

# SWP Statement on Dissolution of Comintern

## The Third International Is Dead--Long Live The Fourth International!

(The following statement was issued on May 25 by the National Committee of the Socialist Workers Party)

In dissolving the Communist International, the treacherous Stalin clique has provided official recognition of the fact that the Comintern has long been dead as a revolutionary international. Its place has been taken by Trotsky's Fourth International, which lives and fights and which nobody can dissolve.

The degeneration of the Comintern began in 1924, after Lenin's death. The degeneration was caused by the isolation of the first workers' state in capitalist encirclement and the rise in the Soviet Union of a privileged bureaucracy, product of the economic and cultural backwardness of the agrarian country inherited from the Czars. The bureaucracy was a fusion of the conservative wing of the Bolshevik Party and millions of state functionaries retained from the former Czarist and capitalist apparatus. The bureaucracy took advantage of the exhaustion of the masses after the civil war and was able to seize control of the party, the unions and, the state and to transform them into totalitarian instruments of the privileged caste. This process of degeneration could have been halted and turned back by victories of the proletarian revolution in advanced countries, but the Soviet bureaucracy in turn became the principal cause of the uninterrupted series of defeats sustained under its leadership by the workers of the world.

The Soviet bureaucracy consolidated its power under the banner of Stalin's reactionary and Utopian theory, first promulgated in October 1924, of building "socialism in one country" as against the Lenin-Trotsky program of international revolution. Events since then have fully demonstrated that "socialism in one country" means in reality socialism in no country. Instead of fighting for the extension of the October revolution to other countries, the Communist parties were deformed into puppets of Stalin's reactionary foreign policy. Instead of the World Congresses of the Comintern under Lenin and Trotsky (the first four Congresses, 1919-1922), the Soviet bureaucracy has held one Congress (1924) to seize control of the Comintern machinery; another (1928) to secure formal endorsement for the already accomplished expulsion, exile and imprisonment of the Left Opposition and to transfer the Comintern machinery into the hands of the Stalin clique at the top of the bureaucracy; and a final Congress (1935) to record the conversion of the Comintern to chauvinist support of any capitalist government allied with Stalin. Having thus sold the services of the Comintern to his capitalist "allies," Stalin could scarcely be expected to show any more compunction in similarly selling them its formal dissolution.

In 1933, in proclaiming the necessity for the Fourth International we, and our co-thinkers throughout the world, declared that the Comintern was dead as a revolutionary body, by which we meant that there could be no longer any hope of halting its degeneration and turning it back to its revolutionary origins. Like the Second International which preceded it, the Third International had become too ossified to permit of regeneration. This conclusion was rendered inescapable when the Stalinized Communist Party of Germany, with 600,000 members and six million followers, capitulated to Hitler fascism without a fight.

Stalin's monstrous crime in Germany climaxed other catastrophes which this organizer of defeats had perpetrated upon the international working class -- by his collaboration with the British trade union bureaucrats which facilitated their betrayal of the General Strike of 1926, his collaboration with Chiang Kai-shek which enabled the Chinese bourgeoisie to crush the Chinese revolution (1925-1927), etc.

Since 1933 we have seen the most deliberate betrayals of the workers by Stalin's Comintern, first in the service of the

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## New Jersey Unions Take Big Steps Toward Labor Party

Steps towards the creation of an independent labor party in New Jersey were taken this week at the seventh annual convention of the American Labor League held in Trenton, attended by 300 delegates, representing about 40 local unions and approximately 300,000 CIO and AFL workers.

While the convention did not organize a full-fledged political party, it did take three measures in that direction. (1) The Chairman of the League, Carl Holderman, was empowered to form a committee of 12 to conduct an organizing campaign in the six most highly industrialized counties in the state. (2) Three county organizations are to solicit individual memberships in the League and call a state-wide convention as soon as 50,000 membership cards are obtained. (3) An increase in the per capita tax on the League membership was voted to provide necessary funds.

The need for an independent labor party was clearly expressed by delegate Steve Remsen of the UAW who said, "What else can we do for our people, the workers? We can't strike any more because of our no-strike pledge. We can't get wage increases because of the War Labor Board

and Byrnes. The only thing left for us is independent political action."

### STALINIST OBSTRUCTION

The official leadership of the League in alliance with the Stalinists did their best to obstruct the formation of a labor party. Before the convention the Stalinists, whose main strength is in the Newark area in the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers locals, campaigned actively to send delegates to the convention instructed to vote against the formation of a labor party.

It was the pressure of the rank-and-file delegates from Shipyard locals 1 and 16, the dyers union, the auto locals, the Camden textile workers and the retail clerks that prevented the leadership from making the convention no more than an ineffective two-day talking spree for Roosevelt.

The delegates were warned against any blanket endorsement of Roosevelt by Samuel Colton, state executive secretary of the League, who said, "By 1944, it may be dangerous to go to labor and say, 'Support President Roosevelt.' The Chrysler strikes and the rubber strikes in Akron are anti-administration strikes. We want an independent labor party so that we can tell the President that he won't have labor's support in 1944 under any and all circumstances."

## How Strike of Detroit UAW Workers Began

DETROIT, May 24. — The rank and file walkout began at the Jefferson and Kercheval plants of Chrysler Corp. at 10 A. M. Thursday, May 20 when 8,500 workers walked out and formed a procession which wound around the buildings under a placard: "United We Stand." There was no further picketing after this demonstration. There was no need for it since sentiment was overwhelming against going to work until the grievances were settled.

The walkout immediately spread to the Dodge Main Plant containing over 12,000 workers and to the smaller Dodge Lynch Road plant. Next, 3,600 unionists closed the Kelsey-Hayes buildings. 2,500 workers then shut the de Soto Bomber plant. In addition to these the small Ray-Day factory staged a walkout. (The Dodge Truck Plant containing 4,000 men was forced to close on Saturday because of lack of parts.)

In all the plants it was the same story of failure to settle grievances. This is particularly true of the Chrysler and Dodge Plants. [See interview with a Chrysler union official which appears in this issue on page 4.]

Then there was ever present the question of promotions, demotions and departmental transfers in accordance with seniority rules. Men and women "were taken from the streets" for the better paying jobs whereas the old timers with long seniority records were not upgraded despite previous promises from the Chrysler and Dodge managements. It was just such an incident that touched off the spark in the Dodge plant.

About seven weeks ago Dodge opened up Department 229, the Sound Detector and Searchlight sections of the Radio Department. An agreement was made with the management that they would hire 300 workers to get the department started and after that they would transfer workers from other departments to take the better paying positions. Fourteen additional workers were taken off the street and the management refused to substitute older employees for these new people.

This dispute was raging when six additional girls were hired by the company at the rate of \$1.12 an hour while girls with a long seniority record were receiving from 93 to 97 cents per hour. This straw broke the camel's back and the Dodge workers acted with their feet. The deliberate provocations of the company was too much for the workers.

As Vincent Klein, Financial Secretary of Chrysler Local 7, explained, the answer to all the grievances was a flat—No! The company people would sit around in conference and grin. "Suppose we say no, what are you going to do about it? You can't strike!"

The Chrysler moguls are not the only ones who are baiting the men. This is likewise the studied policy of Henry Ford. To stay a

## Life Today In The Mining Towns

By George Breitman

PITTSBURGH, PA., May 24.—There are more than a half million coal miners in this country, but the great majority of city workers have little idea of the kind of life they live. Yet it takes only a short stay in the mining areas of Western Pennsylvania to get an approximate picture of their living conditions and to realize that their work is the hardest, most dangerous and, considering all aspects, the most underpaid of any important industry.

The typical miner in this area is not a young man or a newcomer to his work. He has worked in the mines since his youth. The age level is higher than before the war because so many miners have been drafted, probably a higher percentage than in industry generally; very few miners even ask for deferment. It is higher also because a considerable number of the youth in the mining areas have gone elsewhere, into higher-paying and far safer factory work.

### DAUGHTER WORK

Coal mining is a normally hazardous occupation. With the beginning of the war program, and with the greedy coal operators seeing the opportunity of a generation to swell their profits, production has been speeded up, the coal is not allowed to "bleed," and industrial accidents have increased.

In 1941, 64,000 of the men who go down into the mines were killed or injured. The number of casualties had increased to 75,000 by 1942, and the United Mine Workers estimates that dead and injured will reach the total of 100,000 in the mines this year.

Mine work is as unhealthy as it is dangerous. Working down in the earth subjects you to colds, rheumatism, asthma, the "miners' cough" and a host of other diseases.

The miner's toil is arduous, cramping, back-straining. When he comes out of the mines at the end of the work day, he is thoroughly exhausted. When you hear him complaining about the low meat ration and the meat shortage, it is not because he has a special fondness for meat but because he needs it to replenish his energy. Nowadays, he complains, he finds it hard to do any work after the first five or six hours.

The miner's community generally offers a dreary cultural life. He sometimes calls his home a shack, and that's a fair description for these barnlike structures owned by the coal companies and furnished with nothing but the walls when he moves in. There are plenty of beer taverns and churches and the general store, and in some places there is a movie. Where the union has a hall of its own, it becomes an im-

walkout of the men in the Ford Highland Park plant Ben Garrison, President of Ford Local 1400, and other local union officials staged a 23 hour sitdown in the office of Fred Clark, director of labor relations, until the latter agreed to discuss the men's grievances.

portant center, but this is all too rare.

The roads are poor and it is not easy to get around. The miner's kids have to travel a considerable distance to get to school. They don't have a chance to go far in school as a rule—they are taught to read and write and salute the flag, and they go to work at an early age.

### CAUSE OF THE CRISIS

The miner produced more coal last year than ever before.

