedoed the myth of racial inferiority, giving statistical proof from the records of drafted soldiers? That was too much truth for the Army brass hats and they recalled 50,000 copies that had been distributed for soldiers' libraries. Directly or indirectly the agencies of government are responsible for individual prejudices.

Why would the government officials want to foster such a policy? President Roosevelt is well-known as a humanitarian. Mrs. Roosevelt has even been photographed with Mrs. Bethune, Negro soldiers and Negro children. Many government officials welcome Negro leaders to their offices to confer with them on race problems. Some of the most reactionary Southern governors have sponsored drives to obtain funds for Negro colleges. Now, I don't think we are fooled by these patronizing gestures. It is plain that the State in America is invariably anti-Negro. But back to the question. Where there is an effect there must be a cause. Maybe with the following facts we can better follow the trail.

In 1848 Karl Marx, after making a scientific analysis of the history of society, arrived at the conclusion that the State was supported and kept in power by and for the ruling class in society. Whoever owns the means of production makes up the ruling class. The State serves to protect the interests of the exploiting minority over the exploited majority. In slavery days the judges, law officers, and governors, that is, the State apparatus, unflinchingly upheld the interests of the slave holder over the slave. In feudal days the State was always on the side of the noble and against the serf.

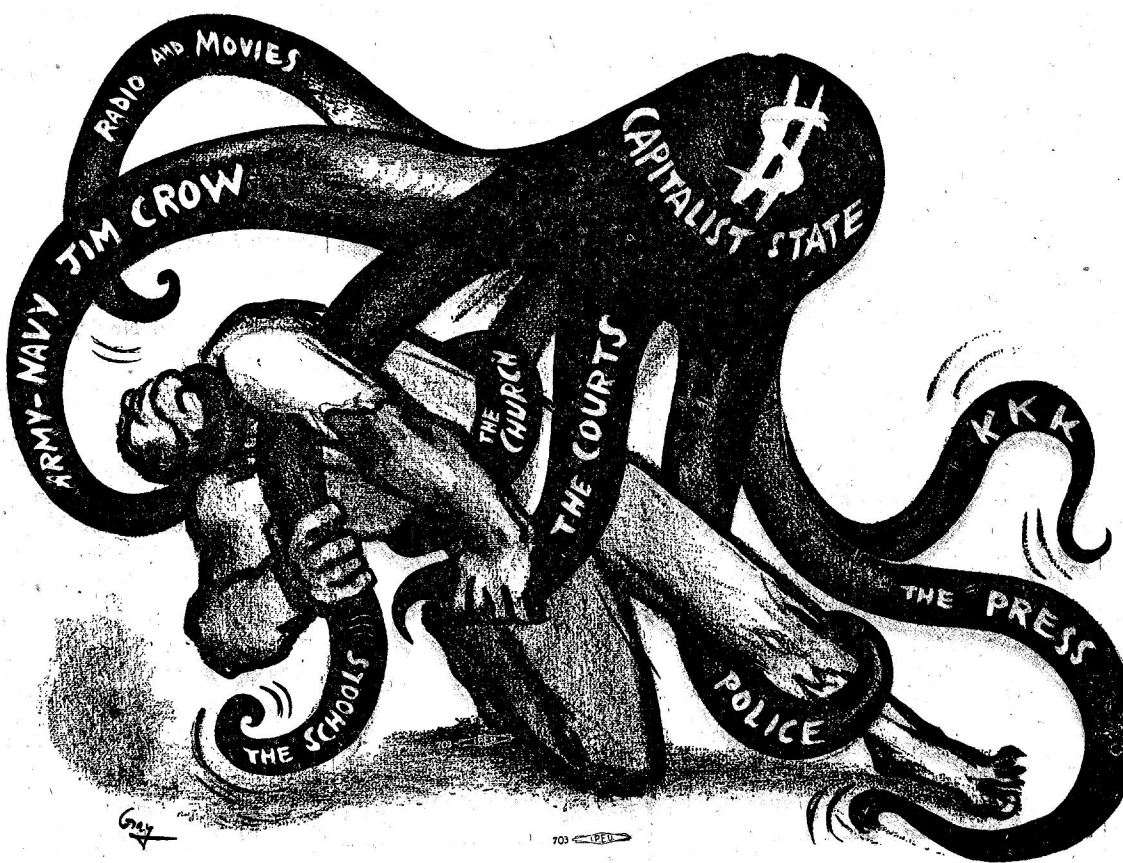
## "Divide And Rule"

We have reached the point in America today where it is the monopoly capitalists who own and control the means of production. The industrial workers, on the other hand, comprise the exploited majority. True to the Marxist analysis, every agent of the State from top to bottom must do the bidding of the monied interests. If he defies the capitalists he is soon kicked out in one way or another. Now what has that got to do with the Negro? Marx said that no ruling class has been able to long exploit the vast majority unless that majority was split within itself. The capitalists know this and they make the most of it. Whether based on race, religion, nationality, language or custom, the axiom "Divide and Rule" is never forgotten and never neglected by those who are in power.

They take the most convenient minority within the group of exploited people and set them up as a scapegoat. The other oppressed people are permitted — even trained — to kick around this minority at their leisure, thus unconsciously venting the perfectly natural resentment which arise from their economic insecurity. The ruling class, through control of the educational system and the State apparatus, deliberately fosters prejudice among the masses against the designated minority. They inoculate this venom in such large doses that it is practically impossible for even the most mentally alert individual to escape from its degrading effects.

In America, of course, the Negro is a "natural" for the capitalists. His dark color makes him easy to recognize. His background of slavery is also played up to give impression that he is in-

## Tentacles of Oppression



ferior and as docile as a dumb animal. The history books put out by the capitalists, by a crime of omission, imply the lie that the darker races have never been "civilized." They tell us of the pyramids and other wonders of the world, but they fail to say that they were built by black Egyptians centuries ago. The features of the Sphinx betray by their Negro characteristics, the existence in the valley of the Nile of a highly civilized Negro race. The books of the capitalist class don't tell us that and no white scientist has been able to even explain how those engineers accomplished these feats. Their propaganda depicts the black man in the very worst light simply because he is a useful minority to turn to their ends. As a result of the tremendous pressure of their gigantic propaganda machine, millions of Americans are color-conscious. "What's white is right: what's black, stay back."

## Well-Paying Crimes

Although in the Dick Tracy comic series "crime never pays," we find the opposite is true in real life in America. The crime of Jim Crowism, the crime of indoctrinating prejudice into the workers, and the crime of denying the Negro people equality, are very well-paying crimes for the American capitalist. For it is largely as a result of racial divergence in the working class that the capitalist is able to remain in power. He knows full well the day of working class solidarity will be his day of reckoning.

Now let's look down the trail. Negroes are denied equality either through official government action or official government lack of action. The government is under control of the ruling class. That class is the capitalist class which comprises only a small minority of the population. These capitalists, through their government agencies and through their control of the means of information, indoctrinate the people with the lie that a man is inferior if the color of his skin is dark. They do this so that they can keep their economic slaves, the workers, white and black, split and fighting among themselves. Thereby they are able to spend their winters in Florida clipping stock coupons while the workers toil in the shops for a mere existence. These leeches suck the life blood of the American working class by setting up the Negro as a straw man and then shouting: "Don't give a Black a break: give the Black the boot." By this system of capitalism, race prejudice is made profitable.

Therefore we say that this system — capitalism — is the basic and fundamental enemy of the Negro people. Here is the spring from which flows the vile poison that cascades down to form the final stream of Negro inequality. We have found the source — let us mark it well. This is the reason why the fight against Jim Crow without a fight against capitalism, well intentioned though it may be, is an endless and fruitless fight. To establish Negro equality, we must abolish capitalism.

## Capitalism Bars Progress

Furthermore, the capitalist methods of exchange are outmoded. The assembly lines and mass production, along with thousands of chemical and engineering discoveries, have so improved the means of production that the potential turnout is gigantic. But the policy of exchange for profit is holding back the productive forces. When the masses cannot pay enough for the capitalists to make a substantial profit, the capitalists simply close down the factories and let the workers shift as best they can, even though the people may be in need. It is only when they are warring with a rival imperialist power for foreign markets, that the factories run full blast, and then the workers and their sons are sent to die on bloody battlefields. History is bearing out Marx's prediction that increasingly savage wars and depressions are inevitable under the decaying capitalist economic anarchy.

Again, how does this affect the Negro? Well, we all know that the Negro is the last to go on a job when things are getting better, and the first to be pulled off when things are getting worse. That is why — and remember this! — you only have Negro employment when you have full employment. Therefore, under capitalist production, the average Negro can only look forward to a good-paying job during war, whereas during the long years of depression he has to depend either on the breadline or the relief roll.

Now what WOULD bring the Negro full equality? What WOULD bring him full employment? We say not capitalism, but Socialism. Socialism with its nationalized property and its planned

economy. Now factories hum only with the production of instruments of death and destruction manufactured solely for the profit of the few. Under Socialism factories would hum with the production of instruments of life and construction, manufactured to supply the needs of the many. World Socialism, without a doubt, would bring with its classless society full equality, full employment, job security, peace and plenty to not only the Negro people but to all mankind.

