

Free The 18!

THE MILITANT

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WLB UPHOLDS WAGE FREEZING FORMULA

Novack Starts National CRDC Speaking Tour

ROCHESTER, N. Y.—George Novack, National Secretary of the CRDC, addressed his first meeting on March 16, under the auspices of the Rochester Branch of the Civil Rights Defense Committee. This was the first city to be visited by George Novack, on his coast to coast tour. Many members of the audience decided to join the CRDC after listening to Novack's talk on the Minneapolis Labor Case.

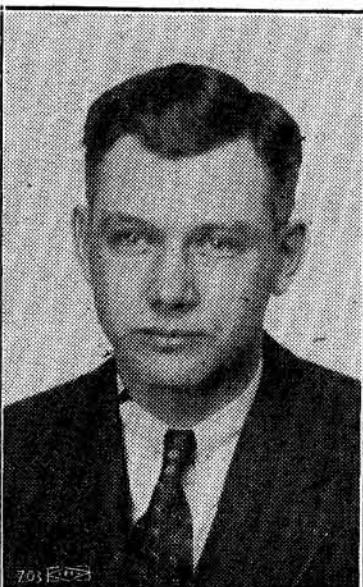
Mr. Hansen, ex-Teamsters Union official and delegate to the Rochester Trades & Labor Council, now a prominent figure in the Firemen's Union, was elected president of the expanded Local CRDC Committee. Other union leaders who offered their services in the Local Committee included a second chief of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, a steel worker who belongs to the only steel workers local in town, and several additional railroad union men. A program of activity was mapped out which will include securing support from local unions, petition gathering and the raising of funds to provide relief for the 18 prisoners and their families. It is anticipated that resolutions and petitions will come pouring in during the next few weeks.

GOOD RESPONSE

"This strengthening of the CRDC is the result of the excellent work done by our friends in Rochester and my visit gave an impetus to their efforts," reported Mr. Novack. "The case of the 18 is already known to many of the railroad workers here who are very progressive. I was taken over to the round house and introduced to a number of the rail workers and officers who had signed the petition. The poster is put up right there in the round house office and looks impressive. It was a pleasant note for me to be talking about the case to workers right on the job with the steam billowing up around us. We distributed a number of the new pamphlets to the defense in the Minneapolis Labor Case.

George Novack, Secretary of the Civil Rights Defense Committee is among the most prominent figures in labor defense and civil liberties activities in the United States. In the past 15 years there have been few cases of national importance in the defense of labor and democratic rights in which he has not taken an active and leading part.

Novack participated in the



GEORGE NOVACK
CRDC Secretary

formation of the first committee in defense of the Scottsboro boys and in aid of the Harlan miners in 1932. As Chairman of the Non-Partisan Labor Defense, Novack helped direct the defense of Norman Mailer in the Sacramento Criminal Syndicalism case.

NATIONAL SECRETARY

He was national secretary of the American Committee for the Defense of Leon Trotsky, initiating the Dewey International Commission of Inquiry into the Moscow Trials, which branded the Moscow Trials as frame-ups.

In July 1941, together with James T. Farrell, John Dos Passos, Carlo Tresca and others, Novack was instrumental in forming the Civil Rights Defense Committee which is in charge of the defense in the Minneapolis Labor Case.

Novack is scheduled to address meetings under the auspices of the CRDC in every major city in the course of his present nationwide tour. Novack is scheduled to be in Buffalo March 18-19, in Youngstown March 20-21, in Akron March 23-24, in Cleveland March 25-26, in Toledo March 27-28, in Detroit March 29-30 and in Flint March 31.

Minneapolis Trial Judge Orders SWP Books Destroyed

In a truly symbolic climax to the Minneapolis Labor Case, the federal judge who passed sentence upon the 18 imprisoned Trotskyists and Minneapolis Local 544-CIO leaders on March 13 ordered the destruction of the Marxist literature and pictures of the great Marxist teachers which the FBI had seized in June, 1941 from the Twin Cities' headquarters of the Socialist Workers Party and which constituted the Roosevelt prosecution's major "evidence" in the Minneapolis Smith "Gag" Act framework.

Thus, the administration's prosecution of the most consistent and uncompromising working class opponents of fascism, the Trotskyists, which began with the seizing of the books and pamphlets containing their ideas, reaches a symbolic culmination with a book-burning in the traditions of Hitlerism.

SWP PROPERTY

Among the SWP property which trial Judge M. M. Joyce, of the U. S. District Court in Minneapolis, ordered the U. S. Marshall's office to destroy, are copies of Marx and Engels' Communist Manifesto and other historic writings of the founders of scientific socialism, many works of Lenin and Trotsky, and numerous publications of the Trotskyist movement. Also ordered burned are red flags and pictures of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky which had been displayed in the SWP headquarters in Minneapolis and St. Paul. Most of the socialist classics to be burned were also on the list of the Nazis and were heaped on the flames of Hitler's bonfires.

The Minneapolis Local of the SWP issued a public protest against this book-burning and demanded the restoration of its property, declaring it to be a "dangerous attack upon democratic rights" and asserting that "this material, by all rights, should be returned to the party." The statement contains the reminder that "the Trotskyists opposed fascism even before Hitler came to power at a time when many American capitalists were making financial contributions to his support. The fascist methods we opposed then are being used against us in order to stamp out free speech."

SPITEFUL ACT

The ridiculousness of this spiteful and malicious destruction of books is emphasized by the fact that all of them are available in public libraries and are sold in public bookshops throughout the country. The Militant and Fourth International, whose files were included in the "evidence," are

(Continued on page 5)

UAW Members Victims Of The Ford Motor Co.

Fifty workers, members of the United Automobile Workers, CIO, were suspended last week by the Ford Motor Company, with the tacit consent of top UAW officials, for participating in an "unauthorized" strike. A later announcement stated that 27 were fired outright. A spokesman for the company said that an even larger number would probably be suspended following further "interviews."

The victims of Ford's "disciplinary action" were part of a group which had established an automobile barricade in front of the giant River Rouge plant in protest against the discharge and suspension of 20 UAW militants in a previous dispute. Eleven of the 20 were union shop committeemen. They had been "disciplined" by the company immediately after a letter had been sent to the Ford Local by UAW president, R. J. Thomas, demanding that "drastic and effective" measures be taken against those involved in the dispute.

For over a year, the Ford Motor Company has been engaged

in a deliberate policy of house-breaking the Ford union. Union shop committeemen attempting to perform their duties of seeing that the contract was enforced, found themselves marked for special persecution by Ford's "labor relations department." Since the first of the year, the company's provocative policy has become so flagrant that it caused number of "unauthorized" outbursts of indignation by the workers. It was evident that Ford was out to "get" those UAW militants who sought to defend the interests of the union membership.

FACTS KNOWN

These facts were known when the International Executive Board of the UAW met last

month. The board adopted a resolution acknowledging that "the corporations" were deliberately pursuing a course intended to deny the union membership "their rights under their contracts and to provoke them into engaging in work stoppages." Instead of advocating effective measures to halt the corporation's onslaught against the union, the executive board proceeded to "reaffirm without qualification, its no-strike pledge," and threatened to impose drastic penalties against locals and individuals who resisted company provocation by engaging in "work stoppages."

In commenting on this, an editorial in the March 11th issue of The Militant warned that: "This resolution can only serve to embolden the union hating corporation executives. The corporations now have the green light to go ahead and declare open season on all shop stewards and committeemen who try to make them

(Continued on page 5)

POSTAL AUTHORITIES REMOVE RESTRICTIONS ON 'MILITANT'

The U. S. Post Office authorities on March 17 withdrew the discriminatory censorship restrictions which they had continued following their restoration two weeks ago of second-class mailing privileges.