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## Pioneer Publishes New Cannon Book

In the first five months of publication the sales of Leon Trotsky's latest book, "In Defense of Marxism," exceed those of any previous Pioneer Publication by Trotsky, reported Pioneer Publishers this week. Letters from all parts of the country indicate that this collection of articles and letters written during the last year of Trotsky's life has been immediately recognized as a Marxist classic.

Pioneer has just announced that "The Struggle for a Proletarian Party" by James P. Cannon is scheduled for June publication. This book is a companion volume to Leon Trotsky's "In Defense of Marxism." It completes the documentation of the historical struggle, waged within the Socialist Workers Party against petty-bourgeois revisionism. It shows how that struggle was organized and elucidates the principles of Bolshevik party organization more concretely and comprehensively than this subject has ever before been treated.

The book includes J. P. Cannon's pamphlet "The Struggle for a Proletarian Party;" his letters written during the factional struggle; and the S. W. P. resolutions. The organizational document of the petty-bourgeois opposition: "The War and Bureaucratic Conservatism" is printed as an appendix in order to contrast their principles on organization with those of the Trotskyists.

"The Struggle for a Proletarian Party" is approximately 300 pages. Clothbound copies will sell for \$2.00, paperbound \$1.50. Place advance orders with Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Pl., N. Y.

## Auto And Rubber Workers Join Miners In Militant Fight For Wage Increases

Workers Forced to Strike in Defense of Their Living Standards Slashed By Soaring Prices, Taxes, and Anti-Union Profiteers

### WLB Rejects Main Demands of Miners Negotiations With Operators Resumed By Miners' Union

Amidst a spreading strike wave, directed against the War Labor Board and its policy of "starving labor," the board announced on May 25 its decision in the United Mine Workers case, rejecting the demand of the union for a \$2 a day wage increase. The board also denied all the other important union demands, except to raise the present \$20 vacation pay allowance to \$50 and to direct the coal operators to furnish the miners with safety equipment and working tools. Chairman Davis of the WLB estimated that the elimination of these occupational charges would benefit the miners from 8 to 15 cents a day. The WLB also directed the coal operators to resume collective bargaining negotiations with the union on the issue of portal to portal pay.

The WLB, by its decision, has proved the truthfulness of the Mine Workers accusation that it is a "court packed against labor" as well as the correctness of the UMW leadership's policy in the present coal controversy of opposing the WLB and disputing its role as superarbiter of the American labor movement.

Although the labor representatives on the board decision in denying the miners the wage increase, they continue to hold their membership and by their presence and support are propping up this labor hating, corporatist dominated body.

Throughout the present crisis the coal operators have refused to engage in collective bargaining with the union. From the first they rejected all the union demands and insisted on throwing the case into the WLB. The capitalist newspapers are predicting that the way is now paved for an agreement granting portal to portal pay allowance to the coal miners. If in the negotiations which are likely to be resumed again, the coal operators do not come across and grant the mine representatives a satisfactory agreement a walkout will be precipitated by the end of the month, when the present truce period expires.

The men in the coal fields are growing increasingly impatient and bitter. The WLB decision, when it hits the coal fields will be viewed as a flaunting insult to the coal miners and their plea for a right to live.

By JOHN SAUNDERS

DETROIT, May 24.—29,000 members of Chrysler Local 7 and Dodge Local 2 employed by the Chrysler Corporation returned to work today in accordance with decisions made at union meetings yesterday afternoon. This ended their four day walkout which was provoked by the management's failure to bargain in good faith and settle the ever mounting grievances accumulated over the past eleven months.

These workers went back to the plants only after overwhelming pressure from the entire Federal and State governmental apparatus, the War Labor Board, the Army and Navy top officers, the F. B. I., the management supported by the whole capitalist press and all the radio news commentators. On top of all this the workers found that their own international officers were arrayed against them to a man.

Despite the frantic broadcasts of R. J. Thomas, the international president, every few hours over the radio and despite the speeches made by him and Richard Frankenstein, Vice-President of the UAW-CIO, at the Sunday afternoon meetings, the rank and file resisted the pressure as long as possible. They agreed to go back only after they saw no other course open because of the cowardly attitude of their international officials.

### WANT GRIEVANCES SETTLED

The rank and file made their sentiments known in no uncertain terms. They intended to see that the company bargained in good faith and were determined to stage another walkout if the management failed to live up to its agreement. But their wrath was mainly directed at their own international officers whom they called upon to "represent the workers and not the management."

Leo Lamotte, UAW Chrysler director, was singled out for special attention. At both meetings, resolutions were passed unanimously calling for his removal as director. Not even Thomas and Frankenstein dared come to his defense. Nor were the men satisfied when Thomas told them that he had appointed Frankenstein to sit in on future discussions with the management and the WLB. "Boo-Boo" Frankenstein received his usual share of Bronx cheers when he arose to speak. When he grabbed the mike to try and explain to a young militant worker why the local union men were not contacted by the international officers before they went into session with the management and the government officials, he was howled down from

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By JOE ANDREWS

AKRON, OHIO, May 24.—Outraged by the recent decision of the War Labor Board, 40,000 rubber workers in the Goodrich, Firestone and Goodyear companies, continued their protest strike into the third day.

After almost a year's delay, the WLB handed down a decision on May 21, granting only a three cent an hour wage increase to the rubber workers, and flatly rejecting their demands for night shift bonuses. This came after a WLB panel had recommended an 8 cent increase, to which the rubber workers are entitled according to the "Little Steel" formula. The labor members of the WLB dissented in the decision.

As soon as news of the decision reached the plants early Saturday morning, department after department at the Goodrich company walked out. By 10 a. m. the plant was shut down tight as a drum, and thousands of workers jammed the United Rubber Workers Local 5 hall nearby.

### SPONTANEOUS WALKOUTS

A similar angry reaction to the WLB ruling occurred at the Firestone plant, where almost all the workers quit work shortly after the news of the decision was out.

The walkouts were spontaneous. As the news of the WLB decision spread like wildfire through the various plant buildings of both Firestone and Goodrich, department meetings were held. Rank and file workers denounced the unjust ruling and threw down their tools.

The miserable three cent wage increase was an insult they could not take. When the larger departments walked out, the rest of the plants at both companies emptied like a sieve as workers poured out of every exit. After the first hour only those workers necessary for maintenance of working on perishable materials remained within, and this was by agreement with the strikers.

"We've waited 12 months, the WLB has pondered this thing for almost a year . . . and all for three cents an hour," one union leader stated. "That's our reward for patience."

The Goodyear Plant was not shut down immediately. This plant is not as well organized as the other two major plants. Some departments continued to work Saturday and Sunday, and a majority of the plant was shut down only after picket lines were stationed at the plant gates.

At Firestone small picket lines were sufficient to keep all workers out. At Goodrich no picket lines were necessary.

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## JAMES P. CANNON

National Secretary of The Socialist Workers Party Will Speak On

## THE END OF THE COMINTERN AND THE PROSPECTS OF LABOR INTERNATIONALISM

SUNDAY EVE., MAY 30 - 8 P. M. IRVING PLAZA - 15 IRVING PLACE - NEW YORK CITY

Question and Discussion Period

Auspices: Local New York, Socialist Workers Party



# TRADE UNION NOTES

By Michael Cort

The executive Council of the AFL has opened war upon the anti-labor laws which have been passing the State legislatures in wholesale lots.

On May 20 the council charged that union-restricting laws passed in Arkansas, Kansas, South Dakota, Idaho, Texas and Colorado, were "part of a sinister and underhanded attempt by fascist influence in America to tear the trade union movement apart and smash the economic and political strength of America's workers."

The A. F. L. announced it would test the constitutionality of the laws and in the meantime advised all unions to refuse to obey them.

The May 15 issue of the *United Automobile Worker* flies to the defense of UAW-CIO vice-president Walter Reuther, indignantly denying that he favors militant defense of the workers' living standards by strike action, as he has been "accused" by Stalinist leader Earl Browder.

"Reuther has always, since Lewis' break with President Roosevelt, vigorously criticized Lewis," writes the paper. "Reuther has... in every situation with which he has contact, opposed strikes during war time."

The San Pedro branch of the National Maritime Union, CIO, has followed the Stalinist line to its logical conclusion and joined the local Chamber of Commerce. Its officials will now find themselves surrounded by men who originated their no-strike, speed-up program.

The Stalinist drive for incentive pay (i. e., piece work, speed-up) has borne its first rotten fruit. Local 1225 of the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America, CIO, has signed an agreement calling for incentive

pay with the Eugene Mummell Mica Company in New York.

This is the first major breach in the line against piece work held by the workers against employer-Stalinist pressure. The May 22 issue of the *U. E. News*, official organ of the union, reports that the speed-up experts, Mitchell Fein Associates, "have been studying the jobs and methods and setting up standards of production."

The Textile Workers Union of America, CIO, ended its annual convention in New York City last week with ringing denunciations of FDR's wage and job freeze orders. While there was much resentment expressed by the delegates against employer-government anti-labor maneuvers, the leadership failed to present any program for the real defense of the workers' rights and living standards. There was a trust-Roosevelt-and-wait-and-see attitude.

The TWU claims a membership of 400,000—about one-third of the workers in the industry. After several years of bitter court fights, the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company has bowed to unionism for its white collar workers. It signed a contract with United Office and Professional workers, CIO, covering 2,000 workers in Greater New York.

The Tobin stooges in Minneapolis who pose as leaders of the Teamsters, are horrified at the miners because they have the courage to struggle for a living wage.

The May 13 issue of *Minnesota Teamster* defends the War Labor Board and blames the miners for repressive legislation. Says the paper editorially, "Labor can thank John L. Lewis for bringing on the latest campaign to curb labor unions drastically."