Will we get Socialism by talking about it, hoping for it or praying for it? Hardly. We've got to fight for it in organized fashion. Like every ruling class in the past, the capitalists will not relinquish their stranglehold on the workers of their own free will. The industrial workers, for the very good reason that they are the most oppressed and at the same time the most highly organized group, will lead the Socialist revolution. They will take over the means of production and thereby lead the way for the liberation of the farmers and the white collar workers. The capitalists during this period will try desperately to retain or regain their exploitive power on a world scale. They will try, in vain, to hold back the wheel of human progress. Their main weapon in America will be to set the white against the black and to bring on a racial war within the working class. The capitalists will be willing to exterminate the Negro minority if their preservation makes it necessary. The new Workers' and Farmers' Government, on the other hand, for the very basic reason of self-preservation, will have immediately to grant and enforce full equality for the Negro people. It will have to do this to counteract the capitalists and to demonstrate that its program is reliable.

## The Negro And Socialism

This is no pipe dream. The Socialist Revolution was scientifically outlined a century ago and has been demonstrated in real life in that greatest of all spectacles in human history, the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917. This fact is obvious: nothing short of a proletarian revolution will bring the Negro full equality in America.

The Negro struggle, therefore, is inseparably intertwined with the struggle of the world working class. Our fight is not hopeless if we realize its breadth. We, Negroes are outnumbered 10 to 1 from a racist point of view. That is true. But as workers we are part of the vast majority. The white worker of this country is our ally, not our enemy. His prejudices have been artificially learned and may be just as easily unlearned when he sees the necessity of working class solidarity. He needs us and we need him. Necessity will force us to get together. Our allies also include all the workers and peasants of imprisoned Europe who are now pitted against each other by the German and Anglo-American imperialists, but who tomorrow will rise and take their destiny into their own hands. The toiling masses of India, China and Africa are also on our side. When they are free, we will be free.

A word of warning about our false friends. A false friend is one who aids us in the struggle but at the same time leads us to believe that we can win full equality within the confines of the present capitalist system. What shall we do about these false friends? If such a friend still clings to the old order because he knows nothing of the dynamics of the world class struggle, we must educate him by patient explanation. Into this category fall some of our preachers, our "race leaders," and some opportunistic labor leaders. In this bed also rest our militant anti white racists as well as the weak-kneed pacifists who think that the problem will be solved by people of good will getting together on a basis of brotherly love. It should be obvious that it is too late in history to go back and call the roll and count in the Negro as a paid-up brother in good standing. Look how the Negro has fared during the war. Judge Hastie, reporting for the NAACP this past June, said that all forms of Negro brutalizing increased in 1943. If they stopped to draw blood from us even while engaged in an outside brawl with German imperialism, then what can we expect when Germany is defeated and they are free to turn their entire strength against the

## Negro Sailors Get Harsh Sentences

Sentences ranging from eight to 15 years have been imposed by a brass-hat, Negro-hating court-martial on 50 Negro sailors found "guilty" on charges of mutiny arising from the disastrous explosion of a munition ship at Port Chicago, in the San Francisco area, a few months ago.

The charge of mutiny arose out of a petition asking for transfers to other types of work which allegedly had been circulated by the defendants, all of whom were involved in the catastrophe, being either survivors or among the squads which cleaned up wreckage and remnants of bodies dismembered by the blast.

The case has aroused a wave of protest from the Negro people who correctly see in it a vicious extension of Jim Crow practices in the armed forces. Prior to the verdict, some of the Uncle Tom supporters of Roosevelt kept assuring everyone that the "commander-in-chief" would never permit the 50 Negro sailors to be railroaded to prison.

In our next issue we shall deal in more detail with the vicious court-martial sentences. Every labor, liberal and working class fraternal organization must join with the Negro people in demanding that the Jim Crow verdict be set aside and the 50 Negro sailors freed.

Negro and the American labor movement? We should try to awaken these reformist leaders, and if they don't see the light we should fight relentlessly against them.

If we find, however, a false friend who supports capitalism even after he has become familiar with and participated in the class struggle — beware of him, for he is a hired quising for the ruling class. Into this category fall, primarily, the Stalinists who, because they parade under the banner of Communism, are still quite a factor in the Negro struggle and in the labor movement. They live primarily on the world prestige of the Russian Revolution. Since the degeneration of the Soviet State, however, and the rise of the counter-revolutionary Stalinist bureaucracy, the Communist parties throughout the world only remain as agencies of the reactionary clique in the Kremlin. These servile lackeys, for example, are now crawling on their bellies before President Roosevelt and American capitalism. Now many workers contend that Roosevelt was the lesser of the two evils in the past election. We won't go into that now, since it was covered in The Militant, but I want to tell the Negroes again that the idea that Roosevelt, the "leftist" henchman of Big Business, intends to give or would be permitted to give the Negro the equality he demands, is a brazen lie. The only substantial advancement of the Negro's cause in the political arena will come with an independent labor party.

## More Oppression Planned

Now what does American capitalism plan in the period ahead? It plans further oppression of the Negroes in the form of extended restrictions, Negro-baiting by government spokesmen, company-inspired anti-Negroism in the labor movement such as we saw in Philadelphia this summer, and again in Detroit last week. After the defeat of Germany there will be further brutalizings, lynchings, and mass pogroms. All this will be deliberately instigated to further divide and crush the labor movement. If labor does not put up a strong fight to protect the Negro, and if it fails to rescue society by setting up a Workers' and Farmers' Government, then we are sure to see fascism or some similarly barbaric political monster stalking the United States.

Even now the capitalists are priming Gerald L. K. Smith, the Jew-baiting and Negro-baiting rabble-rouser, for this very job. Harry Bennett, vice-president of the Ford Motor Company, admitted in October before a House Committee that he gave Smith \$2,000 to fight the unions. Government records show that New York and Detroit industrialists have contributed much larger amounts to Smith's campaign as the presidential candidate of the America First Party. Under fascism, the Negro people would be even worse off than the Jews in Nazi Germany. They would be tracked down, deported or exterminated. This would apply to rich and poor Negroes alike.

What can be done at present to further the Negro struggle for equality? The Negro organizations should adopt the strategy of militant mass action in their demand for democratic rights. This should be done with the support of the progressive labor unions such as the CIO. Realizing that to be anti-Negro is in essence to be anti-working class, politically advanced white workers should carry on now a relentless fight against all forms of industrial discrimination and segregation. When a crisis comes they should call for Workers' Defense Guards to protect the Negro workers from fascist attacks. Finally, the keeping alive of the class struggle in the shops is all-important to the Negro, because more inter-racial education can be obtained on a picket line during a strike where white and black workers are in common struggle for basic needs, than can be gleaned in a dozen pink tea liberalist discussion groups.

## For Working-Class Unity

The fighters for Socialism today are found in the Socialist Workers Party and among the Trotskyist builders of the Fourth International. Our Marxist analysis brings us to the conclusion that the Negro struggle in the coming period will be largely a defensive one. It will mount in intensity with rising world class struggle and will only be resolved when the workers come to power. That is why we say:

The only way to win full Negro equality is through a simultaneous struggle for the liberation of all the toiling human brothers — be they black, brown, yellow or white. Negro workers, to avert a losing race war, prepare now for a victorious class war!



# Kremlin's Role In The Crushing Of The Great Warsaw Insurrection

(Continued from page 1)

pursued by the London Polish government. The latter was a declared policy, based undoubtedly upon a desire to utilize the Polish masses against the Soviet Army rather than against the Nazis retreating before it. The pertinent fact is, however, that the Moscow authorities dwelt on the discontent of the masses, and utilizing it against the London leaders, became more and more specific in the broadcasts.

Thus, on July 29 the Stalinist-controlled Union of Polish Patriots in Moscow issued a direct call to the Warsaw masses: "Appeal to Warsaw. Fight the Germans. No doubt Warsaw already hears the guns of the battle which is soon to bring her liberation. . . (The Red Army) will be joined tomorrow by the sons of Warsaw. . . For Warsaw, which did not yield but fought on, the hour of action has already arrived."

Obviously, if Stalin and his Polish lackeys thought an insurrection "premature," it is clear that on the eve of that insurrection they not only did not say so, but said the exact opposite.

## London Government Gives Approval

4. Hearing these appeals and hearing the guns of the Red Army in the distance, the insurrectionary mood of the masses undoubtedly ran to fever pitch. The military leaders from the London government probably could not have prevented the insurrection even had they tried. In any case, they decided to identify themselves with it and give it their formal approval.

5. On July 31, the day before the uprising began, Premier Mikolajczyk of the London "government" was in Moscow. The British periodical "War Commentary" (Mid-October 1944) informs us: "It is stated by Polish socialists in London that when the Polish Premier saw Stalin in Moscow on July 31 and told him the rising would take place the following day, Stalin signified his approval and stated that the Red Army would have occupied Warsaw by August 6."

Moscow, on the other hand, denies that it was informed. But it is not necessary for us to take anyone's word for it, in order to ascertain that the insurgent mass conceived of its action as one coordinated with the advance of the Red Army. We have not only the fact that the Red Army's guns were already being heard in the city. We have evidence that in Moscow this conception was known. Far from the insurrection being discouraged as premature, Moscow called for the insurrection as a direct supporting action to aid the Red Army advance on Warsaw. On July 30, the Moscow radio beamed the following instructions to Warsaw:

"The whole population should gather round the National Council and the underground army. Attack the Germans. Stop the Germans destroying public buildings. Assist the Red Army in crossing the Vistula. Give it information and show it the best roads. The more than a million inhabitants ought to become an army of a million men fighting for liberation and destroying the German invader."