FIGHT WON

A letter from the New York postmaster has come in answer to this protest, stating that the final restriction on The Militant's mailing rights has now been removed, and that the year-long

(Continued on page 4)

These facts were known when the International Executive Board of the UAW met last

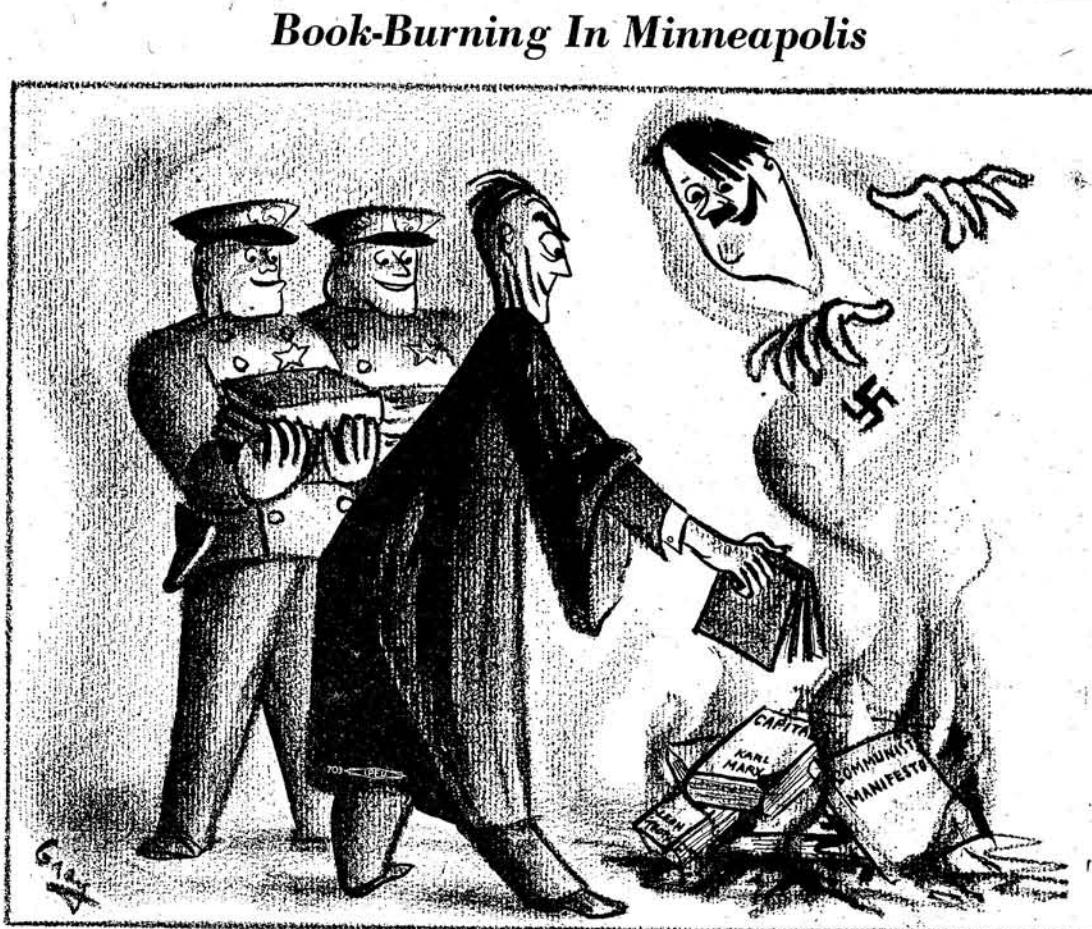
The Militant promptly lodged a strong protest at this continuation of an arbitrary restriction which carried with it the threat of further interference with its second-class mailing privileges.

REFUSAL

The U. S. Post Office spokesman and a key mouthpiece for the Southern Bourbons, demanded the banning of the pamphlet and declared that it has "no place in the Army program." The high-up military authorities, when the pamphlet's contents were brought to their attention, promptly demonstrated by their ban that they also

(Continued on page 5)

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Badoglio And King Endorsed By Stalin

By James Cowan

To its numerous crimes against the international working class, the Kremlin bureaucracy has added one more in its diplomatic recognition of the reactionary regime of Badoglio and the Italian king, a regime which is hated by the Italian masses with the same detestation that they manifested toward the regime of Mussolini and his Blackshirt mobsters.

The timing of the act of recognition is significant. It occurred on March 11, when millions of workers in northern Italy were out on the streets in a general strike and giving battle to Nazi troops in the first gigantic mass upsurge of the present world war. It occurred on March 11, when millions of workers in northern Italy were out on the streets in a general strike and giving battle to Nazi troops in the first gigantic mass upsurge of the present world war. It occurred on March 11, when millions of workers in northern Italy were out on the streets in a general strike and giving battle to Nazi troops in the first gigantic mass upsurge of the present world war.

Voicing "firmly and unequivocally" the demand "that henceforth the damned agitators of the North leave the South alone," the resolution reaffirms "our belief in and our allegiance to established white supremacy as now prevailing in the South and we solemnly pledge our lives and our sacred honor to maintaining it."

However, the South Carolina legislators have never put the question of their "white supremacy" to a popular test, since by virtue of the poll tax and other repressive election measures less than five percent of the population is permitted to vote in elections.

This is the lowest voting percentage of any state in the country.

SAFELY PREDICTED

It can safely be predicted that the Italian working class will see in it nothing of the kind. What regard is shown for their "dignity and equality" by an act which accords recognition to the king and his marshal, who only yesterday were adorning the hated Fascist regime which the masses overthrew? A revolutionary Bolshevik government in the Soviet Union, a government of the type which Lenin and Trotsky headed in the first years of the Russian Revolution, would have shown its "regard for the dignity and equality" of the Italian masses by proclaiming its solidarity with them in their great struggle against the reactionary clique of Badoglio-Victor Emmanuel.

SAFELY PREDICTED

At the behest of Southern Democratic Representative Andrew J. May of Kentucky, chairman of the powerful House Military Affairs Committee, the War Dept.

recently announced that it was shelving the distribution of 55,000 copies of a pamphlet, *The Races of Mankind*, which by some apparent accident had been purchased

for use in the Army's orientation courses. The pamphlet was

written by two leading authorities, Dr. Ruth F. Benedict and Dr. Gene Weltfish of the Columbia University Dept. of Anthropology, and scientifically debunks

the notions of racial, national or

class superiority.

REP. MAY

Refusal or failure to bring him to trial would have meant giving mortal offense to the underground movement in metropolitan France which had already sentenced Pucheu to death as a traitor. It would have shattered whatever illusions the French masses still retain regarding the pretended "patriotism" of the French capitalists. But bringing Pucheu to trial meant risking an expose which would tar many of de Gaulle's own henchmen with the brush of collaboration with the hated Nazis. It also meant in-

Rejects Labor Members Plea To Recommend Wage Revision

Unions Led Into A Trap By Labor Fakers As Roosevelt Shunts Wage Dispute to Congress

By R. Bell

For two years the top leaders of the AFL and CIO have led the labor movement in a merry chase after the will-o-the-wisp of Roosevelt's promises to "stabilize" the cost of living. In exchange for these promises they accepted the Little Steel formula and took an active part in doing the dirty work of the board in enforcing the wage freeze on the workers. When the coal miners struck for higher wages to compensate for the rise in the cost of living, the labor bureaucrats joined with Roosevelt in attempting to crush the miners' struggle.

Thus, the administration's prosecution of the most consistent and uncompromising working class opponents of fascism, the Trotskyists, which began with the seizing of the books and pamphlets containing their ideas, reaches a symbolic culmination with a book-burning in the traditions of Hitlerism.