## Life Today In The Mining Towns

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despite the manpower shortage. This has meant record profits for the coal operators, but it has brought little benefit to the miner himself.

Price rises, increases in the real cost of living are staggering in the mine areas, even greater, as the OPA recently admitted, than in other industrial centers. The miner finds it harder to make ends meet than he did two or three years ago. This is at the bottom of the present coal crisis.

In ordinary times the miner gets little in return for his back-breaking work. He has a basic wage scale of \$7 a day but this does not mean that he gets that much. He has to pay for his tools and for their care, sharpening, etc. He has to pay for dynamite and other material to blast the coal, for the light on his cap, for the union check-weighman to weigh the coal and see that he is not cheated.

By the time deductions are completed—deductions for war bonds, food, rent, electricity, insurance, victory tax, union dues, etc.—the miner may have \$5 or \$10 left over for his other needs, or he may have as little as fifty cents.

### WHAT HE DISLIKES

The miner is not given to complaining, he goes about his work as a rule without griping, although as his enemies are well aware, he knows how to fight as militantly as any other worker in the world. But he feels bitter about many things today.

He doesn't like to have the struggle to maintain his none-too-high living conditions denounced as unpatriotic. He does not feel that he is an enemy of the country which he helped build because he wants to have enough food to be able to continue to do his work.

He has a son or brother in the armed forces and if he is not beyond the age limit he may soon be there himself. He does not like to be told that he is "aiding Hitler" when he fights to maintain living standards for himself and his son's or brother's family.

He wants to mine coal and knows that it is not his fault if mine operations are discontinued. His union is willing and eager to bargain collectively with the mine operators. But the mine operators who are depending on the government to defend their profits are the ones responsible for the recent walkout because they refused to continue collective bargaining.

### HE WANTS TO MINE COAL

He wants to mine coal and he reminds you that the union offered to accept the guarantee of

a 52 week work year, but that the operators refused. He asks if it is not strange to be denounced as an enemy of his country by the press and the radio when he asks for the right to work 6 days a week every week in the year.

He does not like to be in a situation where the government tells him that he cannot strike because he is a government employee and then the government refuses to negotiate a contract with his union.

He is somewhat angry about all these things, just as he is angry to see some of the officials of the CIO attacking his union and his union leadership. He remembers that it was the United Mine Workers which helped to organize the CIO and the powerful industrial unions in auto, steel, rubber, etc.

The capitalist newspaper which he reads does not tell much about the pro-miner sentiments predominant in the ranks of the CIO and AFL unions, and he is extremely happy to learn that regional conferences of the United Auto Workers and the Sailors Union of the Pacific have expressed complete support for his present fight.

### WHAT THEY DIDN'T EXPECT

The miners has been hit with a lot of pressure in the last two months — by Roosevelt, Congress, the press, the War Labor Board, Ickes, the labor fakers, Stalinists and so on.

But this pressure has had an effect little expected by these people. The more they threaten and denounce, the more certain the miner is that his union is his best friend, and the more determined he becomes to stand fast with his union and to support it in any struggle into which it may be forced.

Every miner is keenly aware of how much blood, sweat and tears went into the building of his organization. He suspects that his enemies are more concerned with smashing its power than in dealing reasonably with the merits of the coal wage dispute. He knows that if his union is weakened today, he will be defenseless tomorrow, and he has rallied behind his union more firmly than ever before because he wants to protect both his present and his future.

If the government and the coal operators think they can bulldoze the miner or turn him against his union or prevent him from going through with his fight to preserve his living standards, I earnestly recommend to them that they send a few investigators into the mine areas where they will quickly learn how mistaken they are.

# SWP on Dissolution of Comintern

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Franco-Soviet pact, then in the service of the pact with Hitler, and since 1941 again for the "democracies." In France the Comintern agents joined with Leon Blum in halting the revolutionary strike wave of 1936, giving full support to Daladier who ended by crushing the labor movement; the Hitler-Stalin pact completed the demoralization of the French proletariat on the eve of the war. In Spain the Comintern agents led the most reactionary bourgeois and reformist elements in crushing the Spanish revolution, breaking the morale of the fighters against Franco and facilitating his victory. When these treacherous acts failed to win from the "democracies" sufficiently substantial guarantees of an alliance for the coming war, Stalin made his pact with Hitler, including the "peace offensive" and "anti-war" activities of the Comintern.

## The Crimes of Stalinism

When this policy in turn collapsed and Hitler was able to attack the Soviet Union, Stalin turned the Comintern to the service of his new "allies." Already in 1933, as the price of diplomatic relations with Washington, the Roosevelt-Litvinov agreement pledged Stalin not to permit the residence on Soviet territory "of any organization or group, which has as an aim the overthrow" of the U. S. government. The Comintern and the Communist Party of the United States ceased to have that aim; now the Comintern ceases official existence altogether.

Stalin's latest act merely completes the demonstration of how correct were the genuine revolutionists in all countries when, in 1933, they joined with Leon Trotsky in calling for the Fourth International, a decision given complete organizational expression by the World Congress of the Fourth International in Paris in 1938.

Before Stalin dared to bury the Comintern, he first had to assassinate Leon Trotsky in August 1940, for Lenin's great co-worker, the only one who had escaped the Moscow trials and purges, remained as the living embodiment of proletarian internationalism. But neither the assassination of Trotsky, nor Stalin's murders of Trotskyists in Spain, France, Switzerland, etc., nor his ferocious physical destruction of the Trotskyists in the Soviet Union, nor his present attempt to discredit the very idea of an international, can halt the growth of the international workers' party. The proletarian international cannot be dissolved! It is the imperishable idea and irrepressible need of world unity, which can only be achieved through the proletarian world revolution. The Communist International of Lenin and Trotsky, the Communist International of the first four Congresses, still lives on in the Fourth International, the World Party of Socialist Revolution. Stalin, usurper of the mantle of Lenin, long ago abandoned the revolutionary heritage of Lenin to the Bolshevik-Leninists — the Trotskyists. Not internationalism but Stalin's degenerate caricature of it has been thrown into the discard. The Third International is dead. Long live the Fourth International!

The real character of the Comintern was illumined by the method employed by Stalin in dissolving it. In complete violation of the Comintern's own statutes, a ukase by Stalin's puppets in Moscow is sufficient, without any pretense of prior discussion in the constituent parties. The members of the Communist Party learned about the dissolution from the capitalist press. The ostensible excuse for this totalitarian method is the impossibility of calling a Congress in wartime to settle the question. But the question still could have been posed privately to the constituent parties, discussed by the membership and voted upon. It is ludicrous, however, to suggest such a method when in reality the line has been handed down from Moscow to a totalitarianized Comintern for nearly two decades.

The arguments for dissolution adduced by Stalin's puppets in their "resolution of the Executive Committee" are reactionary to the core. It says not one word about the fact that the International arose as the product of the world-wide character of modern economy — a character which of course is not obliterated by Stalin's ukase. It does not even mention the original goal of the International — world socialism. It is equally silent about the method for achieving that goal — the class struggle. At the very height of the growth of the Communist International, when great mass parties were represented from many countries at the Fourth Congress in 1922, no one dreamed of arguing that these powerful parties could do without an international center; yet today, when Stalin's policy has led those parties to destruction and only a handful

of parties remain, the resolution has the effrontery to assert that "the growth and political maturity of the Communist Parties" renders an international center no longer necessary!

It was the proud and justified boast of the founders of the International that it united the "cavalry of the West" — the industrial proletariat of the advanced countries — with the "infantry of the East" — the great masses of the colonial world. Just as the revolutionary party in a given country serves to unite the heterogeneous elements of the workers and the oppressed masses, so the International was to give world cohesion to the workers of different tongues and cultures and stages of economic and political development. The International was to coordinate the different stages of development of the workers' movement into one united activity, to aid the weaker with the services of the stronger, the new parties with the rich experience of the older parties. In a word, the International was to make up for the heterogeneity of the world proletariat.

Yet precisely this heterogeneity is now adduced by the Comintern resolution to justify its dissolution! It declares that the "deep difference in the historical roads of development of each country of the world" and "the difference in the degree of consciousness and organization of the workers" is an "insuperable obstacle" to the functioning of an international center — a center which was founded for just these reasons! The resolution solemnly recalls that Bolsheviks "never advocated the preservation of those organizational forms which have become obsolete" — as an argument for dissolving organization altogether!

## False Precedents

Finally, hunting for a historical precedent, and unable even with Stalinist falsifications to pretend that Lenin ever envisioned anything like this, Stalin's puppets write that they "remember the example of the great Marx" who dissolved the First International. They pretend that Marx did so, "as a result of the growing need to create national workers' mass parties." It is true that Marx and his collaborators dissolved the First International. But, unlike Stalin, Marx never pretended that its dissolution represented a victory. On the contrary, he called its last Congress (at Geneva 1873) "a fiasco" and recorded honestly the fact that the defeat of the Paris Commune and the development of opportunism and anarchism in the European labor movement had disintegrated the International by internal conflict. Lest its great historical example be disgraced by its falling into the hands of anti-Marxist elements, he sponsored its removal to New York and its final dissolution in 1876. At the very first opportunity for a second Marxist International it was launched by Marx's followers in 1889. The First International went down in defeat, but with its revolutionary integrity unimpaired and its great lessons clear to all the workers of the world. The Third International, like the Second, goes down in defeat as an anti-revolutionary body which long ago lost every vestige of honor.