## Stalin Perfidy Is Apparent

What Moscow's position on the insurrection was before it actually broke out is thus irrefutably established. It is clear that the sponsors of the quoted broadcasts knew of the insurrectionary mood of the Warsaw masses, that they fostered it, and directly appealed for the rising immediately before it began.

Most of the broadcasts were under the auspices of the "Polish National Council" and not the Soviet government, to be sure. However, no one in his right mind can believe that these broadcasts could be made from Moscow without the knowledge and approval of the Kremlin. At any rate, the broadcasts were never repudiated and have been passed over in complete silence by the Stalinist press despite their repeated quotation in the world press.

6. There is further evidence, however, that once the insurrection began, contact was established between its military leaders in Warsaw and the Red Army of General Rokossovsky which stood almost at the gates of the city. According to the "Government-in-Exile," on the third day of the uprising a Captain Kalugin, sent by Rokossovsky, contacted General Bor, the military leader of the insurgents and "made an appeal by radio to Stalin, via London, for arms and supplies. A request was made for five tons of supplies to be dropped by plane." Moscow has never denied this story. The silence of the Stalinists would indicate that there is at least an element of truth in it.

7. The line of Moscow after the outbreak of the insurrection becomes no less clear under examination and proves to be in direct contradiction to the Stalinist line which preceded it. Insofar as action is concerned, we have these undisputed facts: Immediately after the outbreak of the struggle in Warsaw, the Red Army advance on the city, steady up to then, is abruptly halted, not to be resumed until nearly six weeks later, towards the end of September.

Whether the halt of the Red Army before Warsaw was an act deliberately calculated by the Kremlin in order to isolate the Polish insurgents and insure the crushing of the insurrection by the Nazis; or whether the halt was dictated by considerations of a purely military-strategic character, is known only to Moscow. The important thing is that once the insurrection was under way, the Stalin gang refused the insurgents any material aid whatever, although such aid was manifestly possible.

## A 'Canard' Becomes A Fact

Insofar as propaganda is concerned, the development is less abrupt. At first, Moscow denies that there is an insurrection and dubs the reports a "canard." Then, when evidence of the struggle and its mass character makes denial impossible, a hue and cry is raised that it is first, "premature"; secondly, organized without coordination between Moscow and London; thirdly, a criminal political adventure undertaken by the reactionaries in the "Government-in-Exile." Finally, all these charges are crowned with propaganda opposing insurrections in principle. On August 19, United Press cables from Moscow:

"Pravda, official Communist Party newspaper, said today in a front-page dispatch that the Warsaw insurrection was doomed to failure from the beginning and that the men who died fighting German mechanized troops in the Polish capital were 'foolishly deceived by a group of adventurers and political speculators of the London emigre government.'

"Not one city has been freed by the combined blows of Soviet troops and citizen insurrections, Pravda said, although hundreds of cities have been liberated by troops alone in Russia, Lithuania, White Russia and Poland.

"The reason is that 'only stupid adventurers think success is possible by the insurrection of inadequately armed civilians in cities filled with German Panzer troops, planes, and guns,' Pravda added.

"The Red Army is opposed to such insurrections, the dispatch asserted, since complex technical materials 'are necessary to wage successful modern warfare, and people equipped only with ardent emotions and cold arms cannot expect to win.'" (N. Y. Times, Aug. 20, 1944).

It is now apparent that what the Kremlin opposes is not the "prematureness" of the insurrection, its lack of coordination with the action of the Red Army, or even its leadership by the military representatives of the London "government"—but the very idea of the insurrection itself. And not only in Warsaw, but anywhere. That is what becomes crystal clear if this Pravda dispatch is stripped of its casuistry.

Obviously, the Warsaw insurgents, or any other insurgents for that matter, would not propose to carry through such an action

## The Warsaw Surrender



Delegates of the Warsaw insurgents, on their way to surrender to the Nazis, walk down the bomb-gutted streets between buildings that are hollow shells.

"inadequately armed" or only with their "ardent emotions and cold arms." It was just because they expected adequate arms from the Red Army at the gates of their city that the Warsaw masses undertook their insurrection. It was just because of its approach that their emotions became ardent.

By condemning insurrections in general (do they dare repeat it still after the events in Paris and Athens?), the Kremlin oligarchy merely sought to cover up its counter-revolutionary betrayal of the Warsaw masses. Actually, the Kremlin disclosed its real motivation—fear of the revolutionary masses in arms—and its own criminal conduct. If they thought all along that insurrections are "doomed to failure" then how can their repeated broadcast appeals to Warsaw for an uprising be characterized otherwise than as criminal provocation?

8. From a juxtaposition of the two lines—before and after the insurrection began—another important fact emerges: The appeals over the radio were intended only to take advantage of the Polish mass discontent with the policy of the nationalist and social-democratic leaders. The invasion of Poland by joint agreement with Hitler in 1939 and the subsequent bureaucratic suppression of workers' rights in the Soviet-occupied territory had undoubtedly driven the Warsaw workers further over to the side of the nationalist demagogues and their social-democratic henchmen. Under the impetus of the Red Army victories against the Wehrmacht, however, the revolutionary aspirations of the masses probably rose and clashed with their allegiance to leaders who were kowtowing to the Allied imperialists. The Kremlin sought to utilize this situation for its own counter-revolutionary purposes.

## Warsaw Got Only Token Aid

9. The Anglo-American imperialists, were naturally not averse to utilizing the insurrection for their own reactionary purposes, that is, to win the Polish masses over to the idea of a Poland within their "sphere of influence." To this end, they rushed "token aid" to Warsaw, in the form of meagre supplies—but not until three weeks of unaided struggle had passed. To this same end they made the gesture of requesting the Kremlin for bases in Soviet territory for alleged use to supply the insurgents. When two thousand Polish paratroopers in England volunteered to go to Warsaw, their request was denied. "Token aid," on the other hand, was sent by Moscow also, late in September, when the insurrection had already virtually bled to death. Only when it became obvious that the insurrection was crushed did the Red Army resume its advance on Warsaw, which to this day is still in Nazi hands. This fact requires further scrutiny when we recall that, on the day the insurrection broke out, even the Stalinist press was reporting that the Nazis were evacuating Warsaw.

10. Regarding what happened inside the Polish underground, inside Warsaw, information is still very sparse. But two isolated items are worth our attention. The first is taken from the London Tribune, and reads as follows:

"The Polish official daily accuses the Lublin Patriots (Stalinist 'National Council') of having disarmed and interned whole detachments of the Polish Home Army that were rushing from the provinces to Warsaw to assist the insurgents. The names of the detachments, their numbers, the places where they were disarmed have been published. What will the Lublin commander-in-chief—General Rola Zymierski—reply to this?"

## Kremlin Maintains Guilty Silence

Of course, no reply has been made to the charge. Silence here too indicates that there is some truth in it. If that is so, it points to the fact that the Warsaw insurrection must have aroused a tremendous response in the rural sectors of Poland, in particular in territory already occupied by the Red Army. The action of the Kremlin, if this is verified, was then not only confined to passive betrayal but amounted to active assistance in suppressing the insurrection.

Finally, in the British anarchist periodical, War Commentary (October), we find the following item:

"... a decree . . . issued by the Polish civil authorities during the first days (of the insurrection) proclaimed control of the factories by workers' councils. This was a clear indication that the workers had already taken over."

The periodical does not give its source for this information, so it is difficult to check. But should it prove to be true, it would point to the very heart of the whole policy of the counter-revolutionary Kremlin gang in the Warsaw tragedy.

Even so, an examination of the known facts permits us already to draw our conclusions:

1. Although the conflict over "spheres of influence" between the Allied imperialists and the Stalinist bureaucracy played a role in determining the policy toward the Warsaw insurrection, it was not the decisive factor. This conflict had effect only insofar as each side attempted to exploit the revolutionary aspirations of the Polish masses to undermine the prestige of the other.

2. The decisive factor making for the policy of betraying the insurrection was fear of the European revolution, of the independent action of the masses. Both sides share this fear equally and no doubt have had basic agreement on policy since the Teheran conference. Basic agreement, however, does not preclude jockeying for position among them. In the case of the Warsaw insurrection, the threat of revolutionary action was of more immediate concern to the Kremlin.

The Allies, while doing nothing seriously to interfere with the betrayal of the Warsaw uprising, naturally took advantage of the uprising to strengthen their diplomatic position as against that of the Kremlin.

3. Stalin's policy was clearly aimed at the attrition of the uprising.

4. The betrayal of the insurrection, followed by the stalemate at Warsaw up to the present, appears to have been a direct blow to the Red Army even in a strictly military sense. It certainly was a blow against the defense of the Soviet Union in the broader political sense. In deserting the Warsaw insurrection and permitting it to be crushed by the Nazis, Stalin was applying a strategy directed at nipping in the bud every manifestation of the ferment which is developing into the European revolution.

5. Defense of the Soviet Union today, means in the first place defense of the European revolution against the imperialists and the counter-revolutionary Stalinist bureaucracy.

6. The successful development of the European revolution, with the coming defeat of Nazi Germany, can be assured only by the independent revolutionary action of the masses. The first task in that direction is the building of strong Trotskyist parties in every country under the banner of the Socialist Revolution.