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Anti-Union Record Of The War Labor Board

By Ruth Johnson

Since Pearl Harbor, the Roosevelt administration has intensified and accelerated its program of binding the labor movement within the governmental strait-jacket and subordinating it to the war machine and its needs. The prime agency which has carried through this policy, is the War Labor Board, which has assumed ever greater authority over the labor movement and arrogated to itself powers of a supreme arbiter over the affairs of the labor unions.

The entire officialdom of the AFL and CIO surrendered to the war machine, immediately after U. S. entry into the "shooting war" by giving up labor's strike weapon. In return for this labor disarmament, Roosevelt set up the War Labor Board, composed of 4 employer members, 4 representatives of the AFL and CIO and 4 "public" members. This board was supposed to give "justice" to the labor movement. Roosevelt, through the WLB, also promised the bureaucrats to guarantee their organizations by the grant of the mongrel closed shop—"maintenance of membership."

WLB Procedure

By January 1942, the rigamarole of WLB procedure had been set. It provided for (1) Direct labor-employer negotiations until the possibility of agreement had been exhausted; (2) Further negotiations under the supervision of the United States Conciliation Service; (3) Certification of the dispute to the WLB; (4) Mediation by a WLB panel which had no power to make public recommendations; (5) Voluntary arbitration through an arbiter selected by the

WLB, or in case of disagreement, by an arbiter chosen by lot from a panel named by Roosevelt; (6) Final arbitration by the full WLB, empowered to make binding determinations and awards.

Basing its policy on Roosevelt's wage-freeze directives, the War Labor Board established the Little Steel formula in July, 1942, setting the precedent for a maximum increase of 15 per cent to compensate for the 15 per cent increase in the cost of living between Jan. 1, 1941, and May, 1942. A few days later in the case of Remington Rand, the WLB announced: "Contrary to some reports it (the Little Steel formula) does not guarantee to labor that existing standards of living will be maintained throughout the war." Thus the board made clear very early in the game, that it would not consider further increases in the cost of living a justifiable reason for adjusting the wage-freeze formula.

Following this pronouncement, the Board on September 17, 1942 ruled against the United Automobile Workers, CIO, rejecting the union principle that wage differentials in an industry should be wiped out. The UAW, seeking at that time a \$1 a day increase at General Motors, had presented data to show a 6.7 cents differential between General Motors and Ford workers. The WLB would permit no more than a 4 cents an hour token increase.

Step Further

The Board took a step further a month later, when it refused to remove wage-inequalities existing in Ford plants in various parts of the country. Not a single penny was granted to the Ford workers.

It had taken the steel workers over eight months, the auto workers seven months, to wrest even these anti-labor decisions from the War Labor Board. And that was no accident, for the entire bargaining machinery was deliberately designed to prolong negotiations and to discourage the labor movement from even presenting its wage demands and grievances. The board would have an "advisory panel" take months to study an important case and bring in recommendations. The board would then busily set aside its own panel's studies and recommendations. The advisory panel recommended in the steel case, an increase of \$1 a day, which the Board whittled down to 44 cents; in the later case of the United Rubber Workers, the panel's recommendation of 8 cents an hour was tossed out, and a meager 3 cents an hour increase finally voted by the Board.

Lee Pressman

Lee Pressman, CIO Chief Counsel, reported to the 1942 CIO Convention: "As of a week ago, there were in the offices of the War Labor Board, about three or four thousand wage agreements... the division handling voluntary agreements... simply had not made any record of them... it may take anywhere from a couple of weeks to eight months to get approval... then if the employer has indicated a price increase may be necessary... you... must go to the OPA for approval." He further pointed out that the head of the conciliation service had 8000 disputed cases to which he was supposed to assign mediators.

Other union officials described the attitude of management, more arrogant than

ever because of the helplessness of the unions before the time-consuming processes of the WLB. On every grievance, no matter how small, the bosses would cynically say, "Take it to Washington!"

Growing Resentment

The growing resentment of labor to the incessant delays, finally forced the Board in 1943 to set up regional offices to "expedite" negotiations. But to assure even greater delays where they were deemed advisable, the National Board reserved the right to review on its own initiative, any cases it chose.

In addition to keeping wages frozen and tying up the labor unions in the endless red tape of WLB "mediation machinery," the board undertook to intervene directly into the internal affairs of the unions, dictating local constitutions, determining questions of union security and "disciplining" the membership.

In May 1942, the War Labor Board set the pattern for this usurpation of union rights. While awarding maintenance of membership to the union at International Harvester, the WLB added that the government would conduct a secret referendum of the workers, to determine whether they wished to accept the Board ruling. This was a direct encroachment upon the union's rights to conduct its own meetings and to independently ratify or reject its contracts.

Almost simultaneously, the Board, in the New Jersey Walker-Turner Co. case, insisted on reviewing the constitution of the union, a local of the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers, CIO, assuming the right to pass judgment on union policy.

The Board then ordered the local not to charge more than \$1 a month dues and \$2 initiation fee. Thus, questions of union finances and constitutions were now subject to the arbitrary decision of the WLB.

From these invasions into the internal affairs of the unions, it was a natural step for the War Labor Board to seize the right to police and punish the labor movement.

Punishments

In June 1942, weary of delays in negotiations, 140 workers at the Arkwright Corporation Textile Plant in Fall River, Mass., went on strike. William Davis, "public" member and chairman of the WLB, rushed a telegram to the local offices of the United States Employment Service, stating "Fixers and changers at Arkwright Corporation have failed to end strike in accordance with NWLB request... proceed at once to... secure necessary replacements as previously arranged."

Following up its successful venture into the field of strike-breaking, the WLB began to mete out penalties. In September 1942, the board denied to the AFL Federal General Chemical Workers of Buffalo, any form of "union security" because in June the workers, fed up with the red tape and delays, had staged a protest strike.

Three Conditions

In December, in granting maintenance of membership to the UAW at the Pontiac Yellow Coach Plant, where a series of walkouts had followed company provocations, the Board laid down three conditions: that the security clause would be withdrawn if future stoppages occurred; that the union would be held responsible to the WLB to

discipline any members causing stoppages; and that the international union should appoint a representative to investigate the local, its leadership, and members responsible for work stoppages, and report findings to the WLB.

In the more recent Cramp Shipyard case, the Board imposed penalties on wages, by specifying that the workers would lose one month's retroactive pay.

In the course of its 27-month history, the War Labor Board has proved itself to be a policeman wielding a long club against the labor movement. Month by month, it has arrogated to itself more and more power, month by month it has established one anti-labor precedent after another, until today it stands forth as a real dictator over the labor movement, keeping wages frozen, breaking strikes, and throttling the independent existence of the unions.

First Task

The first task of the union movement, if it wishes to regain its independence and rights, is a decisive, sharp break with this wage-freezing, anti-labor agency. Once the labor members are removed from the WLB, once the labor movement declares a vote of no-confidence in the board, the WLB will burst like an inflated balloon that has been pricked with a pin. This was demonstrated during the first coal strike in 1941 when Lewis forced the withdrawal of the CIO representatives from the old labor board and the board promptly went up in smoke. The rank and file must make the demand loud, clear and unmistakable to the union bureaucrats: Get off the War Labor Board! Labor needs a new declaration of independence!

TRADE UNION NOTES

By Joseph Keller

Four officers of the Truesdale, Pa., local of the United Mine Workers were arraigned last week in the Scranton, Pa., federal court for violation of the Smith-Connally anti-strike law in connection with a local strike against the Glen Alden Coal Company last December.

The precedent for the present persecutions was established when 27 miners were convicted in Pittsburgh last August under the Smith-Connally act and sentenced to suspended sentences of six months in prison and three years probation. The UMW national officials failed to contest this initial attack in the general witch-hunt now being conducted by Roosevelt's Attorney-General Biddle.