It is characteristic of Stalin's International that its first and only public declaration since Hitler's attack on the Soviet Union is the declaration of its dissolution. The argument that the International is an instrument which was good for peacetime but not for wartime is not a new argument. Last time, however, it was made by one who was openly an enemy of Leninism — Kautsky, the apologist for the chauvinist disintegration of the Second International during World War I. That international ceased to function during the war and in reality never functioned again. The profoundly symbolic act of the dissolution of the Comintern during war indicates that it is following in the footsteps of its predecessor in this as in all its treachery to internationalism.

The dissolution does not of course mean an end to the utterly reactionary interference of Stalinism in the labor movement. The services of Stalinism in this field are too valuable to the capitalists at present for them to insist on immediate dissolution of the Communist party and its various agencies in the trade unions. The most open and vicious strikebreakers in the United States today are Stalin's agents, and they will not cease their dastardly work. So long as it suits their master they will serve Wall Street as its most valuable agency today in fighting against the interests of the American workers.

For the moment the dissolution is a substantial gesture by Stalin to curry favor with Washington and Wall Street. But tomorrow they will demand still more, meeting Stalin's requests for food and equipment with ever-greater pressure upon the Kremlin. The capitalists want from Stalin a free

hand in their attempt to crush the European revolution which will inevitably follow the collapse of Hitler; they want indeed not only a free hand but Stalin's participation with them in the counter-revolutionary attempt. In return for goods and frontier concessions, Stalin will accede to their demands. But this too will not satisfy the capitalists. They fear not only the revolutionary European proletariat but also the continued existence of the nationalized economy of the Soviet Union.

For the capitalists understand very well that the very basis of Stalin's power — the nationalized economy of the Soviet Union created by the October revolution — cannot be kept indefinitely in the narrow nationalistic limits to which Stalin attempts to assign it. The capitalists understand that eventually either private property or the nationalized economy must prevail in the world. Hence they will not press Stalin for help in crushing the European revolution but will also make demands designed to undermine the nationalized economy of the Soviet Union. So long as they have not succeeded in decisive steps toward the restoration of private property in the Soviet Union, the capitalists will insist on retention of all possible jumping-off points in Europe for an assault on the USSR. Stalin's attempts to appease the "democracies" thus endanger the very existence of the nationalized economy of the Soviet Union.

How far he is prepared to go to appease them is indicated by his attitude toward the German proletariat. The final document of the Comintern does not by a word express solidarity with the Communists and class-conscious workers of Germany! The German Communists neither exist nor are accorded any tasks now or in the future by the Comintern resolution. But this follows logically from the vile Stalinist propaganda which blames the German proletariat for the rise of Hitler and thus paves the way for oppression of the German nation as a whole by the victorious "democracies." With Germany at its disposal, Wall Street would inevitably dominate the Soviet Union.

Fortunately for the future of humanity, neither the German workers nor the European proletariat as a whole are Stalin's to barter. The German working class is the largest, most advanced and most powerful in Europe. It is destined to play the decisive role in the coming European revolution. Steeled and hardened under the terrible oppression of Hitler fascism, the cadres of the German proletariat will lead into the revolution masses steeped in the most advanced industrial technique and military training. Likewise the workers of France and Belgium and all Europe will never go back to capitalist oppression and a divided Europe. No deal between Stalin and Roosevelt will prevent the revolution whose task of establishing the Socialist United States of Europe has been hammered home by two World Wars.

The lightning of the European revolution will in turn explode the powder keg on which Stalin is sitting. The Soviet masses have endured the totalitarian oppression of the Kremlin because the capitalist invader stood poised to strike at the frontier. The European revolution will free them from that fear. The Soviet proletariat has made three revolutions. We are confident that it will settle accounts with the usurper in the Kremlin when the horizons of the Soviet Union are ringed with red instead of brown. That is what the "democratic" capitalists fear when they refer to the danger of a revival of "Trotskyism" in the Soviet Union — the revival of the political independence of the Soviet masses, which can only mean a policy of revolutionary internationalism by the regenerated Soviet state.

All this can and shall be achieved by the Fourth International!

Members of the Communist Party! Stalin's latest act has demonstrated, if further proof were necessary, that his false policy cannot be combatted from within the Comintern; even the semblance of the machinery for opposing him from within no longer exists. Every Communist worker who remains true to internationalism must draw the necessary conclusions. The defense of the Soviet Union, the defense of the interests of the international working class, requires now more than ever a genuine Communist International. The national Communist Parties are neither communist nor parties. You must leave them and enter the Communist International of Lenin and Trotsky — the Fourth International. Join the ranks of the Socialist Workers Party, unite with us and the Fourth International parties throughout the world. No one shall, no one can, dissolve our International. Join us and help make the International what our traditional anthem has declared it must be: the International Party shall be the human race!

# THE MINERS' WIVES SPEAK OUT

By JAMES COOK

PITTSBURGH, PA., May 24—An unusual feature of the present fight of the miners is the outspokenness of their wives. In the past struggles of the miners the wives have usually played their roles quietly in the background, reticent and shy, unaccustomed to public light as the miner himself is to the light of the noon day sun.

In the present crisis the wives of the coal miners are as indignant and outspoken as the men themselves. From the very forward tip of the platform they are decrying their own miserable conditions and substandard existence. They are not hesitant about speaking up against the coal operators for their war profiteering and indifference to the daily needs of the men who mine the coal for them.

One miner's wife in Library, Pa., said to me, "Why, it's just plain hypocrisy on the part of those operators. They know how prices have gone up. Look at their own company store; they used to sell a number four shovel for \$1.45, that was in 1941, now they have it priced for \$2.45. Hard toe shoes have gone up from \$2.95 to \$4.95 and \$6.95. How do they expect us to pay more money for these things that the men can't do their work without if they don't give us some more pay?"

A few houses down there was a woman working her victory garden. It wasn't more than a little two-by-four patch. You might think that because of all the elnder and ash and slate around that nothing could possibly grow there. But she did have some green-looking things coming up that promised to be vegetables of some kind. Having heard that I was from *The Militant*, a newspaper that was telling the truth about the miners, she called me over:

"I have been watching our pay

for the past year very close trying to see where the money goes," she said. "I can tell you if we didn't get at least one extra Saturday in every pay we just wouldn't have enough to buy the food we need. Let alone getting anything else."

I asked her what part of her money goes for food, remembering that the President in his radio speech to the miners had mentioned one-third as going towards food.

### FOOD COSTS

"Maybe before the war it used to be about one-third but the way prices are now it is closer to two-thirds of our income. And that don't leave us anything at all in case we have to call a doctor or for clothing or anything else. I can tell you one thing, Mister, they better give us some more pay or they won't be seeing any more coal to make a profit on."

As you walk through one company town after another, there is a refrain that seems to hang in the air and linger in your ears, a

The children will plead for a nickel from their mothers to buy some sweet cakes in the store. The mothers of course give in to the pleas and invariably shout after the children as they are excitedly running away, "Watch your money, son!"

Down in Coverdale, Pa., which is situated closer to Pittsburgh, those who have automobiles manage to stretch their dollars a bit by doing their shopping in town. As one woman said, "We might rent a bus and take the whole company town down to Pittsburgh, but even then you wouldn't have enough money for the food we need."

### TYPICAL CASE

The most vigorous expression of the sentiment of the coal miners' wives came from a younger looking woman whose husband had been mining for 11 years. They have two children. Of their general conditions she said, "For all the time my husband has worked in the mines, we never once drew a good pay. Last year around

Christmas time it looked like we were going to get caught up but then these prices started going up again. About four fifths of our money has to go for food here. Children eat as much as men do, sometimes mine eat more than I can. They're growing, you've got to feed them."

Her house looked neat and clean as all the miners' houses do. And this takes a lot of "woman's work" when you consider that everything in these company houses outside of the walls has to be installed and cared for by the miners themselves. Cooking is done with coal as there are no gas lines. The soft coal in the area penetrates through every crack in the house making a thoroughgoing cleaning a daily necessity.

She seemed to be tired as she spoke and the words rushed out of her as though hurrying to express all the thoughts that welled up in her. She wasn't only speaking of herself. The conditions of other miners' families are the same as hers. Their enemy is the

same. Their conclusions must be like hers:

"It isn't only that we want enough money to live on. We have to have some little bit to put aside. When the kids grow up, if they should want learning and have the knack for it, well, it costs money to give it to them."

I interposed that it looked as though the coal operators didn't care much about that. They just figured on the kids growing up and going to work in the mines. She hastily went on: "Yes, but haven't we got anything to say about our own kids? And another thing is, the way the government is telling you you got to stay on this job and you can't get any more money. If you just make enough money to buy your food with and live from day to day, you aren't going to have any pride in what you're doing. I got a brother in the army. How do they expect him or my husband to fight for their country if they haven't got any pride in it?"



## The Negro Struggle

By Albert Parker

### The NAACP Conference and Politics

As we said in this column last week, a basic requirement for effective work in wartime by organizations trying to abolish Jim Crowism is that they conduct their activities on the basis of a policy independent of the government's desires and unspoken dictates. They must break the grip of the administration's domination over their policies and work out a program based exclusively on what is needed to advance the Negro's struggle, we said, or else they will be bound hand and foot by the false doctrine of "national unity" and be unable to make any progress at all against their enemies. With this fundamental idea in mind, we wish to discuss the coming conference of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (Detroit, June 3-6) and the question of politics.

The struggle for Negro equality has a many-sided character. It must be fought on the economic field — in the factories, on the farms, in the unions. It must be fought on the social field — in the sphere of housing, in education, etc. But above all, especially in wartime when all other questions are directly affected by governmental decisions, it must be fought on the political arena.

It is hard to think of a single aspect of the Negro struggle which is not tied up with and dependent on what goes on in Washington. Legislation rests in the hands of the two capitalist parties. They decide whether the anti-poll tax bill will be passed or whether 10,000,000 whites and Negroes in the South will remain excluded from the ballot. They decide whether anti-lynch legislation shall be enacted or whether the lynch mobs shall continue to feel completely free of federal constraint.