# SWP Convention Initiates Big Program For Party Expansion

(Continued from page 1)

movement of this country has never seen a more serious, determined and democratic gathering. Reflecting the proletarian composition of the Trotskyist party, the majority of the rank and file delegates and leaders at the convention were tested trade union militants from the key industries and industrial areas of the nation. They represented a cross-section of the most matured, seasoned and conscious militants in the American labor movement and their views and decisions were based upon a first-hand knowledge of the moods and direction of the working class.

## MARXIST ANALYSIS

The new and greater tasks undertaken in the convention program of expansion were based upon a Marxist analysis of the present position and program of American imperialism, the coming economic and social crisis of American capitalism and the growing struggles of the workers against the wage-slashing, union-busting, mass unemployment program of Big Business.

This analysis, and the perspectives and program of working class action flowing from it, was set forth in the resolution on the "United States and the Second World War" unanimously adopted by the convention. The growing reaction of capitalism and its ruthless assault upon the working class will lead to major class conflicts. In these conflicts, the transitional program of demands put forward by the Socialist Workers Party will win ever greater sympathetic response and support from the organized workers. This response will take the form in the next period of a tremendous advance in the political consciousness of labor, which will be expressed in the movement for the formation of an independent labor party.

## THE NEGRO STRUGGLE

As an integral part of the coming upsurge of labor, will be the struggle of the Negro masses for full equality. The Negro struggle will be a decisive aspect of the working class struggle against capitalist reaction, which intends to intensify racial conflicts and the indoctrination of race hatred as part and parcel of its method "divide and rule." The report on the tasks and perspectives of the Trotskyist vanguard in advancing the struggle for Negro equality was delivered by Charles Jackson. The convention instructed the incoming National Committee to embody this report in a resolution to form the basis for the future work of the party

in fighting for the full emancipation of the Negro people.

As Marxists, and therefore genuine internationalists, the convention of worker-Bolsheviks, elected to represent the ranks of the party placed first on the agenda the discussion and adoption of a resolution defining the international perspectives and tasks of the revolutionary vanguard. This climaxed a two-months' pre-convention discussion, which in accordance with the traditional democratic practice of the Trotskyist movement, had been held throughout the ranks of the party and during which all views were fully and freely debated by the entire party membership.

## POLITICAL RESOLUTION

The purpose of the international political resolution, which had been drafted by the outgoing National Committee, was to reaffirm the political line of the resolution adopted by the October, 1943 plenary meeting of the National Committee and to amplify and extend the resolution in the light of world political developments during the year since the NC Plenum was held. The task of the convention was to determine the correctness of the previously-adopted perspectives and prognoses and to see if they had stood up under the test of living events.

## TROTSKYISM ADVANCING

The discussion revolved around the resolution submitted to the convention with the endorsement of the majority of the NC Plenum held on the eve of the convention. This resolution took as its point of departure the revolutionary mass upsurge in Europe which now dominates the entire international scene and the magnificent perspectives which have unfolded for the revolutionary socialist movement. The resolution was adopted by an overwhelming vote of the convention.

The highlight of the convention was the inspiring organizational report delivered by M. Stein, acting national secretary. This report, which brought the convention to a peak of enthusiasm, revealed big gains all along the line of the Trotskyist organization. The rate of recruitment in the past year has been 50 per cent greater than in the previous period. The Militant since April has experienced a nine-fold increase in subscriptions. The proletarian composition of the party has been strengthened because recruitment has come very largely from the ranks of tested union militants.

The ideas and transitional slogans of the Trotskyists have penetrated more deeply into the

## Workers Formed Backbone Of Uprising in Warsaw

The leading role of the workers in the Warsaw insurrection last August is the subject of a report in the latest issue of "Poland Fights," organ of the Polish Labor Group published in New York. Organized under the leadership of the Underground Trade Union Council and the Central Executive Committee of the PPS (Polish counterpart of the British Labor Party), the workers "were the backbone of the fighting during the Warsaw uprising, as well as throughout occupied Poland, long before open warfare began in Warsaw," the publication states.

The same source indicates that the insurgent Polish workers derived much of their inspiration from revolutionary battles of the past and named their fighting organizations after popular revolutionary heroes. Thus the underground infantry division which fought in the Zoliborz district of Warsaw bore the name of Romuald Traugutt, leader of the Polish insurrection against Czarist Russia in 1863. A division operating in the central district of Warsaw went by the name of Stefan Okrzeja, working-class hero in the revolutionary year 1905, who was hanged in the Warsaw Citadel by the Czarist authorities.

American working class. Slogans for rescinding the no-strike pledge, for withdrawing the labor members from the War Labor Board, and for the building of an independent labor party are already the fighting slogans of wide sections of American organized labor.

The general organizational report, which was unanimously adopted by the convention, was supplemented by reports of the heads of the various organizational departments, labor defense, press, publications and education. Each of these reports strengthened the picture of the party as a growing force, with tremendous energy for the fulfillment of its mission.

But the most graphic picture of the party in action was given during the day-long discussion on organizational activities by the convention delegates. Union militants and party activists from 27 areas reported on their work and accomplishments for the past period. These reports confirmed the soundness of the Trotskyist program, the increasing receptivity of the workers to this program, the devotion of the party ranks. Optimism and revolutionary determination was the dominant mood of the delegates.

**PARTY BUILDERS**  
Workers from steel, auto, maritime, railway transport and many other major industries recounted their experiences in the class struggle and the building of the party. Among them was a high percentage of women workers, who have played an exemplary role in assuming the additional tasks of the party which fell on their shoulders as the result of the high percentage of male members now in the armed forces.

A major task of the convention was the election of a new national committee. With but three changes, the members of the

previous national committee were unanimously reelected. This action, together with the unanimous adoption of the organization report, expressed the appreciation of the party ranks for the work of the party leadership during the past period and confidence in its ability to measure up to the greater tasks ahead.

Among the important actions of the convention was the sending of messages of solidarity to the 12 imprisoned SWP leaders, to Comrade Natalia Trotsky, widow of Leon Trotsky, and to Trotskyist organizations in Canada, England, Europe and elsewhere. The convention expressed its firm determination to live up to the obligations of international solidarity in every sense.

## A MEMORABLE EVENT

An outstanding feature of the convention, and one which will live long in the memory of the delegates, was the Convention Banquet held Saturday night. Here the warmth of comradeship in a common great cause was fully expressed. A program of entertainment delighted the delegates. The entire convention arrangements, including the housing and feeding of delegates and the scores of fraternal visitors from out-of-town, was a bly handled by the New York Local of the SWP.

As the convention adjourned with the rousing mass singing of the international proletarian battle-song, "The International," every delegate felt imbued with the desire to go out into the working class, to bring the program of Trotskyism to the masses, and to place the banner of the Socialist Workers Party in the forefront of the historic labor struggles that in the coming period will lift the American workers to their feet in a victorious march toward socialist emancipation.

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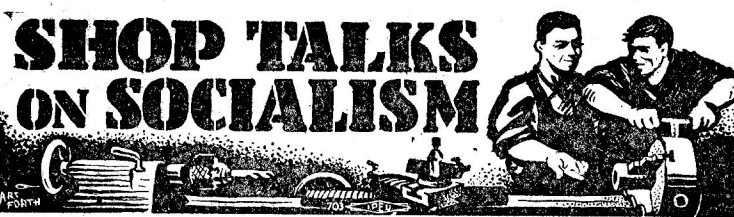
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**SHOP TALKS ON SOCIALISM**

By V. Grey

Under Socialism, take it all in all, we'll get paid according to how much we produce. Maybe you think that's how we get paid now. If you do, you're wrong. Under capitalism we produce cotton, wheat and other things, only to plow them under and destroy them in depressions. During capitalist wars we produce steel and ships by the millions of tons so they can be blown sky high. In other words the producer (the workingman) isn't benefited according to how much he produces.

"But if we get paid according to what we produce, under socialism, does that mean we'll have the piece-work system?"

No, it doesn't. In the first place, piece-work doesn't pay you according to what you produce. It only seems to do that. You usually take home a little more money when you're on piece work than when you're on a half-way decent day-rate in a different shop. That's true. You get a miserable, so-called "bonus" for straining your guts to produce five times as much as you would on day-work. If you're very lucky you wind up with maybe twice your lousy day-rate for this five times greater output. And if you kick for more dough, they'll just tell you to put out a little more. They'll do it every time.

**Piecework Enriches The Bosses**

Sure you can put out more if you don't mind losing a finger now and then, or busting a gut. Every so often some miracle working scissor-bill forgets he has to do the job every day in the year for a few years yet before he dies, and he does twenty or thirty per cent more than anyone else ever did! Well, you know what happens. The time-study man, or one of his stooges, saunters around, stands behind a post or something and clocks the job all over again.

Oh sure! everything is on the up and up. But you notice nobody gets rich on the piece-work system—except the owners. Even if it were on the level, and the pieces you had to do to make day-rate were a reasonable, walking-pace, day's work, and you could always make twice as much money by doing twice as much work, you'd still be further behind the eight-ball, compared to the big bosses. They make a nice profit when you do an ordinary day's work. When you double the work they make more than double the profit. They don't have to pay any more for light, they don't pay any more for rent or building depreciation, they don't pay much more for power—and they pay even less money out in guaranteed "day-bonuses" where they have that set-up. So the boss doubles his wealth faster than you double your wages—always supposing he lets you double them, and the piece-rate never changes.