For these first prosecutions the government has selected participants in so-called "wildcat" strikes. The administration hopes thereby to avoid opposition from the union leaders nationally. However, once a body of precedent is established through these cases, the government will then be in a stronger legal position to launch a full-scale assault on militant labor with the weapon of the Smith-Connally law.

A typical case history of the kind of run-around the workers are getting since the union bureaucrats surrendered the right to strike is described in a recent statement sent out to all CIO United Automobile Workers locals by the executive committees of the Chicago UAW locals.

The statement is an appeal for moral and material aid to Chicago Local 68, Automatic Transportation Company, a division of the Yale and Towne Corporation. In April 1942, Local 68 won an NLRB election. Despite this fact, the company imported spies and thugs to smash the union and set up a company union. The company refused to negotiate with Local 68, claiming it did not have a contract. The proposed contract had been certified to the WLB, which did not render a decision until a year later, April 15, 1943. Meanwhile, says the UAW statement, "almost all of our leaders in the Local were either discharged or quit the plant."

For eight months, until Jan. 19, 1944, the company refused to sign a contract despite two WLB directives and six show cause hearings in Washington. The company, which had defied the WLB and NLRB with impunity, then refused to carry out the contract signed in Washington, calling it "a piece of paper."

Finally, after 22 months of stalling and provocations, the workers walked out. The WLB ordered the workers back, promising to send a representative to "assist in effectuating the terms and conditions" of the contract. The workers returned; but eight of the local officers were fired.

The government representative finally appeared, but the company refused to attend the meeting with him. The WLB representative then refused to make a decision on the firing of the eight leaders, stating that this had to be done by a different arbitrator selected by the Board. Local 68 hasn't moved an inch further.

Subscription Campaign Planned

Wage Freeze Upheld By War Labor Board

(Continued from page 1)

This is an INTRODUCTORY OFFER SUBSCRIPTION CAMPAIGN to acquaint thousands of new workers with the program and ideas of Trotskyism. It is made possible first of all by the magnificent response to the \$15,000-15th Anniversary Fund Campaign, in which our comrades and sympathizers went over the top for us. There are however thousands of similar cases. The real need is for a program of united militant action, not legal shadow-boxing. Local 68 would never have had a two-year runaround to begin with if the UAW-CIO leaders had not abjectly surrendered the right to strike.

We read in the March 17 The Call an item written by one Kenneth Rogers, who is he is, that The Militant is advising "the progressives (in Michigan), who are now organizing in the hope of building a real farmer-labor party in the midwest state, they must proceed slowly, obtain official endorsement from the CIO, and not antagonize Hillman and his political action machine. All this, the government will then be in a stronger legal position to launch a full-scale assault on militant labor with the weapon of the Smith-Connally law.

There is a good reason of course, why Rogers, does not directly quote The Militant. His statements are simply made out of whole cloth. They cannot be found in The Militant. The Militant has exposed and fought the CIO Political Action Committee from the day of its formation. The Militant has advocated building a labor party based on the trade union movement, in struggle against Hillman and the other labor bureaucrats. Every reader of The Militant knows this. We hazard a guess that even the sophomore writer of The Call is aware of it.

Why then does he resort to this crude fabrication? With Norman Thomas' Party backing Wall Street's war, with about 95 percent of its leading members become pie-card artists, either on the payroll of various Rooseveltian bureaus or the union bureaucrats, with most of the present writers of The Call gracing every week the pages of Lafollette's Progressive, what weapons are left for the luckless writers of The Call? Or maybe the whole thing comes under the heading of juvenile delinquency?

Although Detroit has just finished a successful campaign for regular subscriptions, as you will see from our agent's letter, they will no doubt make just as excellent a showing in our INTRODUCTORY OFFER SUBSCRIPTION CAMPAIGN:

"Our campaign," Detroit writes, "came to a very successful close last Sunday night. We sold 51 subs to The Militant and Fourth International. Our group was divided into four teams and a splendid job was done by all in seeing old contacts and acquiring new ones. Our goal had been set for 80 points, but we went well over that by attaining 117 points. This coming Saturday night we are having a social in honor of the winning team."

"In spite of the fact that our campaign is over, subs will continue to come in."

The truck drivers are particularly incensed against their local union bureaucrats, who have been blocking union action for a year while the men worked without a contract. These officers have for several months prevented the holding of a local meeting, and the strike had to be called by an "unauthorized" mass meeting of the members. He is doing

before. We intend to provide a paper each week which our friends and comrades will be proud to circulate. We are confident that our goal of 3,000 new subs in 3 months is realizable. The recent local sub drives have brought in hundreds of new subscriptions. Our agents and friends, inspired by these initial splendid results, have urged us to launch this nation-wide campaign.

To those who already read The Militant regularly, we recommend that you take advantage of our Club Plan of four subscriptions for \$1. This is the best way of acquainting your friends and shopmates with The Militant. Send them a 3-month subscription to our paper.

STEEL CONVENTION

The National Convention of the United Steel Workers, scheduled to meet on May 9, must demand an accounting from Phillip Murray of the manner in which the Little Steel

formula has been mishandled. The rank and file must raise the demand that the CIO representatives resign at once from the company-dominated War Labor Board. A national conference of all labor unions must be called to map out a program of action against the threat of wage freezing legislation by Congress. Above all, there must be a decisive break with the political parties and program of Big Business, which dominate both Congress and the President. The whole experience of the betrayals of the last two years make it imperative that labor organize its own Independent Labor Party with its own program. The independent class action of the workers can head off the impending blow against the labor movement.

In addition, The Militant—the only paper in the country that tells the truth about labor's struggles for a better world—the only paper that fights consistently and uncompromisingly for labor's rights. This paper must be read by every class-conscious worker. Forward to 3,000 new regular readers by June 30!

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Los Angeles Marxist School Drawing Record Attendance

LOS ANGELES, Calif. — The Los Angeles School of Social Science launched a six weeks course of four classes on Tuesday, February 29. The opening sessions were well attended both in Los Angeles and San Pedro with the school running simultaneously in both cities. 58 students registered in the first week. Expressions of appreciation by many students showed that the quality of the lectures exceeded all expectations.

A large sale of the basic socialist literature proves that the students were there for an intensive study of Marxism. Also the number of those who registered for the entire series was very high.

Murray Weiss lectured on the problem of Imperialism and World Economy in its relation to the theory of Permanent Revolution. James Dall gave a lecture on an introduction to Marx's classic economic theories.

In the Thursday lectures at Los Angeles (Tuesday at San Pedro), Frank Graves discussed the class struggle as expressed in the struggle between the Soviet Union and the Imperialist world. Janet Bowers, in the second lecture of the evening, gave a detailed and vivid account of the rise of the CIO and its relation to the American labor movement today.

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In The Colonies

By LI FU-JEN

It is an old trick of the imperialist slave drivers to make relatively unimportant concessions to their colonial slaves in order to postpone the day of reckoning. Most frequently, the concessions are given only to a section of the population. By this means a colonial people can be divided, with the privileged section becoming a prop and support for the rule of the imperialists.

An example of this kind of trick is to be seen in a communiqué by the French Committee of National Liberation published in "Free France," a de Gaulist organ. The communiqué announces a new policy in regard to French Moslems in Algeria, describing it as a "continuous and progressive effort to better their political, social and economic conditions until they reach the same level as Frenchmen who are not Moslems." The policy is embodied in four points, as follows:

"A—To bestow French citizenship on the Moslem elite at once without demanding that they should give up their belief in and obedience to the laws of the Koran.

"B—To increase the number of Moslem representatives in Algerian deliberative assemblies and to extend the right of suffrage to more Moslems.

"C—To make it possible for Moslems to fill a larger number of government positions.