They have the power to decide, as they did early this month, that Negroes in the South can be tied to their home counties and prevented from going North to work in factories by their county agent who is naturally anxious to keep them where they are in the present period of manpower shortage. They control the activities of agencies such as the Fair Employment Practices Committee which is supposed to investigate job discrimination against Negroes. They have the power to permit or to discontinue segregation in the armed forces.

They decide that wages should be frozen while prices continue to rise, that jobs should be frozen, that the workers' right to strike in self-defense should be suspended.

In short, the capitalist parties are the forces which must be fought if the conditions of the Negro and white masses are to be safeguarded. They cannot be fought successfully except by political action. Yet, in spite of these undeniable facts, the NAACP and most other national Negro organizations refuse to enter openly and boldly into the political struggle.

Instead they confine themselves largely to lobbying. There is nothing wrong in lobbying by itself, although it is usually ineffective. But pleading with capitalist politicians to vote for a certain bill, or even demanding it of them, is necessary only because the administration and Congress are controlled by parties which are hostile to the interests of the masses. There would be no need for lobbying

if the Negro and white workers had their own representatives in Washington, if they had a Workers' and Farmers' Government. Such representatives and such a government would reflect the interests of the masses and would need no pressure to pass and enforce legislation against Jim Crowism.

But the leaders of the NAACP and similar organizations, although they know the truth of what is said above, refuse to participate in the political struggle, insisting that the organizations they head must remain "non-partisan." To do otherwise, they assert, would result, not in gaining support for their objectives, but on the contrary in losing support. No doubt this is a reference to the many capitalist politicians who are members of the NAACP board of directors or who once a year pay membership dues in the local branches.

It is true that such people would be deeply offended if the NAACP were to come out in opposition to the two capitalist parties; they certainly wouldn't like to see the NAACP supporting a party and candidates who really represent the working people. Similarly this would also be frowned on by some of the wealthy "philanthropists" who save their consciences every once in a while by making financial contributions to the NAACP. But if these people were to quit because the NAACP opposed the capitalist parties, it would be little real loss, for in their place would come tens and hundreds of thousands of Negro workers who would be aroused by such anti-capitalist party action on the part of the NAACP. Their enthusiasm and militancy would more than make up for the departure of the politicians and philanthropists.

There are some Negro leaders who recognize the need for unified political action by the colored masses. But what kind of action do they propose? Last week Earl B. Dickerson, member of the NAACP board of directors and of the FEPC, announced that he had launched in Chicago a "People's Movement for Independent Political Action," whose purpose is to "rally Negro support behind issues and men regardless of party affiliations." At a meeting in St. Louis at almost the same time A. Philip Randolph of the March-On-Washington Movement called on Negroes to organize a strong political bloc on a non-partisan basis. These proposals have this in common: neither one proposes truly independent political action; both are aimed at winning concessions by exerting pressure on the capitalist parties but not at challenging the basic power of these parties.

To fight for their rights on the political field, the Negroes must break altogether with the capitalist parties, and help form a political organization of the masses to achieve their political aims. This does not mean that we call upon the NAACP at its coming conference to turn itself into a political organization. Such a course would be both inadvisable and impossible. But what the NAACP can do and should do, if it wishes to advance the Negro cause and increase its influence among the masses, is to denounce both capitalist parties and to call on the trade unions, the real allies of the Negro, to build an Independent Labor Party.

## New Pamphlet On Fight for Negro Equality Published By Pioneer

Pioneer Publishers' new pamphlet, "The Struggle for Negro Equality," which appeared for sale this week, is a document that should be placed in the hands of every fighter against Jim Crowism in this country. It is not only the best and most thorough analysis of the causes of discrimination and segregation that can be found in current literature on the subject; it is also the kind of article which will play a leading fight in the Negro struggle for years to come.

Written by John Saunders and Albert Parker, whose writings appear regularly in *The Militant*, the pamphlet is sub-titled: "The Program Of The Socialist Workers Party." It is 32 pages long and divided into four main sections: The Negro Under Capitalism; Emancipation Through Socialism; Other Parties And Programs; Activities Of The Socialist Workers Party.

Under these sections the pamphlet deals with the following questions: the source of race prejudice in modern society; the origin of the "Negro inferiority" myth and its use by capitalism today; how capitalist evils produce allies for the Negroes; the

Negro's place in the post-war world; the relation of the government to the Negro masses.

The pamphlet briefly outlines the kind of world that will be ushered in by the socialist revolution and how a Workers' and Farmers' Government will act to prevent discrimination. Under this section there is also a short account of the measures in this field taken in the Soviet Union under Lenin and Trotsky, and the Trotskyist program for dealing with the problem of the South.

The programs of the capitalist parties, middle class Negro groups, "Negro nationalists" and the Stalinists are reviewed and analyzed. The pamphlet closes with a picture of the Socialist Workers Party, its inner-party race relations, its anti-Jim Crow activities in the factories and unions and Negro organizations.

The pamphlet sells for only 5 cents per copy, and 3½ cents in bundles of ten or more. It can be ordered from Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Pl., New York, or local branches of the Socialist Workers Party.

## More Protests On Davies' Film

More and more voices are making themselves heard in the rising tide of protest against the Davies' whitewash film, "Mission To Moscow" which has been correctly denounced by Professor John Dewey as "the first instance in our country of totalitarian propaganda for mass consumption — a propaganda which falsifies history through distortion, omission or pure invention of facts."

In a statement issued last week, James T. Farrell, noted author of "Studs Lonigan," declared that:

### DAVIES' WHITEWASH GETS STATE DEPT. BLESSING

In his column for May 12, Drew Pearson stated that "Ambassador Joseph Davies' film 'Mission To Moscow' has been welcomed by the State Department as one of the most important movies which could have been made at this time to help the American people understand Russia."

Apparently the State Dept. continues to disclaim any responsibility officially while bestowing its blessing "unofficially."

### STATEMENT OF JAMES T. FARRELL

"Mission To Moscow" follows the prescription for propaganda written by Hitler in 'Mein Kampf': it tells a big lie. The purpose of big lies in totalitarian propaganda is that of falsifying history. This film is a gross and shameless falsification of history. It misrepresents the Moscow trials, the history of Russian foreign policy in recent years, and the sequence of events which

happened in America prior to Pearl Harbor."

Farrell's statement further points out that "Mr. Davies in his book, and Warner Brothers in the film, have completely ignored the records of the investigation conducted by the Commission of Inquiry of which Dr. John Dewey was chairman. And yet, Mr. Davies boasts of his fair-mindedness and objectivity."

"Warner Brothers has spent well over a million dollars on a film which carries the message that Leon Trotsky was an agent of Hitler. And they even lack the courage to introduce Trotsky in the picture as a character. Why? Has Warner Brothers a guilty conscience?"

"Long before any Hollywood studio would dare to consider a picture which attacked fascism or had one favorable word to say of the Soviet Union, long before the fight against fascism became a proposition in which the film studio could spend and make huge sums of money, Trotsky was a bitter foe of fascism. He wrote urgently calling for the fight against Hitler's assumption of power. After Hitler became Reichschancellor, Trotsky wrote predicting that Hitler would be the Super-Wrangel attacking the Soviet Union: it is a known fact that Trotsky never deviated from his position advocating defense of the Soviet Union. Trotsky's political record is totally ignored. Why?"

"Trotsky and the old Bolsheviks are dead; you cannot injure the dead; when you misrepresent the dead, you injure the living. And in this case, the living are right here in this country. Opposition to the falsifications contained in this film is an immediate and practical question. It concerns us here and now. It has happened here in a reverse way,



Thousands of copies of THE TRUTH ABOUT "MISSION TO MOSCOW" AND THE MOSCOW TRIALS are being distributed from coast to coast wherever the film is being shown.

totalitarian methods have been introduced into American culture."

Among the many protests against the film is one signed by 52 leading writers, educators, editors, and labor and Negro leaders. In this statement it is asserted that "Mission To Moscow" falsifies history and even distorts the very book on which it is based. Among the signatories are George S. Counts, state chairman of the American Labor Party; Harry D. Gideonse, President of Brooklyn College; A. Philip Randolph, President, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, AFL; Max Danish, editor of Justice, publication of ILGWU, AFL; Frank R. Crosswaith, chairman Negro Labor Committee; Joseph Schlossberg, Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union, CIO and others.

The statement has been sent for approval "to more than 500 leading American." Additional signa-

tures have been received from B. F. McLaughlin, National Secretary, March on Washington Movement; Arthur G. McDowell, National Representative in Missouri; Textile Workers Union, CIO; Harry Lundberg, President Seafarers International Union, and others. The latest Stalinist lie in connection with the protests against the Davies' film is that most of the signatories to the above statement are Trotskyists. The fact is that in the entire list there is not a single Trotskyist.

One of the main aims of the "Mission To Moscow" production was fulfilled when Mr. Davies, on his second trip to the Kremlin, delivered the film. "Mr. Stalin appeared to enjoy the film tremendously, it was said." (N. Y. Times, May 24). What murderer would not be pleased at so elaborate a white wash of his crimes?

## South African Negro Miners And Natives Live Like Slaves

By Henry Parker

(The writer of this article is a European South African, who worked for years in the South African mines. His data, is therefore, first hand.)

"What has shocked every black man from South Africa is the behavior of your British Tommies. Their character is wonderful and to explain it can need many pages. They shake hands with us, they talk to us, they sit next to us in the cinema, they drink beer with us. Even when one goes to the British hospital he gets the same food with them, he lies in one bed with them, he is given a bed in the ward same to other beds and blankets, he is sent to the ward according to the nature of his sickness. They have offered us more kindness than God has done. It is the first time in life that we have seen people of that kind."