Actually, piece-work is not a "bonus" system, but a penalty system. Here's the way the time study man figures it out. Say it's a press job. Well, the press does 400 hits an hour when it's going steady on the automatic control. He'll figure that if you get the whole 400 hits you can have a dollar and a half an hour. ("And that's certainly a wonderful wage for a workingman," he thinks with a puff on his fifty-cent cigar). That's twelve dollars for eight hours.

**What The Speed-up Means**

Of course you take fifteen minutes off for lunch. That costs you thirty-seven and a half cents. Five minutes for a sandwich at ten o'clock costs twelve and a half cents. Twelve and half cents more if you go to the toilet during the day. Twelve and a half cents every time you wait five minutes for the crane or the truck. And ye gods! Seventy-five cents while you hurry like hell to replace a broken punch. You have to go to the machine shop or the storeroom for a new one. Well, you end the day with \$9.87½. You go to sleep in the bus going home and your hand shakes when you light a cigarette but still it's "good money." Brother, we're not going to have that kind of "good money" under socialism.

Under socialism, it's not going to cost twelve and a half cents to take a smoke. You won't be cursing the crane man, yelling at the hooker and ready to sock the truck driver for "holding you up." You won't figure they are taking money out of your pocket. Each inefficiency of the factory won't be charged up to you personally, and taken out of your check, the way it is now. If a machine is broken, it's usually not your fault. And even if it is, you can manage to correct the fault when somebody shows you the trouble. So why should our workers' society blame you and take it out of your hide in the form of a piece-work penalty?

Piece-work is a method of getting the last ounce of energy out of the worker, as everybody knows. Capitalists employ it more and more because they hate to get better machinery that will produce with less effort from the worker. Machinery gets more complex and more expensive every year. Then too, all the big capitalists have the same machinery, more or less. There's no profit in the machine itself. They make their profits on what they sweat out of labor.

**Socialism Means Production For Use**

But the socialist system is a matter of production, not profits. Under Socialism you make cotton into cloth instead of plowing it under, you make steel into tools of peace-time production instead of letting the plants fall to pieces between capitalist wars. Under Socialism our "wages" will be determined very differently from the way the capitalist profits are today. One capitalist wants to undersell the other, so he has to produce more cheaply. That means more production. That means sweat and piece-work. Then there's more production than people can buy. That means shut-down and layoff.

Under Socialism, the workers of one factory will cooperate with those of the other so they won't produce more hats than shoes, or more autos than there are families to use them, etc. They'd feel like damn fools if they did that. Scissorbill Sam might pat himself on the back if two million bird-cages were made for one million canaries. But nobody else would.

People would work. But not with every last ounce of physical energy. You need energy to think, also. It takes energy for a workingman or woman to be wide-awake and see easier ways to produce—better methods—better machines. They also need to know that these ideas will not be used against them (by altering the piece-rate). They need to know that every increase in production means an increase in the well-being of all. And under Socialism they will know it.

**Belgian Workers Resist Allied Puppet Regime In Militant Demonstrations To Maintain Arms**

(Continued from page 1)

against the Nazis and who liberated Brussels itself.

This mighty mass demonstration on Sunday was the climax of the political crisis which has been convulsing the country for more than a week. It coincided with the government's deadline demanding compliance with its order that the workers disarm. The workers came out into the streets on Thursday of last week, staging one demonstration after another in angry protest. They held their parades and meetings in defiance of government regulations forbidding mass meetings.

At the height of the mass movement Thursday night about 2,000 angry men and women, some of them armed, pushed their way into the Cirque Royale for a meeting that the authorities had expressly prohibited. Amid a great tumult the crowd cheered three Stalinist members of the cabinet who, under powerful mass pressure, had just been forced to resign and express objection to the government's policy.

The same mass pressure also forced the ousting of the Police Chief of the Belgian Gendarmerie, Gen. Gustave Bourgingnon, who resigned following his inability to prevent the demonstration that had been banned by the government. The General, who was retired by Pierlot with full honors and pension rights, argued that his "tolerance" may have spared Brussels grave incidents.

**GOVERNMENT VACILLATES**

This official attitude of "tolerance" flowed in reality either from the government's lack of power or else from the fact that it was not yet prepared to come into armed conflict with the aroused workers. Moreover, according to the N. Y. Times, the revolutionary fever has spread in the police force itself. "Even the gendarmes cannot be completely objective," called the Times correspondent on Nov. 19.

The consternation, fear and panic pervading government circles in the face of the counter-offensive of the masses could be clearly observed on Wednesday of that week when about 2,500 members of the Resistance Movement paraded outside the government building on Rue de la Foi with placards denouncing the Pierlot government and calling for the Premier's resignation.

"Within the Parliament buildings and the Cabinet offices could be seen clusters of anxious office

holders," reports the N. Y. Times correspondent, "confering with their colleagues and political mentors on whether to risk a change of government at this time."

**ALLIED PROCLAMATION**

Meanwhile the real rulers of the country, the Anglo-American conquerors, who had been prodding Pierlot from behind the scenes, issued a public proclamation approving the disarmament of the Resistance Forces. On behalf of the Allied Supreme Command, Gen. W. E. J. Erskine, head of the Allied Military Mission in Belgium, stated that he "greatly hopes that no disorders will result from the application of these measures, but, if they were to occur, Allied military forces, at the request of the Government, would assist in restoring law and order."

**IMPERIALIST AIMS**

In Belgium, as in France, the Allied leaders are exerting the utmost pressure upon the government to deprive the insurgent masses of their arms in order to prevent a revolutionary showdown with the capitalists and their putrid regime. This is frankly admitted by the capitalist press correspondents—in this country.

In France, however, as the N. Y. Times reporter points out, the part played by the Allies in their counter-revolutionary conspiracy is "never mentioned in public or in print" (Nov. 20). But, this same reporter states, the Allies would play the same role "in the future, in a situation as acute as that in Belgium."

Such are the aims of the Allied imperialists and their capitalist associates in Belgium today: to disarm the workers by trickery, if possible, and by force if necessary, in order to protect the shaken capitalist system against the rising offensive of the revolutionary masses, to set up and support the most ruthless military dictatorships, and thereby drive the people back into servitude and capitalist exploitation, and sacrifice on the bloody altar of imperialism war.

The Pierlot cabinet, hand-picked by the Allied invaders, is obviously a mere puppet in the latter's hands. In the present revolutionary events, the Pierlot cabinet can depend neither on its own armed forces, nor on its own police force. The Allied authority is the sole reliable military power of the counter-revolution. The only real internal forces that

**Belgian Resistance Fighter**



A fighter of the Belgian Resistance forces, his rifle slung over his shoulder, shows the determination of the armed people to carry on their struggle for social liberation.

the Belgian capitalists and Anglo-American imperialists can lean on at the moment are the treacherous Stalinist and Social-Democratic scoundrels and sell-out artists.

Both the Stalinist and Social-Democratic leaders are, each in their own way, and for their own reasons, facilitating the schemes of the counter-revolutionary conspirators.

**HUNG BY A THREAD**

After the Stalinist ministers withdrew from the cabinet in mid-week the Pierlot government hung by a thread. Instead of sealing its doom, the "Socialist" party leaders rushed to prop it up. These treacherous scoundrels issued a statement declaring that "in view of the gravity of the problems in the balance, the committee considers that the Socialist Ministers could not abandon the responsibilities they have assumed. The interests of the country and workers oppose it."

In reality, the "interests of the country and workers" demand the overthrow of Pierlot and the assumption of power by the workers as the indispensable step toward the socialist reconstruction of devastated Belgium. But the "responsibilities" these traitors are actually assuming are those of rescuing the capitalist regime now threatened by the socialist revolution.

The yellow "Socialist" leaders are directly aiding the counter-revolution by advising the underground fighters to give up their weapons and calling upon the Resistance Movement to purge itself of "members who have joined since the liberation"—that is, to cut their numbers in half and thus eliminate many of the most courageous proletarian elements from the ranks of the workers' militia.

**THE STALINIST ROLE**

The Stalinists, for their part, although they have been forced by mass pressure to adopt an oppositional attitude toward the present regime and to withdraw their ministers, remain united with the Allied imperialists against the insurgent masses. The day after their exit from the cabinet the three Stalinist Ministers signed a joint statement with Gen. Erskine which was broadcast to the people, reiterating the invader's demand for the restoration of capitalist "law and order" and warning that "riots" or "interference" with Allied forces would not be tolerated. The broadcast concluded with the perfidious promise that "this wish of the General's will be conveyed to the former members and the Resistance will avoid any conflict with Allied armies."

In addition to betraying the workers to their worst enemies—the Anglo-American imperialists and their agents—the Stalinists are engaged in an attempt to paralyze the promising revolutionary movement and derail it from its historic path. The only program and perspective they offer the workers is continued participation in the war and perpetuation of hunger under capit-

**Diary Of A Steel Worker**

By Theodore Kovalesky

It took Terry O'Day quite a while to die, in fact, it took him several years.

I suppose you'll say, "Why, Terry isn't dead—I saw him in the union hall yesterday. What do you mean?"

Well, a man can die and still leave his body walking around the streets. That's what happened in Terry's case. It's just his body that's left. You couldn't even say it's Terry's ghost that's around, because the ghost, the spirit of Terry O'Day, is gone. There's just a body with certain well-remembered ways going down to the union hall every day and sitting at the International Rep's desk. But it's not our old Terry.