"D—To outline and realize a complete program of social uplift and economic progress for the benefit of all French Moslem peoples."

The purpose here is all too plain. It is to sift out an "elite" from among the Moslem population, place them in a highly privileged position in relation to the broad masses, and thus create a supporting social base for the French imperialists. It is hoped thus to divide the Moslems by buying the "elite" into the imperialist camp. The British have used this method in many of their colonies whenever the rule of naked force created a dangerous situation. The American imperialists did the same thing in the Philippines. And the Japanese imperialists are now trying it in Burma and other conquered Oriental countries.

"Free France" exposes the real motive of the de Gaulle imperialists when, in commenting on the Algerian "reforms," it recalls that after the defeat of France in the war with Prussia in 1871, the people of Algeria took advantage of the opportunity to rise in revolt against their French imperialist oppressors. "The events of 1871 came back to the memory of everybody" after France's subjugation by Nazi Germany in 1940, the journal declared. "Then, after the defeat of France, a violent insurrection had broken out in Algeria, endangering the effort of 40 years of pioneering work."

The defeat of France in 1940 has not yet led, as in 1871, to revolt in Algeria. But the danger is there, and well the French imperialists realize it!

In last week's issue of the Social-Democratic New Leader, Pearl Buck, a sentimental sympathizer with the colonial peoples in their struggle for national liberation, complains in a lengthy article of the "betrayal" of Korea by American imperialism. There were two "betrayals"—first in 1894-5 when America went back on a treaty obligation to aid Korea if attacked and permitted Japan, un inhibited, to conquer the country; second, in 1919 when the Korean people rose in insurrection against the Japanese conquerors and failed to receive any help from America despite Woodrow Wilson's promise of self-determination for all nations.

Now Pearl Buck is perturbed by the statement concerning Korea that came out of the Cairo conference. Roosevelt and Churchill contented themselves with a perfidious promise that Korea would be "given" its freedom—"in due course." None of the imperialists has ever "given" freedom to any of the peoples they oppress, though they have always given plenty of promises. Churchill only lately rejected with heat any suggestion that Hong Kong, a part of China, and now occupied by Japan, be returned to China at the end of the war. The words "in due course" used in connection with Korea have a

meaning which is all too clear. If and when Japan is defeated and driven out of Korea, the American imperialists intend to step into Japan's shoes, to dominate the country and exploit its people and its riches for the greater glory of Wall Street.

Pearl Buck has no more understanding of the realities of imperialist politics than a jungle medicine man has of scientific medicine. For her, the American imperialists are not following a consistent policy in conformity with their basic interests. They are merely "bungling." "We have bungled very badly in our treatment of our allies," she writes. "We have alienated many peoples through our fear of standing on the eternal principle of freedom as a natural and inalienable right of all. The peoples of France, Russia and Italy doubt our sincerity today. We have even alienated to some degree those warm friends, the Chinese. The people of India are beginning to classify us as tyrants."

And now Korea! "Nothing so discouraging as those three little words 'in due course' has happened to the Koreans since the last war."

Actually it is a good thing for the Koreans to find out that the American imperialists and the Japanese imperialists are brothers under the skin, so that when the time comes for them to renew their struggle for independence they will not suffer defeat through a false belief that the American capitalists are their disinterested friends and liberators.

* * *

The future colonial policy of American imperialism, as envisioned by the pundits of capitalist education and the big business interests that stand behind them, is already beginning to take shape. Faculty groups in 42 colleges and universities recently issued a report urging the United States to assume its "fair share" of "colonial responsibility" after the war. They want an International Colonial Commission established which will do just what the Mandates Commission of the League of Nations did after the last war—parcel out the colonial loot among the victorious powers, with a large share of territory, especially in the Pacific area, handed over to the United States.

Does this smack of imperialism? The learned educators in their report, which was featured prominently in the New York Times on March 10, undertake a little sugar-coating: "We should beware both of imperialistic expansion and aloof isolationism. But we should participate fully in a regional or international program of trusteeship over dependent peoples."

How it is possible for the United States to take over colonies and not be imperialist is not explained, beyond saying that the imperialists should act benevolently toward their new subjects and that their aim should be "to stimulate, but not exploit, the economic development of the area for the long-range welfare of both that area and the world."

If one were to believe the British, the French, the Dutch and all other imperialists, their presence in the colonies never had anything but the most benevolent of purposes, but the revolt of colonial peoples alone gives the lie to this hypocritical pretense. Regardless of their nationality, the imperialists grab colonies for one purpose and one purpose only—to rob and exploit the native populations. As it was with the older robber empires, so it will be with the newer American empire. No fancy window-dressing can conceal the predatory appetite of Wall Street.

In the past, defenders of American capitalism pointed to the absence of American colonies as proof that America was not an imperialist power. They conveniently overlooked the grab of Mexican territory, the seizure of the Philippines and Puerto Rico—not to speak of the financial domination of Latin America. Nevertheless many were hoodwinked into believing that capitalist America was "different." The proposals of the capitalist educators represent advance notice that their Wall Street masters are now dividing the world on paper in preparation for the real division.

Labor Must Rally To Free Kelly Postal, A Gallant Fighter Framed By The Bosses

Kelly Postal, life-long fighter for labor and militant defender of trade union democracy, has been rotting in the State Prison at Stillwater, Minnesota, since June 21, 1943. Dictator Daniel J. Tobin of the AFL Teamsters, with the connivance of the Minneapolis, Hennepin County and Minnesota boss-dominated courts, had him "put away" for up to five years in one of the dirtiest and cruelest frameups ever perpetrated against an incorruptible and fearless union leader.

The charge which Tobin brought against Postal was "embezzlement of funds," because Postal, as Secretary-Treasurer of Local 544, had loyally fulfilled the overwhelming vote of the local membership directing him to transfer the local's funds to the new affiliation when the Minneapolis truck drivers in June 1941 voted to disaffiliate from the AFL and join the CIO.

Real "Crime"

His real "crime," which brought upon him the relentless and vindictive persecution of the gangster-ridden Tobin machine and the federal, state and local governments, was his outstanding role as one of the leaders of famed Local 544, which had dared to oppose the corrupt overlords of Tobin and had transformed the once open shop citadel of Minneapolis into a union town.

Although the mechanism of the frameup differed, the Postal case is in reality part and parcel of the Roosevelt administration's frameup and imprisonment of the 18 Trotskyist and Local 544-CIO leaders under the Smith "Omnibus Gag" Act. Postal was one of the original 28 defendants in the Smith Act case who went on trial in the fall of 1941, but he was acquitted with nine others. His acquittal, however, only infuriated the Tobin gang, which then sought other means for wreaking vengeance upon a man whom they correctly considered to be one of their most uncompromising opponents.

A Frameup

They seized upon Postal's legitimate compliance with the will of his membership in transferring the Local 544 funds as a peg on which to hang a frameup. They induced the county prosecutor—a not unwilling agent of the employing interests—to bring Postal to trial on an embezzlement charge. No one, however, claimed that Postal had used a penny of the allegedly embezzled union funds for other than union purposes.

This first frameup attempt misfired. Presiding Judge Hall refused to become a party to the frameup, and ordered a directed acquittal for Postal. In his declaration to the jury, Judge Hall stated:

"By a resolution of the majority of the Local 544 membership, he (Postal) was directed to turn over all the monies of the union to the Union Defense Committee. That this resolution, directing him to turn over the monies was open and avowed, cannot be disputed, as it was heard, according to State witnesses, through the loudspeaker system, even by those assembled outside the building.

"The membership of the union must have believed they had a right to transfer these monies by resolution, as they attempted to do. Postal, the defendant was the agent and steward of the membership and turned over their money at their direction."