This excerpt of a letter from a South African Zulu soldier to H. G. Wells, conveys to anyone conversant with the colonial conditions of the native, a moving reminder of the race hatred which permeates the relations between white and black people of South Africa, and of the horrible conditions endured by its black population of 8,000,000.

In a country where the cost of living is higher even than it is in England, the wages paid to the black workers in the towns averages less than one lb. a week. At least 5 shillings of this has to be spent on travelling fares to and from the "locations" in which the natives are compelled by law to live.

These locations are usually miles away from the industrial and commercial parts of the towns, and are entirely segregated from European habitation. Overcrowding exists in every single location throughout the country, the majority of workers living in shacks of corrugated iron and bits of packing cases, while the gaps are stuffed with old sacks. Sanitary arrangements are either entirely inadequate or do not exist at all. Water has to be drawn from communal pumps, and diphtheria rages.

In some areas these locations resemble concentration camps. High barbed wire fences have been built around them to prevent the inhabitants from leaving their prison at night, and to prevent trespassers from entering. The municipal location managers have declaratory powers and can refuse permission to anyone to enter a location under their control.

After paying rates and compulsory poll tax the worker and his family try to eke out an existence on 10 shillings or 12 shillings a week. Malnutrition, miserable housing and unsanitary conditions take tremendous toll of human

life. An average of five out of every ten children die within a month of being born.

### CONDITIONS OF NEGRO PEASANTS

The conditions of natives in the rural areas are even worse than those of their urban brothers. They are forced to hire out their own labour, as well as that of their whole family, to the white farmers, for 5 lbs. a year. For 2 shillings a week the husband works on the land, while his wife does the domestic work in the farmer's household, and the children herd the sheep and cattle.

They live in mud huts and are clothed in sacks and rags. From the wages they earn half is paid in taxes. Most of the land in South Africa is owned by European farmers. An acreage of land considered inadequate for one white farmer is divided between no fewer than 600 colored peasants and with primitive methods of agriculture on infertile land, can hardly raise sufficient produce to pay their poll tax, and millions of them starve. Under these conditions hundreds of thousands are compelled by starvation to travel hundreds of miles from their homes to the gold mines of the Witwatersrand.

### NATIVE MINERS LIVE IN CONCENTRATION CAMPS

In the mines they work 14 hours a day thousands of feet below the surface for an average of 2 shillings a day. The natives are contracted to work down the mines for 18 months. During this period they are forced by law to

live in compounds on the mining property on which they work.

These "compounds" are nothing short of prisons. Huge brick barracks with a single entrance and central quadrangle. From 10,000 and 20,000 miners are housed in this one building. They sleep fifty in a room on concrete bunks. They have no facilities for washing and their food is usually unfit for human consumption. For 18 months they are cooped up in these compounds, separated from their wives and families and forbidden to bring womenfolk into the compound. Daily, they are marched like criminals to and from the shaft head. At the end of this period, they return home human wrecks and with only enough money to pay their land and poll taxes.

### SLAVERY ABOLISHED — BUT THE NATIVES ARE STILL SLAVES

All natives in South Africa are compelled to carry an identification pass and a poll tax receipt at all times. In addition, special permits must be carried on special occasions. Throughout the country, natives are subject to curfew at night in their own land. If they wish to be out after nine o'clock at night they are forced to ask their employer or location manager for a special permit or "pass." If they wish to travel from town to town, this also requires a special pass. They cannot seek work, unless they have another special "worksoek" pass.

They are subject to constant fear of the police, who can stop them at any time and demand to

see their passes and tax receipts. At night their houses are raided and searched without warrant by the police. The organization of mine workers into trade unions is illegal, and any worker found guilty of this crime is brutally punished.

War has brought worsened conditions to the downtrodden black people and compelled thousands to volunteer for service in the army. Under this horrible and brutal regime it is natural that all natives are forbidden to carry weapons of any kind. Even possession of a knife, not to speak of firearms is a criminal offence. Even the native troops are not allowed to learn the use of instruments of war to defend themselves. Their only role in the present South African army is that of a Labour corps. The native South Africans are of course, separated from the white South African troops. But it has been found impossible to completely segregate them from the British Tommies. The British officer caste have readily adopted, as they have always practiced in India and other parts of Africa, the ideas of the South African anti-blacks, but unlike the professional armies of the past the modern British Tommies conscript workers have treated the blacks as fellow workers. With profound democratic instinct, they have refused to discriminate against them because the colour of their skin is different.

The British workers really believe in the freedom and equality for all which has been proclaimed by the Atlantic Charter. The hypocrisy of the ruling class is shown by the fact that South Africa is an ally allegedly to help in the fight against tyranny, race discrimination and oppression. Nowhere, do we find a denunciation of the regime in South Africa — a regime of despotic race barbarism it would be hard for Hitler to equal. On the contrary all efforts are made to conceal the truth from the British workers.

As a Liberal, H. G. Wells sent the letter from the Zulu soldier to the B. B. C. Naturally they refused to publicize it. For this would expose the real conditions of racialism under the Union Jack. Nevertheless, the actions of the brothers and sons of the British workers in the army are something of which the British workers can be proud. They show the true instinct and class solidarity of the oppressed. It is a good omen for the future of the working class. Fascism and race hatred will never be destroyed by the capitalists of any nation. Only the taking of power by the working class will end the basis of race discrimination and racial barbarism. The soldier-workers have shown by their attitude that instinctively they see, that in the words of Marx, "Labour with a white skin can never be free while labour with a black skin is branded." The task of the revolutionary workers' government is to make that instinct conscious.

## British Masses Not Bound By Churchill Promises

By M. Morrison

Churchill's speech delivered before the joint session of Congress contained a promise which was pleasing to the ears of the American capitalists but which can not possibly create any great enthusiasm among the British Workers.

A few days before Churchill spoke, Senator Chandler of Kentucky delivered an address in the Senate, advocating that the armed forces of the United States concentrate their attention first on Japan and then on Germany. The contrary strategy is followed by the present administration and of course by Churchill. As one of his reasons for proposing a change in strategy, Chandler mentioned the possibility that Britain would cease fighting after Germany is defeated.

In proposing his plan Chandler spoke for that section of the American capitalists which followed an isolationist policy prior to Pearl Harbor. This section considers Japan as the chief imperialist rival of American capitalism and would like to annihilate that country in order to obtain a free hand in the Far East for the capitalists of this country. Its anti-British bias can be explained largely on the basis of a desire to get British imperialism out of the Far East and to annex Canada, Australia and New Zealand.

It is this section of the American capitalists that is most sympathetic to Hitler, not as a representative of German imperialism struggling to control the markets and raw materials of Europe and the world, but of fascism suppressing all the working-class organizations. Undoubtedly Chandler and those whom he represents are influenced by their desire to have Hitler destroy the Soviet Union before he is destroyed by the forces of this country. They would even be willing to give Europe to Hitler provided he would not interfere with American capitalism in the Far East and in the Western Hemisphere.

The more far-sighted American capitalists and their representatives realize that imperialist Germany, because of a productive capacity much larger than that of Japanese imperialism, is their main enemy. In agreement with the views of this section of the American capitalists the Roosevelt administration has adopted the strategy of concentrating its forces for the attack on Hitler, while following a policy of active defense with reference to Japan.

For British imperialism there can be no question that German imperialism is the main enemy. While the interests of British capitalism in the Far East are very extensive and must be defended, the German imperialist foe is right at the door and must be tackled first.

Representing British imperialism, Churchill took advantage of his appearance before Congress to strengthen the hand of Roosevelt, as against Chandler and all who share his views. He gave his assurance that "while there is breath in our bodies and while blood flows through our veins," the British Empire will continue the struggle against Japan, side by side with the United States.

Most people understand that promises of capitalist statesmen are not to be taken seriously. If the British Empire should find it to its interest to cease fighting after Hitler is defeated, the promise of Churchill would not prevent it from doing so. There is nothing that the British imperialists would like better than to have American capitalism continue a war which would decrease its resources and thus put British capitalism in a better competitive position. After all, British imperialism fought for more than two years before the United States actually entered the conflict. In those two years its res-

ources were considerably drained and it would like to see American capitalism involved in a war where the fighting is exclusively a privilege of the United States.

But in this case Churchill's promise will undoubtedly be kept, if it is in the power of British imperialism to keep that promise. It has too much at stake in the Far East to permit the United States to fight Japanese imperialism without participating in the struggle. It must not be forgotten that Japan took much more from the British Empire than from the United States. Even if the British continue fighting after Hitler is defeated, their position relative to the American capitalists will be greatly weakened. For it is the United States that will have saved Australia and New Zealand and, by defeating Japan, wrest the former British colonies from Japanese control. There is some doubt, as it is, that the British Empire will get back everything it has lost. Should it cease fighting after Germany is defeated, it would lose all of its possessions in the Far East to the United States.

One important factor may prevent the British Empire from fulfilling Churchill's promise. That is the attitude of the British workers.

It is generally expected that Hitler will not be defeated until the end of 1944. Even if military catastrophe should overtake Hitler by the end of this year, it will mean that the English masses will have been in the war for over four years. Will they consent to the continuation of the struggle for another few years?

It must be remembered that the British masses are supporting the war primarily because they fear Hitler and consider the war to be a war against fascism. As against Hitler they are undoubtedly supporting Churchill who appears to them the lesser evil.

But it will be altogether different if the war should continue after Hitler is defeated. The British masses will then not only be extremely tired of the war but will no longer fear a direct invasion of a fascist tyrant. Whereas the war against Hitler can be made to appear as one for democracy against fascism, a war against Japan cannot be so easily pictured in the same colors.