I guess none of us who knew him will ever forget the real Terry O'Day, the big, black-browed, good-looking young Irishman with one of those grins that made you feel you'd always been his pal and always would be. I guess none of us will forget how he stuck his neck out day after day all through the organizing drive, when the old SWOC (Steel Workers Organizing Committee) was signing up the men in our plant.

How the company hated Terry! Before it was over they managed to fire him, but of course we got him back after we won recognition in the big strike, in which he was one of the leaders. Then, after everything was all set up and moving pretty smoothly, when Terry was an officer of the local and one of the best grievance men we had, the company saw fit to reconsider their attitude toward him and tried to persuade him to take a foreman's job.

Terry blew up: "I was just a no-good trouble-maker when you guys threw me out of here. Now we've got you licked you want to buy me off with a lousy two-bit foreman's job." He didn't take it.

It wasn't long before Terry was put on the union staff. All the fellows hated to see him leave the plant, because he'd been such a good grievance man and such a swell guy to work with, but then everybody was glad to have him right there in the union office fighting for us. The gang figured we'd get real representation with Terry on the staff.

But bit by bit, Terry began to grow away from us. It didn't happen all at once or even soon. Still, over a period of time we'd notice more and more things. Terry wasn't quite Terry.

When he'd been away from the open hearth a while Terry got a little bulky around the waist; and he began to get sluggish in his ideas as well. We always used to think of him as mostly heart-courageous, fighting heart. But what kind of fighting heart does a man have when he'll turn back one grievance after another—retreating without even swinging a single punch?

And what kind of fighting heart has a man got when he lines up against his fellow workers, or in Terry's case, his former brothers, in favor of the no-strike pledge? He saw us each day losing things that we had fought and bled for. He could see that when we couldn't strike we couldn't fight . . . and that the companies never stopped fighting.

What had happened to Terry? Was Gus Miller right when he asked me one night, "Do you think Terry's getting paid off by the company?" No, Terry didn't get paid in that kind of coin. It's just that Terry's got a new way of life.

There's no sweating in the open hearth for Terry now. There's no more getting tired and miserable in the bleak, black winter mornings. There's no more discomfort and danger—no more cranes skimming over his head carrying ladles of molten iron—no more looking through blue glasses into the white-hot open doors of the furnaces.

Now there's a desk in front of him. His denims, his flannel shirts are used only on fishing trips. In their place in his wardrobe are tweeds, white shirts and happy-looking neckties.

In this world, nothing is free: Everything has its price, and sometimes the price is too high. The price Terry paid was too costly. He came out of the plant a fighter, and he came out for the purpose of fighting. But gradually he became entangled in Phil Murray's machine. At each step he paid a toll. He began to find that retreat was impossible, and that he could only blunder on to new payments and new defeats. He couldn't win; he didn't know why; so he began to think, "So what the hell," and go farther down.

Terry was a great guy—a swell guy! But he never had a chance. Without a political line of his own to follow, he had to take Murray's line—collaboration with the capitalists (which always means selling out the workers.) He had to stifle strikes and support the no-strike pledge. He had to try to tie the fellows to Roosevelt's coat-tails.

But all that meant death to the old tough, happy, honest Terry. And it meant the birth of a new two-bit Murray bureaucrat going around under the name of Terry O'Day.



**Pioneer Paragraphs**

**TROTSKYISTS SOUNDED ALARM AGAINST THE RISE OF HITLER**

Coming back on the bus from Gillespie to Chicago—I recall it very distinctly—I read newspaper accounts of the appointment of Hitler as Chancellor by President Hindenburg. I had the feeling then, at that moment, that things were beginning to break. The stagnation, the stalemate in the world labor movement was breaking wide open. Things were moving to a showdown. We were fully ready to take our part in the new situation. As I checked the reports the other day, preparing my notes for this lecture, it seemed to me that this action of our League, our reaching out for the first time to participate in a workers' mass meeting in Gillespie, Illinois, was symbolic of our attainment to the new period. Our action was unconsciously synchronized with the break-up of the stalemate in Germany. We were like athletes, trained and poised for action, but restrained by external difficulties and unable to move forward. Then suddenly a new situation opened up and we leaped into it.

Our first reaction to the German events was to call a mass meeting in New York. For a long time we had abandoned the idea of mass meetings because the masses wouldn't come. The best we could do was to hold small open forums, lectures, circle gatherings, etc. This time we essayed a mass meeting: Stuyvesant Casino, February 4, 1933. "The Meaning of the German Events" with Schachtman and Cannon as speakers. The report in The Militant said that 500 people turned out to our mass meeting.

We sounded the alarm on the impending showdown between fascism and Communism in Germany. Then, while the issues were so acute, every day in Germany witnessing new developments, we did an absolutely unprecedented thing for a group so small as ours. We transformed

our weekly Militant — by that time it had become a weekly — and brought it out three times a week, each issue blazing away with the message of Trotskyism on the events in Germany. If you should ask me how we did it I wouldn't be able to explain. But we did it. It wasn't possible, but there is a saying among Trotskyists that in times of crisis you do not do what is possible, but what is necessary. And we thought it necessary to break out of our routine discussions and criticisms of the Stalinists, to do something to shock the whole workers' movement into realizing how fateful for the whole world were the happenings in Germany. We wanted to call all workers, and especially the Communist workers, to attention. We speeded up our tempo. We began to shout, to sound the alarm. Our comrades ran to every meeting they could find, to every slightest gathering of workers, with bundles of The Militant, under their arms, shouting at the top of their voices: "Read The Militant!" "Read the truth about Germany!" "Read what Trotsky says!"

Our slogan during the German events was: The United Front of the Workers' Organizations and Battle to the Death! The Stalinists and the Social Democrats rejected the united front in Germany. They both pretend otherwise at the events, seeking to blame each other, but they are both liars, both guilty of betrayal. They divided the workers, and neither of them had any will to fight. Through that division the monstrous plague of fascism came to power in Germany, and threw its dark shadow over the whole world.

(From "The History of American Trotskyism," by James Cannon, pp. 105-107. Pioneer Publishers, 1944; 268 pp., cloth \$2.75, paper \$2. Order from Pioneer Publishers, 115 University Place, N. Y. 3, N. Y.)

**FREEDOM—FOR WHOM?**

While refugee anti-fascist fighters of many European nationalities invariably encounter the greatest difficulty in moving into, out of, or between the "democratic" Allied countries, unemployed monarchs, such as Austria's Otto of Hapsburg and Rumania's Carol, have their paths of travel smoothed for them.

Archduke Otto, now in Lisbon, departed recently from the United States and found it easy to settle the usually complicated problems of exit permits, visas and transportation through an obliging State Department which, according to PM, gave him "assurances that he would be allowed to return to Austria when that country was freed."

In obedience to the counter-revolutionary line laid down by the Kremlin, they fear to follow the logical consequence of their resignation by raising the slogan of a workers' government and reaching out for power. They dare not strike out upon this road because of their utter subservience to the Allied imperialists and their fear of stimulating the revolutionary initiative of the workers. Their policies can only serve to disorient the workers, to disorganize their struggles, and abort the rising revolution.

**A PROGRAM NEEDED**

In order to settle the political crisis into which Belgium has been plunged and to pave the way for a solution of the unpostponable problems confronting the nation, the masses need and must have a revolutionary program and perspective. They need the direction of a revolutionary party that can lead them to the conquest of power and the organization of a Workers' Republic based on the power of the Workers' Councils (Soviets).

We have no doubt that our Trotskyist co-thinkers in Belgium are in the front ranks of the present offensive of the workers, that they are advising them to hold on to their arms, exposing the treacherous maneuvers and betrayal of the Stalinists and Social-Democrats, and advancing the revolutionary program of the 4th International.

**San Francisco Sunday Forum**

"WHICH WAY EUROPE?" Socialism or Barbarism

December 3 - 8 P. M.

Speaker: R. CHESTER

SAN FRANCISCO SCHOOL of SOCIAL SCIENCE 305 Grant Avenue, 4th floor

**10 Years Ago In The Militant**

NOVEMBER 24, 1934

NEW YORK—"Labor history will be made in New York City this coming week," said The Militant, reporting the opening of conventions of the Communist League of America (Trotskyist) and the American Workers Party (Musteite). At these conventions the organization of a new revolutionary party in the United States was to be debated and decided by the two organizations preparing to fuse their forces. Delegates included leaders of the Minneapolis and Toledo strikes. They came from the coal mines and industrial centers of America, from the unemployed movement, and from the political centers of the nation. "Not sleek, self-satisfied bureaucrats," The Militant described these delegates, "... but fighting militants fresh from the picket lines... beating their way to New York," to make the decision which proved to be "a milestone on the road to the Fourth International."

NEW YORK—Revealing that he had been approached by a representative of 42 native fascist groups, General Smedley Butler made public the existence of a three-million dollar plot to finance a fascist party in the United States. "While General Butler's discoveries do not reveal the fascists as a serious menace," The Militant said, "they indicate that incipient fascism is here and only waits its opportunity."

**NEW YORK SUNDAY NIGHT FORUM**

Hear CHARLES CARSTEN, SWP Educational Director

Speak on "THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY CONVENTION"

Sunday, November 26, 8 P. M.