Shyster Lawyers

This acquittal only made Tobin more determined to "get" Postal. His shyster lawyers figured out a new legal subterfuge, and after scouring the judicial rolls finally found a compliant judge. Postal was hauled up to trial once more. The charge, the witnesses, the testimony, the "evidence" were the same as those previously thrown out of court. Only the sums involved in the alleged "embezzlement" were slightly changed, thus constituting a "new" count.

This time, the judge instructed the jury to find Postal guilty. Even open enemies of Postal and the labor movement pinched their noses at the stink of this frameup.

The Civil Rights Defense Committee, which is the national body organizing the defense of the Minneapolis Labor Case victims, immediately launched a vigorous campaign to appeal the verdict to higher courts. Scores of unions throughout the country came to Postal's aid. Thousands of workers signed petitions on his behalf. Labor and liberal leaders denounced the frameup and appealed for his freedom.

Upheld Conviction

But the Minnesota Supreme Court upheld the conviction, and subsequently, the state pardon board rejected an appeal for an unconditional pardon. Thus, through its juridical minions, the Minnesota owning class revenged itself on a courageous opponent of class oppression and paid its debt to Daniel Tobin for services rendered.

In last week's issue of the Social-Democratic New Leader, Pearl Buck, a sentimental sympathizer with the colonial peoples in their struggle for national liberation, complains in a lengthy article of the "betrayal" of Korea by American imperialism. There were two "betrayals"—first in 1894-5 when America went back on a treaty obligation to aid Korea if attacked and permitted Japan, un inhibited, to conquer the country; second, in 1919 when the Korean people rose in insurrection against the Japanese conquerors and failed to receive any help from America despite Woodrow Wilson's promise of self-determination for all nations.

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KELLY POSTAL

Canadian News Letter

Mackenzie King's new straight-jacket for labor, the "National Labor Relations Order," is being tried on for size, and despite the anxiety of both the trade union and CCF leaders to find a basis of agreement with Mr. King, they have been compelled to complain that the pants are too long.

The CCF leaders were over hasty in their attempt to find something good to say about the anti-labor Order. The first week they rushed into print in the New Commonwealth with a "qualified approval." In their next issue they were compelled to make a retraction. The fact is that the trade union membership of the CCF quickly showed the lawyers and professors at head office that they would stand no nonsense. In the Ontario legislature, the CCF was likewise compelled to take a strong stand against the order.

But why just in the Ontario House? The order did not originate in Ontario. It originated with the Federal House. But the CCF leaders there seem to be too busy to bother about such trifles as the Labor Relations Order. However, judging by the force of the union attack, it is safe to predict that the CCF leadership will be forced into a more active part in the fight.

Militants in the CCF are planning to force this issue to the top of every local agenda, to demand the co-ordination of CCF club and union activity in the fight against this vicious piece of legislation. The issue can be fought provincially as well as federally. King's straightjacket for labor can be torn to shreds by the combined attack of party and the unions.

It was the Auto Workers Union which spearheaded the fight in the Ontario House. Arthur Williams, CCF provincial member quoted from a telegram by George Burt, regional UAW-CIO director:

"The Federal Code does not make bargaining compulsory. Does not compel employers to recognize trade unions. Does not make company-sponsored unions illegal. Does not require a company to bargain in good faith. Does not protect employees' right to organize. Does not protect the position of collective bargaining agencies already certified. The old conciliation boards which have proven failures are included."

Williams pointed out in his speech that all penalties are upon the employees, including fines for individual workers, trade unions and union officials. The sections referring to obligations of employers leaves them optional, not compulsory.

Today, in Canada, the Liberal government is losing support, literally left and right. To the left are moving both French-speaking and English-speaking workers and farmers and many of the lower middle class. To the right are moving the big interests who are finding that the Liberal Party is no longer able to pull the wool over the eyes of the French workers and farmers, no longer able to play the old "middle-of-the-road" game between conciliation and coercion. The CCF is becoming a mass movement. Into the party are pouring workers tempered in the fire of strike combat with the bosses and with the government. These militants must be aided in developing an alternative leadership to the mealy-mouthed Christian Socialists now at the helm. Over and over again the Coldwells, the Joliffes and the Winches have proven their incapacity for serious socialist leadership. Their repeated failures are not lost upon the membership.

10 Years Ago In The Militant

MARCH 24, 1934

Detroit — The auto workers were preparing to strike for their wage demands. The Militant predicted: "The impending class battle will mark an important step on the road to the class awakening of the American workers and consequently to their political organizations... A trade union movement dominated by the factory proletariat would be too wild a horse for Green and Co. to ride... The express determination of the automobile workers to strike for the enforcement of their demands signalizes a profound change in their attitude toward the NRA..."

"The forces are lining up along the whole front for the greatest labor struggle since the post-war days." Less than two years later, the General Motors sit-down strike paralyzed American industry.

New York — Mass delegations of CWA workers from New York, Chicago, Pittsburgh, Baltimore, Philadelphia and Camden converged on Washington on Saturday, March 24, united in presenting their demands to Hopkins and Roosevelt. The Militant, in a front-page article supported the plans of the "On To Washington" drive.

Feature Article — Summarizing "One Year of Roosevelt's New Deal," The Militant described Roosevelt's policy as "The technique of serving the exploiters and fooling the masses." In a detailed study, it showed that his program was "motivated by the fear of decay and collapse of the capitalist system... to reinforce its basis, consolidate its most essential parts and strengthen its whole structure."

CIO Unionists At Weirton Steel Face Company Reign Of Terror

Down in Weirton, W. Va., where the open shop Weirton Steel Company is coining millions out of juicy government war contracts to help "make the world safe for democracy," the imperialists grab colonies for one purpose and one purpose only—to rob and exploit the native populations. As it was with the older robber empires, so it will be with the newer American empire. No fancy window-dressing can conceal the predatory appetite of Wall Street.

In the past, defenders of American capitalism pointed to the absence of American colonies as proof that America was not an imperialist power. They conveniently overlooked the grab of Mexican territory, the seizure of the Philippines and Puerto Rico—not to speak of the financial domination of Latin America.

Nevertheless many were hoodwinked into believing that capitalist America was "different." The proposals of the capitalist educators represent advance notice that their Wall Street masters are now dividing the world on paper in preparation for the real division.

ENSLAVED WORKERS

One day recently, 50 union steel workers went to Weirton from Youngstown to help their 10,000 enslaved brothers fight for union freedom. These 50 workers understood that the open shop cancer anywhere in the industry is a malignant growth which can spread with deadly speed and virulence. Machine guns were posted around the company grounds to greet them. Armed uniformed thugs swarmed the streets.

All this goes on today in an American town. This goes on in a town where the company was ordered in 1941 by the National Labor Relations Board to cease and desist from fighting unionism by "assaulting and beating" its employees. This goes on in the face of a decree issued last fall by the Third Federal Circuit Court of Appeals upholding the previous

NLRB order. All Roosevelt's government has done about it is to issue three weeks ago to the company an Army-Navy "E" award.

What's going on today, and for the past many years, in Weirton is the same thing the workers in Henry Ford's kingdom one faced. But in one day a fighting mass picket line drove Ford's army of goons back into their rat-holes and won a union-shop contract.

But that won't happen down in Weirton's town if the present policy of the USWA national leaders continues. They've given a no-strike pledge—and so all the aid and support Philip Murray and the other steel union leaders can give the hounded, sweated, beaten Weirton workers are cries and lamentations. These leaders can only run whining to their "Friend

of Labor" in Washington, who is too busy trying to win the "war for democracy" by pushing the national slave labor draft, to bother about workers being beaten up and denied union rights a few score miles from the nation's capitol.