A war against Japan is too obviously a war for British colonial possessions and a large section of the British masses will not be fooled into believing that it is a war for democracy. To fight against a possible invasion of their own land is one thing; to fight for the reconquest of Singapore and Burma in the interests of the British capitalists is another thing. The British masses will not fail to see the difference.

Churchill may be perfectly willing to expend the blood and lives of the British masses to continue the struggle against Japan but it is exceedingly doubtful that the British masses will consider this prospect with great enthusiasm.

I do not mean to indicate that the British masses will immediately overthrow its capitalist government if, after Hitler is defeated, the war will continue against Japan. It is not so simple as all that. It can be safely predicted that the British masses will not give Churchill the support that they are giving him now while the struggle against Hitler is still raging. What the British masses will do will depend on many factors but one of them, and not the least important, will be the continuation of a war which to them will appear to be exclusively an imperialist war.

In any event the British masses are not bound by the promise of the representative of the British ruling class.

## Rubber Workers Walk Out

(Continued from page 1)

At the Goodrich Local 5 mass meeting, held shortly after the walkout, local union leaders responded to the demands of the membership by supporting the protest walkout and they left immediately for Washington to demand that the WLB reconsider its decision. They also stated they intended to see Philip Murray to enlist his support. President Dairymple of the United Rubber Workers also went to Washington to request that the WLB reconsider the rubber case. In a public statement, however, he ordered the rubber workers back to work. His demand was ignored. Leaders of the Firestone and Goodyear locals joined the Goodrich leaders in their trip to Washington. The executive boards of the three locals issued a joint public telegram to the War Labor Board which stated:

"We have shown conclusively before the War Labor Board that

living costs for our own people have increased 23% since January 1941. We are parties to a no-strike agreement. Essential to this agreement is orderly procedure for prompt and just settlement of grievances. Another part of the no-strike agreement was the \$25,000 limit on executive salaries. That part was thrown out by political maneuvering. The orderly procedure failed when it failed to give us fair, equal and impartial treatment along with workers in other industries. . .

### NO CONFIDENCE IN WLB

"Loss of confidence in the fairness and impartiality of the WLB as an agency of the government finally created the work stoppage. . ."

While the local officers of the unions are negotiating in Washington, workers are sitting tight, awaiting developments.

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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. For 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. Defend the Soviet Union against imperialist attack.

## Miners and the AFL

When Roosevelt intervened to aid the coal barons in their fight against the miners, he counted upon splitting their ranks and the UMW from the rest of organized labor. Every available means of pressure was used to break up the solidarity of the miners and make them bow down before Roosevelt and give in to the operators.

But all the maneuvers of the administration failed to crack the solidarity of the UMW. The miners' ranks remained united and unshaken under an unprecedented barrage of threats, insults, slander from the regimented press, radio, and WLB. They continue their stubborn struggle for their just demands.

The fact that the miners were organizationally separated from the other sections of the trade-union movement weakened them and helped Roosevelt. The widespread support of the rank and file of the AFL and CIO could not assert itself with full power in favor of the miners under these conditions. Especially in view of the cowardly, strike-breaking position taken by AFL-CIO leaders who placed their subservience to the administration above solidarity with the miners who are fighting labor's battle.

To overcome this obstacle the MILITANT suggested that the mine leaders call a conference of all the national trade-union organizations for the purpose of uniting labor's ranks behind a joint program of struggle against wage-freezing, job-freezing and anti-labor legislation. The UMW leaders, however, decided upon a different course and have applied for readmission to the AFL.

There is no doubt that this step will aid them in their immediate struggle. But the miners, we are sure, will not forget that many of the reasons which forced them to leave the AFL seven years ago still hold good. The top officials of the AFL embrace many of the most reactionary figures in American trade-unionism: Hutcheson, the die-hard, ultra-conservative craft-unionist; Tobin, Roosevelt's lieutenant; and many patrons and protectors of racketeering and Jim-crow. The miners will not find real friends and allies among these bureaucrats.

Nor should the miners forget that the readiest response and most militant support to their struggles have come, not from the craft-ridden AFL, but from the rank and file of the CIO movement

which they themselves helped to create. In one conference after another, the delegates of the UAW, the largest, most democratic and powerful CIO union, have come forward against their leaders to back up their fellow-workers in the mine-pits. The Detroit auto-workers and Akron rubber workers took strike action this week to add their protests to the miners against the WLB.

These CIO industrial workers are the most dynamic section of American labor, its vanguard and its hope for the future. They are the closest and firmest allies of the miners. By reaffiliating to the AFL, if that is not a step toward the general unification of labor, the miners will not have lowered but rather raised the organizational barriers between themselves and their best allies, their fellow-workers in auto, rubber, steel and other key industries who face the same enemies and must fight them in the same way.

The miners must find a way to level these barriers and effect a fighting alliance with these CIO workers.

The miners have broken the strangle-hold of the Roosevelt administration over the trade-union movement. They have exposed the cowardice of the Murray-Green-Hillman-Stalinist lickspittles. They have cast off the straitjacket of the War Labor Board and its "Little Steel" formula. They have reasserted the independence of the trade unions on the industrial field and blazed the trail for the rest of labor to follow.

What political course should the miners take, now that they have repudiated in action the policies of Roosevelt and his party? The Republicans have ganged up with the Democrats in Congress to condemn the miners, to term them "traitors," and to enact anti-strike legislation. Both political agencies of the bosses have shown themselves to be bitter enemies of the mine-workers. What a backward step it would be if the miners should swing over toward the Republican Party which received John L. Lewis's support in 1940!

Like the rest of American labor, the miners need their own class representatives in Congress, in the State legislatures, in the City Halls. Now is the time for the miners to follow up their declaration of industrial independence by proclaiming their independence of all capitalist parties and politicians. The miners should launch a movement for an Independent Labor Party based upon their own and all other trade-unions.

Not backward to the Republican Party but forward to the Independent Party of Labor! With this political goal in view the miners can not only consolidate their gains and increase their striking power but they will play the same great pioneering role in politics that they are today playing on the industrial arena.

## The Poll Tax Must Go

The anti-poll tax bill was passed on May 25 by the House of Representatives. The overwhelming majority of more than two to one reflected not the more progressive character of the present Congress—it remains no less reactionary than its predecessor—but rather the growing pressure of the masses of the people who have become more educated to the meaning of the poll tax and more determined to wipe it out. This growing pressure was symbolized in the following incident which occurred in the course of the debate:

"A sailor who identified himself as Evan O. Jones of Los Angeles, a signalman, second class, stood up in the gallery and shouted:

"Why should a man have to pay a tax to vote when he can fight without doing it?" (N. Y. Times, May 26.)

This outraged young sailor gave voice to the feelings of many millions; the assembled Representatives know it very well and that is why they voted as they did. But the adoption of the bill by the House does not mean that the battle against the poll tax has been won. On the contrary, the bill now goes to the Senate where a similar measure was filibustered to death last Fall by the Southern Democrats who hold the balance of power in the Senate. With reactionary forces becoming increasingly bolder, these gentlemen wield even more power in 1943 than they did in 1942, and because they remain what they are we can be certain that they will try to repeat the last year's performance.

Everyone acquainted with the history of the poll tax knows that its advocates have always pretended it was to be used to uphold "white supremacy" by disfranchising the Negro, but that actually it has been and is still being used to deprive even more Southern white workers than Negroes of votes. Unfortunately, not enough workers are as yet aware that the poll tax in one-sixth of the states directly affects the workers in all the states.

The poll tax issue should be raised in every trade union local in the country. The poll tax must go! The abolition of the poll tax will strengthen the labor movement. The fight to abolish it will help to further open the eyes of trade union members to the real character of the Republican and Democratic Parties and to the burning need for building an Independent Labor Party.

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or  
IRT to Atlantic Avenue Station

Dancing. Good Music Refreshments



## UAW Men Forced To Strike By Corporations

(Continued from page 1)

The platform. Thomas was forced to take over and apologize for this breach of democracy on the part of top UAW officials.

The men sat in stony silence when Frankenstein told them it might be necessary for the union to suffer a temporary setback at the hands of management during the war but that the union would more than make up for it after the war. The men were unimpressed by his arguments. They wanted to know what he was going to do next to settle their grievances and would not be swayed by his oratorical stunts and demagogic attacks against the Chrysler Company.

Jerry Ford, chairman of the Dodge Plant Committee, told the workers what went on behind the scenes in a nine hour conference on Friday May 21 at the Penobscot Building called by Edwin E. Witte, regional WLB director. Ford, Ed. Carey, president of Chrysler Local 7, Earl Reynolds, president of Dodge Local 2, and other local union men were present. Leo Lamotte represented the International Union. Herman L. Weckler, vice-president and general manager of Chrysler, Clarence W. Johnson, labor relations director at the Dodge main plant, Roy H. Appleman, labor relations director of the Jefferson and Kercheval plants, and other company officials sat in for management. Participating in the full regional board were 2 FBI men, Army and Navy representatives, and State and Federal conciliators. "The room was filled with generals and colonels and other men in uniform," Ford stated.

Witte grilled the local union men one by one. "They were looking for a scapegoat. That is all they were interested in. We finally told them that if that was all they wanted we would leave the room and they could pick one of us and he would be the scapegoat. They were especially out to crucify Carey," Ford said.

"I finally asked them to ask the Chrysler Corp. people some questions but when they started to quiz the minor officials Weckler spoke right up for them and did not permit them to talk.

"Weckler merely said 'that the Chrysler Corp. has lived up to all its agreements since it started bargaining with the union in 1937.' We know otherwise. (A roar of laughter greeted the cynical claim of the Corporation officials).