NEW YORK SCHOOL of SOCIAL SCIENCE 116 University Place (cor. 13th St., bet. 5th and B'way)

Subscription 25 Cents Refreshments



# THE MILITANT

Published in the interests of the Working People

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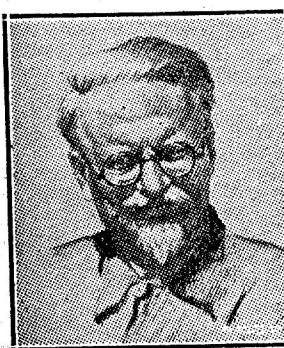
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To defend the USSR as the main fortress of the world proletariat, against all assaults of world imperialism and of internal counter-revolution, is the most important duty of every class-conscious worker.

— LEON TROTSKY

## JOIN US IN FIGHTING FOR:

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

## Fraternization

In the course of the first imperialist world slaughter, Lenin, Trotsky, Karl Liebknecht, Rosa Luxemburg and other proletarian internationalists never failed to single out the least sign of the awakening of the oppressed, especially the news of fraternization between the uniformed workers and peasants on both sides of the trenches—news which came as a rule in the form of decrees against fraternization issued in 1914-1918 by the General Staffs of all the belligerents.

Similar instances of fraternization are beginning to multiply today, with this difference: nowadays the predatory rulers of the world, "democratic" and fascist alike, fear fraternization, whether soldier or civilian is involved. The Anglo-American imperialists, aided and abetted by the Kremlin, and in imitation of the Nazis, now seek to keep inviolate the line of blood which they have drawn in their war, not only between the combatants but between entire peoples. Thus, \$65 fines—more than a month's pay—are imposed on any American soldier carrying on "any type of unnecessary conversation" with German civilians, both adults and children. Hitler and the Gestapo are no less adamant against fraternization. Both sides defend here the same war policy, which serves identical capitalist class interests and aims.

What should the attitude of workers be toward fraternization? It must also flow from a class line. The proletarian attitude was expressed on October 24, 1919 by Leon Trotsky, Soviet Commissar of War, who issued the following appeal to the just-born Red Army in the midst of Allied intervention:

"Red warriors! On all fronts you meet the hostile plots of the English. The counter-revolutionary troops shoot you with English guns. In the depots of Shenkursk and Onega, on the Southern and Western fronts, you find supplies of English manufacture. The prisoners you have captured are dressed in uniforms made in England. The women and children of Archangel and Astrakhan are maimed and killed by English airmen with the aid

of English explosives. The English ships bomb our shores. . . But even today, when we are engaged in a bitter fight with Yudenich, the hireling of England, I demand that you never forget that there are two Englands. Beside the England of profits, of butchery, of violence and bloodthirstiness, there is the England of Labor, of spiritual power, of high ideals, of international solidarity. It is the base and dishonest England of the Stock Exchange manipulators that is fighting us. The England of Labor and the people are with us."

What Trotsky told the Red Soldiers in 1919 holds good in 1944. There are two Germanys today, just as there are two Americas, two Englands, two classes in every country where capitalism rules. The Germany of Labor and the people are with us against their Nazi-capitalist oppressors! We are with them against the Anglo-American imperialist oppressors and their agents. In unity and fraternity the workers on both sides of the imperialist battle-lines will struggle for a workers' world.

## Military Training

Although he had said nothing on this vital matter during the pre-election campaign, President Roosevelt stated at one of his first post-election press conferences that he would urge Congress to adopt a law this winter for the compulsory military training of the country's youth during peacetime.

For many months now the brass hats and representatives of Wall Street have been beating the drums for permanent military conscription. The Wadsworth-Gurney bill, which calls for a year of military training for youths eighteen years and upward, has been pending in the House. Its sponsors candidly admit that they want to get it passed while the war is at its peak and before the people are further disillusioned by its consequences.

Now Roosevelt has given his endorsement to this step toward the Prussianization of American life. His action is dictated by the needs and aims of the imperialist ruling class. To realize its present program of world conquest and domination, Wall Street requires a permanent military force and reserves of millions. Under the scourge of its continued rule, militarism will from now on be an integral part of American life.

The plutocracy and their political executives, such as Roosevelt, are compelled by their class needs to view the future realistically and to prepare accordingly. They know that this war will not bring peace, but has already sown the seeds of fiercer wars. That is why they have become militarists on the European model—with American speed, size, and efficiency.

The workers must be equally realistic in facing the future. In a world and in a society where from now on all basic questions will be ultimately decided by force, they need military training to protect and to promote their own class interests. They cannot permit the reactionary officer caste and the servants of Big Business to retain control of military training for their ultra-reactionary purposes.

A working-class solution for this unpostponable problem is provided in the first point of *The Militant's* program of demands: "Military training of workers, financed by the government, but under control of the trade unions. Special officers' training camps, financed by the government but controlled by the trade unions, to train workers to become officers." The militants in the unions must put forward this demand as their answer to the bosses' plans for strengthening the grip of their fascist-minded brass hats on the flower of the working class—its youth.

## Cartels

The Senate's Kilgore Committee on Cartels and National Security has issued a report designating the "German industrial group" as the "mainstay of the international cartel system." It calls for the "punishment . . . of the leading imperialist-minded German industrialists" and "not only the dismantling of all the direct munitions industries but also the dismantling and removal . . . of the primary indirect munitions industries," including virtually all of Germany's mass production facilities.

It is easy to detect the real origins of this proposal in Morgenthau's scheme for the reduction of Germany's economy, the very heart of Europe's productive mechanism, to a peasant economy. Under the pretext of fighting the international cartel system and permanently disarming German imperialism, the real intent is to reduce the German masses to the level of agricultural serfs and, by destroying Germany's industrial system, eliminate European capitalism as a rival to Wall Street in the continuing struggle for control of the world's contracting markets.

The government has revealed through anti-trust suits against scores of America's leading corporations—including such world giants as Standard Oil, DuPont, General Electric and Aluminum Corporation of America—that the Wall Street corporations were joined in partnership with the Nazis in international cartels and reaped profits from both sides of the battlelines.

The international trust, or cartel, is not an exceptional feature of capitalism. It is the finished organizational expression of monopoly capitalism in the highest stage of development. The nefarious activities of the cartels have been exposed over and over again. The only way to end their malodorous practices is to end the capitalist system which brought them to birth and gives them nourishment. This is the task of the international socialist revolution.

# WORKERS' FORUM

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

## Wage Differentials

Editor:  
I find that many workers who are at first opposed to socialism change their attitude when it is pointed out to them that all the gains that have been made by the workers are of a socialistic nature. But the one thing they are against is equality of pay. These workers are not so concerned over the fact that they are so pitifully underpaid by their bosses—the capitalists—as they are over their misconception that under socialism everyone will get the same pay.

It doesn't bother them so much that under the present system the ones who work the hardest ordinarily get the least, while those of the Tommy Manville type, who do not work at all, get the most (and maybe the best, that is, if blondes are better).

It doesn't seem to bother them so much that Eugene Grace gets from the same company as they work for well over one hundred times more than they do, not to mention what he gets from other sources. It doesn't bother them so much that two persons working on the same type of job (and sometimes the very same job), doing the same work equally as well, get different pay.

What bothers them is that under socialism—so they tell me—everyone will get the same pay. They do not stop to think that under socialism all workers will be getting so much more of what they produce that wages figured down to a difference of a half cent will be absolutely ridiculous—not just slightly ridiculous, as now.

I tell these workers with the

wrong idea that as long as a differential in pay is necessary, it will be paid even under socialism. Under socialism it won't depend on who you know, or who got there first with the mosting gab, or who happened to have parents financially able to send them to college. Under socialism, any pay differentials will be judged by the men in the shop themselves—not by the boss. The "boss" will be selected by the workers.

I find too that, except to the more advanced workers, it is not a good policy to mention that eventually, under communism, each will get according to his ability and receive according to his need. When you are dealing with workers who have such a vague idea of what socialism is, you merely shock them and give them the idea that under socialism everyone will get the same pay. The chances are that even equality of pay will not be realized in our time.

A. B.  
Bell, California

## White Collar Workers

Editor:  
I wish the paper would print an article for the "white collar" workers. Many of them are not the white-livered cringers that some radical literature describes them to be. While the shipyard workers, etc. are lured by full stomachs and money, post office clerks, teachers, hospital aides and others to whom the war economy means just higher prices and more work are struggling to maintain a standard of living and job performance that is high-

er (at least in cost) than that of the much-sympathized-with working man. They have always read more (I think) and now more deeply and critically. Incidentally, a lot of them are voting for Thomas in a desperation that goes on from year to year as no better candidate appears on the radio or ballot.

Perhaps it is because so many writers for radical papers belong to this unglamorous if increasingly large category that none are attracted to probe his interests, problems, etc. and the white collar worker will have to wait until some literary industrial worker can return the attention paid to his class.

You will realize what I mean if you think how out of place this letter would look, or any of this kind, if printed in your contributors' column. I am glad there is such a good paper in the country as yours is, that is basically. But your terminology is still too stiff and academic for any but the most literate reader. Of course, every occupation has its disease.

V. K.  
Milwaukee, Ore.

READ  
'THE FOURTH.  
INTERNATIONAL'

# INTERNATIONAL NOTES

## Belgium

The government of Hubert Pierlot, puppet of the Anglo-American imperialists, was on the verge of collapse last week and was saved only by the failure of the Stalinists and "Socialists" to resign on the issue of disarming and disbanding the former underground fighters of the Resistance Movement.