Every openshopper in the country is applauding Ernest T. Weir. Every reactionary in Congress is casting admiring glances in his direction. He, in turn is emboldened by the anti-labor blitz that is pressing with greater and greater power at the heels of a retreating union leadership. And the WPB gives steel priorities to "industrial munitions" for guns, tear gas shells and ejectors, leg irons and hand-cuffs to supply police forces in industrial centers.

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THE CLASS STRUGGLE IN WORLD WAR II
Lecturer: Frank Graves — Time 8:00 P. M.

PROBLEMS AND PROSPECTS OF THE AMERICAN LABOR MOVEMENT
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GPU Gunman Returns To Mexico

The recent radio report that David Alfaro Siqueiros had returned to Mexico, a report which did not appear in the capitalist press here, has now been confirmed by the Mexican daily, *Excelsior*. Siqueiros, named by Trotsky before his death as an agent of the GPU, organized the May 24, 1940 machine-gun assault upon Trotsky's home and kidnapped Robert Sheldon Harte, one of Trotsky's guards. Harte was later found by the Mexican police in a shallow lime-filled grave, one bullet hole through the back of his head another through his temple.

In the police investigation of this murder and the attempt to assassinate Trotsky and his wife Natalia, Siqueiros was proved to have been the organizer. Later he was apprehended. He attempted to defend himself by claiming that the attack was a "justifiable" political action. But when the investigation of Jacson, who succeeded on August 20 of the same year in driving a pick-axe into Trotsky's brain, drew close to Siqueiros as the organizer back of Jacson, his escape was arranged and he fled to Chile and later to Cuba.

JUMPED BAIL

The fact that he is now able to return to Mexico despite the fact that he jumped bail and wandered with immunity from the police through the streets of the capital, is another proof that Stalin's murder machine, the GPU is still very much alive. Just as it has succeeded in providing Jacson with funds and in putting up an active legal defense for him in Mexican courts, so in the case of Siqueiros it is able to demonstrate its ability to take care of its assassins.

Why did the GPU bring Siqueiros back to Mexico? *Excelsior* hints that he became involved in the murder of a Cuban woman and that possibly the Cuban authorities were preparing to take action against him. A more plausible motive however may be deduced from the fact that Oumansky was designated by Stalin as Soviet Ambassador to Mexico upon Mexico's recognition of the Soviet Union.

Oumansky was designated by Trotsky before his death as an old GPU agent. Trotsky charged that Oumansky, then Ambassador to Washington, had been sent for no other reason, since he is by no means a professional diplomat, than to organize the assassination of Trotsky. When Krivitsky was murdered, *The Militant* demanded that the Washington police ask Oumansky what he knew of the affair. The Washington police however, hastily dropped the case.

Siqueiros even turned back to face us; but he did not listen to what we were saying, and kept a stony silence which prevented us from getting anything more out of him. But at least *Excelsior* is able today to report exclusively

the return of two people who have known well how to make a mockery of everyone.



GPU Gunman Siqueiros

OUR SURPRISE

Our surprise took us in one jump to the seat which Siqueiros was occupying on the bus. A large dark green hat—one of those which has always accented the natural sloppiness of his clothes—almost covered his eyes. Our greeting turned quickly into a questioning, which Siqueiros evaded with an evident nervousness that reflected itself in his face.

"What's going on, David, how long have you been around?" "Well, you know . . . not long . . ."

The vagueness of his answer showed also in the look which the genial painter's wife gave us as a reproach for our insistence. It was she who, without giving us a chance to say more, raised her hand and pulled the bell-cord to stop the bus.

The two of them got off almost at a run. We continued to follow the illustrious pair for a very short distance, when they disappeared into an office building on Avenida Juarez.

Siqueiros even turned back to face us; but he did not listen to what we were saying, and kept a stony silence which prevented us from getting anything more out of him. But at least *Excelsior* is able today to report exclusively

painter Siqueiros—everything seems to indicate that the illustrious "colonel" will not be touched and that the crimes for which he was tried will go unpunished . . .

PUT ON TRIAL

Siqueiros was put on trial for having participated, among other things, in the shooting in the house of Trotsky. In this attack one of the guards in the house was kidnapped. He was later found assassinated.

The judge of the First Penal Court has already declared that his order of arrest against the artist and fugitive from justice, although never carried out, still remains in force, but that it is outside of his jurisdiction to see that it is put into effect.

For their part, the police have not tried to locate Siqueiros, nor to arrest him, as they would any fugitive criminal. They say that they must first get the necessary papers and that this is what they are doing—slowly.

Officially, however, it is said that Siqueiros returned to Mexico through the influence of a prominent reactionary Jewish leader who successfully arranged his escape which was such a mockery of the judicial authorities—and that no one will be able to touch him; "anything which would seem to indicate to the contrary (it is said) is just a game to throw one off the scent."

Continuing its presentation of sections of James P. Cannon's book on *The History of American Trotskyism*, (scheduled for publication in the spring) the March issue of *Fourth International* publishes another chapter entitled: "The Dog Days of the Left Opposition." The author characterizes the period covered in this chapter as "the hardest days of all" in the thirty years of his participation in the revolutionary labor movement. It was during the "Dog Days" that the American Trotskyist movement, with the aid of Trotsky in exile, hammered out its basic political line and persevered in the face of enormous material difficulties.

The second section of the excellent study of Japan by Li Fu-Jen maintains the same high standard which brought such favorable comments from *Fourth International* readers who read the first section in the February issue. "Japan Faces the Abyss" analyzes the conditions prevailing in large scale industry and agriculture in Japan. The article is required reading for all those interested in the social, economic and political questions of the Japanese empire.

Their previous day dreams and hopes that "with the resources and the means of the War Department, State Department, Treasury, intergovernmental agencies, United Nations governments . . . we now may look forward to a definite program of rescue" (Congress Weekly, Feb. 4, 1944) have now vanished. Once more the Jews have been taught an object lesson on the thoroughly reactionary character of Anglo-American imperialism.

The reactionary policy of the War Refugee Board is not a sudden negation of the government's previous attitude towards the refugee problem. It is a confirmation of it. The fact that the

French political life, the struggle of social classes, was injected into the court proceedings at Algiers. With a keen sense of this issue, the New York Times correspondent declared that "the shadow of civil war hung over the court room and both sides (prosecution and defense) took cognizance of it."

POLITICAL SENSE

With equally keen political sense, Pucheu himself alluded to the French Revolution in his final address to the court, declaring that "when a government begins a massacre of Girondists, it moves inexorably toward a Thermidor." He appealed to the court "not to open the way for passions and civil war."

Pucheu's simile was not very apt, because there exists not the slightest resemblance between treacherous capitalist politicians of his stamp and the Girondists of revolutionary France. Nevertheless, the meaning of his court room appeal is entirely clear. Pucheu was calling upon his class—the bourgeoisie—to close ranks against the vast popular movement of underground France, a movement which holds the promise of France's socialist future and the threat of utter destruction of the bourgeoisie and the hateful system of capitalism.

CONDUCT INEPT

No wonder the de Gaulleists, as reported by the New York Times from Algiers on March 11, "declared the conduct of the case by the prosecution had been inept." It revealed more than was intended or desired. Little wonder, also, as the same source reveals, that the French Committee of National Liberation has decided to hold no more treason trials until after the "liberation" of France. Flanquin, Boisson and Peyron, also accused of collaboration with the Nazis, will not have their day in court for long time to come.

De Gaulle and his capitalist "patriots" are meanwhile confronted with a fresh dilemma: what to do with Pucheu? As one

of them expressed it to the New York Times correspondent: "If de Gaulle would commute Pucheu's sentence, de Gaulle would never set foot in France, for he would be condemned by public opinion there." And if, on the other hand, he decrees that Pucheu must die, what of the other traitorous "collaborators," including those in de Gaulle's own camp, not forgetting Pucheu's prosecutor, Maj. Gen. Pierre Weiss, and what of the capitalist class as a whole, which in France collaborates with Hitler?