"Why didn't our international officers speak up for us? We pay them 40 cents on every dollar's worth of dues. But they never opened their mouths once. They sat there like wooden stools.

"After several hours grilling Witte called a recess for ten minutes.

"When we came back from the recess the WLB said they would now hand down their decision. We could not understand on what basis they could decide. They must have looked into a crystal bowl. We were to go back to work and that was all there was to it."

### ASSURANCES NOT ENOUGH

President Reynolds of Dodge Local said he was assured by the two FBI men that they would see to it that the corporation lived up to its agreements. The WLB and the army and navy officers gave similar assurances. But with all their naïveté the workers were not too impressed with this assurance. A rank and file worker stated after the oratorical barrage of Frankenstein and Thomas: "I may be a doubting Thomas, but I would like to be shown."

So ingrained are the principles of democracy in the UAW that the local Dodge officers refused to call off the walkout without having the men themselves decide the question at their union meeting. As Barney Hopkins, Financial Secretary of the Dodge Local, told your reporter: "The officers' board did not authorize the walkout of the workers. It was a rank and file movement. We feel that the men themselves must vote whether or not to go back."

### STALINIST SCABS

The scabbiest roles in the Chrysler-Dodge strike were reserved for Lamotte and the Stalinists, the position of Lamotte being in no way distinguishable from that of Browder's boys. Lamotte was never concerned with the grievances of the men. In typical police fashion he was looking for a scapegoat. "Certain people are trying to take over the union," Lamotte kept repeating. Not a word about the provocations of the company. Not a word about the long-strained patience of the men.

Nor was the position of Thomas much better. He too blamed the strike upon the men and his first concern was "to find out who started the Chrysler strike."

The Stalinist machine was in high gear. All the Stalinist wheel-horses went into action. Pop Edelin, president of Plymouth Local 51, was not satisfied with statements and letters to officials urging the men to go back to work without having their grievances settled. He got out a printed leaflet which was distributed at both Sunday meetings presuming to speak for the rank and file of

his local. "The Plymouth workers reject the few individuals in the labor movement who are responsible for this strike."

A similar statement was issued by the Stalinist whip Nat Ganley, business agent of Local 155. The Stalinist front man, C. Pat Quinn president of the Stalinist dominated Wayne County Council, issued a blast against the rank and file of the Chrysler and Dodge Locals. Nor they did not confine themselves to a land attack. They hurried out to sea and called upon E. J. Cunningham, Detroit agent of the National Maritime Union, who wired Thomas, issued a withering tirade against the ranks, and praised Lamotte for "publicly laying the blame for provocation of strikes during this critical period on the Lewis-Reuther forces."

The role that the Stalinists had been playing even before this strike was fully exposed in an article of the latest issue of the weekly UAW paper. The blasts by their wheel-horses has not only further incensed the ranks of the automobile workers against the Communist Party but has brought into disaffection their own ranks. One Stalinist member or sympathizer told your reporter that it was necessary for them to call upon their top party hacks to allay the strong feeling among their members against the party line.

But what the government officials, the Army, Navy and FBI, the management and the International officials couldn't do, the Stalinists likewise will not be able to achieve, namely, to break the spirit of the men. They are learning the score with each passing day. They must now tighten their ranks and prevent the army brass hats with the help of their own top officials from victimizing their rank and file leaders, stewards, committee men etc. for this company-provoked walkout. That will be the aim of the brass hats who are receiving passive if not active support from the International officers. Only the complete solidarity of the men behind their stewards will prevent this from taking place.

The miners led the way. The auto workers showed in action their determination to support the miners and to fight their own battles as well. The rubber workers of Akron have followed. These are but the first rumblings of the new awakening. Labor is getting set for a new march forward. This march will be facilitated by the formation of labor's own party, so that the voice of the workers can be heard above the capitalist din in the press and over the radio and in the halls of Congress.

## UAW Official Cites List of Grievances

DETROIT, May 24—The provocative and union-busting conduct of the auto barons was especially marked in the Chrysler plants. In an interview with The Militant reporter, Vincent Klein, Financial Secretary of Chrysler Local 7, said:

"Chrysler stopped bargaining since Pearl Harbor—since the no-strike pledge was given up by the union. During the last 60 days more than 40 major grievances have piled up. It is always the same answer: 'No, no, no!'"

Here are some of the grievances that Klein listed:

"A man who lighted a cigarette 10 seconds before quitting time was fired, although he had been in the employ of the company for 11 years and had an otherwise perfect record. Upon intervention of the union the management cancelled the firing but penalized him with a two or three day lay-off.

"The roof leaked in one section of the plant

where there were electric and welding equipment and drills. Due to continuous rain there was ever-present the danger of electrocution. When the steward appealed to the management the answer was: 'Stop the rain if you want to.' The steward received a two day lay-off for his pains although the company later fixed the leak. He was penalized for saving a man's life, you might say.

"A steward was complaining for three weeks about the inadequate safety devices in the dynamo room where tank motors were being tested. They were revolving at the rate of 3,800 to 4,000 revolutions a minute and there was a continual danger of a worker being sucked up in the big fan in the room. The very danger against which the steward had been warning the company for three weeks actually happened in the fourth week when a man was sucked up in the fan and chopped to pieces."

## More Corporations Caught Selling Defective Goods

The Wright Aeronautical Corporation's plant at Lockland, Ohio, has joined the fast-growing list of big business concerns who have been caught producing defective war materials and thereby increasing war profits while endangering the lives of men in the armed forces and merchant marine.

According to a statement issued on May 20 by the Senate Truman Committee, the Wright Corporation placed "unsafe and defective material in completed engines ready for shipment."

The Department of Justice is now making an investigation based upon the evidence unearthed by the Truman Committee.

Meanwhile, officials of the National Bronze and Aluminum Foundry Company in Cleveland, Ohio, were formally indicted on charges of sabotage. Last month this company, the country's largest manufacturer of aluminum castings, was caught in the act of deliberately passing on to airplane assemblers defective supercharges. Testimony of the plant's workers revealed that the fraud originated with the company's top officials.

If the investigations and "prosecution" of the previous production scandals set the precedent, the officials of the Wright Corporation will get off with a light tap on the wrist. Severe measures are reserved for the workers—such as the case of the welders in a Baltimore ship yard who were victims of the speed-up. Last month they were accused of faulty welding and thrown into prison as saboteurs.

## Biddle Charged With Shielding Poll-Taxer

By DINA SANDERS

In Washington the lid is lifting on another scandal, bringing into public view the machinations of Attorney-General Francis Biddle. Mr. Biddle, it appears, has for more than a year been seeking to protect Eugene Cox, poll-tax Representative from Georgia.

Washington reporters of the Nation and the New Republic this week charged that since March 1942 Biddle has been in possession of evidence proving that Cox violated Section 113 of the U. S. Criminal Code which prohibits Congressmen from receiving pay for private services before a Federal agency. According to I. F. Stone, the evidence shows that Cox "communicated at least 25 times with the FCC to obtain a license for station WALB in his district, that he received a check for \$2,500 from the owners of the station a month after the license was granted . . . marked 'legal expenses.'" (Nation, May 22.)

Cox met the FCC charges by having himself appointed head of a House Committee to "investigate" the FCC. His method of "investigation" was made public this week when FCC Commissioner Clifford J. Durr wrote an open letter to House Speaker Rayburn charging that the Cox Committee never meets; that its counsel, Eugene L. Garey, summons FCC employees and forces them to testify in secret under oath; and refuses to give witnesses transcripts of their testimony.

Two years ago, Biddle, who is now busy shielding Cox from justice, was busy handing down indictments against 28 members of Local 544-CIO and leaders of the Socialist Workers Party. More recently, Biddle busied himself with getting the Post Office Department to revoke the second-mailing rights of The Militant.

Mr. Biddle is extremely reluctant to enforce the law in a case involving a member of his own political party. But he rushes to stretch the law and even tries to break the Constitutional guarantee of free press and free speech when it comes to the prosecution of militant trade unionists and revolutionary socialists, and the gagging of an anti-Fascist working-class paper like The Militant.

## Norman Thomas and His Political "Morality"

Norman Thomas represents himself to the American people as an honest man, even a Socialist. He never lets slip an opportunity to preach a sermon on the superiority of his "democratic" morality over that of the Trotskyists.

In a letter to the New York Times of May 12, Norman Thomas writes: "I said that of course it made a profound difference who won the war. I said, as I have said many times before, that once in the war, it certainly had to be prosecuted until we reached a point where we could not suffer under an easy and oppressive truce dictated by the Nazi and Japanese war lords."

In plain words, Mr. Thomas goes all out for this war. "Many times before" Thomas spoke about the Second World War. Between the First World War and the Second he and his party many times repeated that they would never under any circumstances support any capitalist war. When the war broke out in Europe, as a leading figure of the pacifist "Keep America Out of War Committee," Thomas warned against the intervention of the U. S. government and vowed that he, for one, would have no part of it.

Today, Thomas wants the war "to be prosecuted until . . ." the Anglo-American coalition is victorious. Thomas and his colleagues expelled the Trotskyists from his Socialist Party in August 1937 because of their revolutionary socialist ideas. The Trotskyists said then that they would never support any capitalist war. The Thomasites claimed the same thing.

Events have shown who were the honest people. The Trotskyists kept their word to the workers. Their leaders refused to change their views on the war. They faced Federal prosecution in court trial at Minneapolis and now face prison sentences for their loyalty to Socialism.

Thomas, the apostle of pure morality, broke his word and takes his place on the imperialist bandwagon.

There, in a nutshell, is the difference between "democratic" morals and petty-bourgeois politics and Bolshevik morals and working-class politics.