An order commanding these fighters to surrender their weapons by Nov. 18 was issued by the Pierlot government. The two Stalinist members of the government, Dr. Albert Marteau and Raymond Dispy, supported by the "left-wing socialist" Fernand de Many, protested against the order but continued to cling to their posts when Pierlot refused to rescind or modify it.

It is one thing to "order" the disarming of the workers, quite another to enforce it. The workers have resolutely refused to surrender their arms or disband their formations. The crisis therefore continues. As the N.Y. Times correspondent in Brussels significantly reports, "a wave of unrest is expected to cross Belgium now that the Leftist underground organizations are on their own."

"On their own!" These words possess a wealth of meaning in the present situation. They imply that the armed workers now feel that they have been abandoned by their Stalinist and "Socialist" leaders and must seek a new leadership in their struggle to escape from the morass of capitalism along the road of revolution.

As the correspondent states, the Stalinists are "at the moment the most virile party," that is, they have the largest mass following. But they are rapidly completing their self-exposure as a counter-revolutionary force. In increasing numbers, the workers will turn to the Trotskyists, the Fourth Internationalists, for leadership.

## England

Prospects for a 3rd world war not so long after the present slaughter has ceased become sharper day by day as the reality of imperialist rivalries breaks with increasing persistency through the thin crust of the military alliance between the two biggest imperialist brigands, Britain and the United States.

Despite all the fine talk about international understanding and amity in the post-war world, and the continuing spate of international conferences to regulate the activities of the rivals where they

meet and clash—in trade, currency questions, civil aviation, shipping, etc.—the Big Business leaders who stand behind the governments and make their policies are continually snarling at each other across the Atlantic.

The latest example of this was a speech in the House of Commons on Nov. 14 by Sir Patrick Hannon, Conservative, who charged that "careful plans are in progress in the United States to seize practically the whole of South American trade" and oust British competitors from this lucrative market. "Laborite" Emanuel Shinwell, faithful lick-spittle of the British capitalists, seconded the complaint with the assertion that "while discussions are taking place (Bretton Woods, Dumbarton Oaks, and now Chicago) we are slowly but surely losing a lot of trade."

At the International Civil Aviation Conference in Chicago the British delegation last week virtually capitulated before the American stand in favor of what amounts to free and unrestricted competition along the world's skyways. All the British imperialists got was a face-saver. As the N. Y. Times reported, "the British and Canadians have won less essential concessions which should result in maintaining the prestige of the British Commonwealth and in avoidance of any admission on its part that it is accepting a secondary role in post-war aviation."

The rivalry in this and other spheres will, of course, continue until it reaches the explosive point. The seeds of war are lodged deep in the system of capitalism. Unless the workers put an end to this putrid system with its cut-throat competition, they or their sons will have to suffer in a fresh holocaust of death and destruction.

## France

In France, as in Belgium, as in Greece, as in Rumania, the crisis of the capitalist regime unfolds around the burning issue of the efforts of the ruling class, acting through the Allied-dominated puppet governments, to disarm the workers, who, after playing a great role in the driving out of the Nazis, are determined to keep their arms in order to vanquish their class enemies and insure against a return to the old order of exploitation, oppression and war.

The state of incipient civil war between the discredited capitalists and their regime, on the one hand, and the armed people, on the other, is well illustrated by

events in the industrial town of Maubeuge, in northern France, last month, as reported by the N. Y. Times correspondent in Paris on Nov. 13.

More than 100 collaborationists (those who aided the Nazis) had been arrested. The DeGaulleists who had taken office in the local government made no move to bring the arrested people to trial and large crowds assembled to protest the delay. These crowds were composed of "FFI (French Forces of the Interior) men, militiamen and workers from the weaving and spinning plants."

Frightened by the mass protests, and fearing the people might take matters into their own hands, the DeGaulleists hastily convened a court-martial which imposed death sentences on six of the defendants, among them two rich factory owners named Jaquet and Pringuet. The N. Y. Times account then continues as follows:

"Some days later it was announced that these two (the capitalists) had been pardoned, but four others, all workers, would be executed. Crowds assembled again and refused to be pacified until informed that Jaquet and Pringuet had been shot in their cells by the FFI."

It is incidents such as this, in which the workers (who form the vast majority of the population of Maubeuge) exact their own justice against their class enemies, which have thrown the ruling class of France, and their Allied patrons, into panicky attempts to disarm the French masses. The events in Maubeuge—and they have been duplicated in many other parts of France—are given by the correspondent as "the determining factor in the decision to transform the militia," that is, to disarm the workers and incorporate their military formations into the regular army where they will be controlled and subjected to discipline by capitalist officers.

It is the Stalinists who are now responsible, together with the "Socialists," for holding the French workers back from a decisive struggle for the conquest of full power. They remain in the DeGaulle government. To retain their mass following, they "talk left" and protest the government's reactionary plans. But, fearing revolution, they refuse to lead a revolutionary struggle which would make the French working-class the master of its own destiny. That role belongs to the Trotskyists, who in the coming period will grow into a mighty organizer of the forces of the socialist revolution.

## How Corporations Resort To Strike Provocations

The anti-labor corporations piously claim their opposition to strikes now is due to patriotic war production motives, and not, as in the past, to their ardent desire to safeguard and increase their profits. If this were true, the employers could easily forestall strikes simply by yielding up some of their war-bloated profits in the form of wage increases and by ceasing the union-busting provocations which have been a major immediate cause of recent strikes.

A consuming passion to win the "war for democracy," has not prevented some of the biggest corporations from deliberate strike provocations when an ineffective, isolated strike might be turned to the advantage of the employers. Thus, corporations occasionally attempt to provoke a strike when the union is unprepared for such a struggle and when this will provide a pretext for harsh reprisals against the union and its best fighters.

In the Oct. 26 Voice of Local 212, Jess Ferrazza, President of Briggs Local 212, UAW-CIO, cites one startling proof: "On Friday, January 28, a union chairman of one of the Ford Rouge plants was in conference with a company labor relations man regarding a proposed rescheduling of work. In the course of the conference the labor relations man produced a pad containing production figures. While examining the pad the unionist happened to lift a few pages and his eyes fell on a note scribbled in the labor relations man's handwriting.

"The note said, 'Prod in shape to pull a strike. Force the issue, if not, hold tight.'

"The unionist later contrived to obtain the note after it had been torn to bits. It was pieced together, photostatic copies were made, and in a subsequent hearing, the labor relations official admitted that he wrote it. Although the daily press received the story, not a word appeared in the Detroit papers."

## Leading Bankers Involved In Tax-Evasion Scheme

A syndicate of America's most powerful finance capitalists, 168 banking firms headed by Morgan, Stanley and Co., Dillon Read and Co., and Kuhn, Loeb and Co., are involved in a tax-dodging and anti-trust case growing out of a \$115,000,000 refunding operation put over recently by the Pacific Gas and Electric Company.

The case is being "looked into" by the anti-trust division of the Department of Justice because of complaints of rival banking interests who were jockeyed out of their share of the loot by the Wall Street syndicate. They charge the syndicate, which acted as underwriters to float the huge refunding loan, was formed to prevent the sale of the securities through competitive bidding, as required by the Securities and Exchange Act.

This method of financing permits Pacific Gas and Electric to charge off \$8,620,000, the cost of floating the loan, to current operating costs, deductible from this year's income taxes. Thus, the U. S. Treasury, instead of the company, will be paying the cost of the refunding operation.

The anti-trust division was all set to place the matter in the hands of an investigating grand jury, when Attorney General Biddle sidetracked it "to avoid embarrassing a fellow cabinet member," Secretary of the Navy James V. Forrestal, peacetime head of Dillon Read, one of the biggest beneficiaries of the Pacific Gas financial manipulation.

## A 'Progressive Victory' And Its First Fruits

Only five days after Roosevelt's reelection, the pro-Roosevelt liberal N. Y. daily, PM, started to whine that "on the heels of a great progressive victory, the most reactionary elements in the Administration are about to seize control of a key postwar agency."

The first fruit of this "progressive victory," according to PM, is that Roosevelt's "Assistant President," War Mobilization Director Byrnes, "has persuaded the President to name two Jesse Jones men Tuesday to the new three-man Surplus War Property Disposal Board. . . Sam H. Husbands, long a member of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation board . . . and Col. Jos. P. Woodcock, executive assistant to Surplus War Property Administrator Will Clayton, Jones' right hand man."

Roosevelt, of course, wants to get around Congressional objections to his original one-man board of Clayton, which Congress changed to a three-man board. Clayton had been accused by Assistant Attorney General Norman Littell of using his position to aid big private real estate and mining interests, among others, to seize control of billions' worth of government lands and properties.

"Jones and Clayton are among the wealthiest men in the government and both are thoroughly imbued with the big business and reactionary point of view," writes PM. Their agents, Husbands and Woodcock, would have decisive influence in the "disposal" of approximately \$100 billions worth of government-owned plants, equipment, lands, stores, etc.

PM, which assiduously peddled the pap that a vote for Roosevelt was a vote for "progress," is hard put to explain Roosevelt's submission to Big Business "persuasion" and why right after "a great progressive victory" the "liberal forces here may find themselves in a direct clash with the White House on the floor of the Senate."

**FREE THE 12!**