Pucheu was condemned to death by the French underground movement before he departed for North Africa in 1942. As Vichy's minister of interior, he was responsible for the anti-Semitic laws that were adopted and for the vicious police measures taken against underground opponents of the Nazis. When things became too hot for him at home, he fled to North Africa, hoping to attach himself to that section of the French bourgeoisie which was collaborating with the "democratic" imperialists.

Pucheu was condemned to death for "collusion with the enemy."

Yet he was able, without contradiction from any source, to brand his prosecutor, one of the leading luminaries of the de Gaulleist faction, with a similar charge.

PROTEST CAMPAIGN

An extensive protest campaign began against this attack on the free press. The *Militant*, the weekly organ of Trotskyism in America, has been part of the Roosevelt administration's frameup drive to silence the voice of revolutionary socialism through the imprisonment of the 18 Minneapolis Labor Case victims and Kelly Postal.

Following the seizure and destruction of several issues of *The Militant*, Postmaster General Walker in January 1943 ordered a hearing before his own hand-picked board of three for the *Militant* editors to "show cause" why its second-class mailing privileges should not be withdrawn.

BIDDLE'S ROLE

This action had been preceded by a directing letter to Walker from Attorney General Biddle, who had organized the Minneapolis prosecutions, in which "as part of the joint cooperation which has existed between your Department and this Department (of Justice)" Biddle proposed "that you may wish to consider the issuance of an order to show cause why *The Militant* should not be denied second-class mailing privileges," and offering "complete cooperation in any action you may deem advisable."

HEROIC STRUGGLE

The French workers and peasants are carrying on a heroic struggle against the Nazi

War Refugee Board Perpetrates Hoax On Nazi Victims

By Dan Shelton

The War Refugee Board, created by President Roosevelt to presumably facilitate the rescue of the Jews of Europe and other Nazi victims, is entirely without funds. This was revealed last week by Mr. John Pehle, director of the board, when he stated that his agency had no money, definitely did not expect government grants for its work and was undecided whether to request an appropriation from Congress.

Established in January 1944, the War Refugee Board was supposed to be an expression of "the policy of this Government to rescue the victims of enemy oppression who are in immediate danger of death and otherwise to afford such victims all possible relief and assistance consistent with the successful prosecution of the war." The rescue and relief of Hitler's victims in Europe was to be carried on "with all possible speed." The U. S. policy was supposed to be one of giving relief to those who had escaped Europe and also to participate in assisting such escapes.

NO FUNDS

Mr. Pehle's statement represents a brazen repudiation of the supposed aims of the War Refugee Board. The Government will grant no funds but is rather "inclined to ask private agencies engaged in relief to furnish the funds for rescue work." Thus private charity is confronted with the impossible task of raising the several hundred millions of dollars that are required. Furthermore, the board will "not be directly engaged" in rescuing victims from Hitler's Europe but will only assist private organizations in this work.

ANTI-LABOR ACTIONS

"The War Labor Board ordered the men back to work, but it has yet to order the company genuinely to bargain."

"The Office of Price Administration sent out letter to strikers demanding return of their 'B' and 'C' cards."

"Governor Donnell, that great friend of labor" was preparing to call out the militia. The sheriff was there Johnny-on-the-spot, to enforce an injunction issued by a Johnny-on-the-spot judge.

"The company succeeds in defiance of the law. Labor gets fed up, and walks out for a few days. Then the whole pack starts in

Union-Busting Campaign Rousing Workers' Anger

"We haven't yet heard, but we presume the draft boards were preparing to put strikers into the Army as a 'penalty.' It has been done before."

"All the powers of the state and national Administrations were directed against labor."

"The company was defying the law—not the union. The strike was the union's only recourse. The government closed all other avenues."

"But did the War Labor Board get tough with the law-defying company? It did not."

"Were the threats of Governor Donnell's guns turned toward the law-defying company? They were not."

THE WHOLE PACK

"As for the action of the OPA, that's a new one. This spineless, bootlicking bureau, that whimpers around the feet of Big Business, which crawled on the vital issue of grade labeling, was set up to protect the market basket of the American public. But if it were rightly named, it would be called the Office of Profit Assurance. The bureaucrats of this bootlicking outfit, who start their bellycrawling when chiseling business men even glance their way, suddenly gets very tough when it comes to helping a law-defying company in a labor dispute. Their anxiety to be helpful reveals both their guilt and their venom against the people they were hired to protect. Incidentally, aren't they supposed to be labor members on this board? If so, where were they?"

"The company succeeds in defiance of the law. Labor gets fed up, and walks out for a few days. Then the whole pack starts in

trial aid for the Italian masses in their great battle against reaction and would seek to mobilize the international working class for similar solidarity.

The Stalin government, on the contrary, solidarizes itself with the rotten junta which the Italian masses are trying desperately to overthrow. Here we see the distance the Stalin regime has traveled away from Bolshevism, the extent to which it has become the helper and partner of capitalist reaction.

Stalin's recognition of the Badoglio regime signifies more than just a lighthearted disregard of the feelings and interests of the workers. It reveals, on the scale of the Italian events, the counter-revolutionary role which Stalinism intends to play in the coming European revolution, in which the Italian upheaval represents the first act.

SOVIET BUREAUCRACY

The Soviet bureaucracy, with Stalin at its head, has as good a reason to fear the coming storms of the proletarian revolution as the imperialists. For the imperialists, the proletarian revolution means the end of their dictatorial rule and the revival of Soviet democracy. Safety for the Soviet bureaucracy lies in confusing and disorienting the workers, betraying their movement to the class enemy, stabbing them in the back whenever they make a move in the direction of the socialist revolution.

The cynical and well-calculated betrayal of the struggle of the Italian workers will undoubtedly open the eyes of the advance guard to the real role of Stalinism in the labor movement. The Stalinists now comes forth openly as strike-breakers and agents of the bourgeois counter-revolution.

HEALTHY SIGN

That their role is already beginning to be understood is indicated by a recent split in the Communist Party at Naples, first reported by the *N. Y. Herald Tribune* correspondent, Homer Bigart and since confirmed. A large section of the party broke away and constituted an independent organization free of any ties with Moscow.

This is a healthy sign. The rift in the ranks of the Communist parties everywhere will widen and deepen as more and more revolutionary militants come to understand the character and the role of Stalinism. The workers can march forward to socialist victory only if they mercilessly root out of their ranks this dangerous poison.

New Issue Of F. I. Features Article On Japan's Economy

Continuing its presentation of sections of James P. Cannon's book on *The History of American Trotskyism*, (scheduled for publication in the spring) the March issue of *Fourth International* publishes another chapter entitled: "The Dog Days of the Left Opposition." The author characterizes the period covered in this chapter as "the hardest days of all" in the thirty years of his participation in the revolutionary labor movement.

The cynical enthusiasm evoked by the establishment of the War Refugee Board amongst the reactionary Jewish leaders has now been converted to bitter disappointment.

The second section of the excellent study of Japan by Li Fu-Jen maintains the same high standard which brought such favorable comments from *Fourth International* readers who read the first section in the February issue. "Japan Faces the Abyss" analyzes the conditions prevailing in large scale industry and agriculture in Japan. The article is required reading for all those interested in the social, economic and political questions of the Japanese empire.

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POST OFFICE CENSORSHIP OF 'MILITANT' IS DISCONTINUED

(Continued from page 1)

fight to halt Post Office censorship and suppression has been won.

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Following the seizure and destruction of several issues of *The Militant*, Postmaster General Walker in January 1943 ordered a hearing before his own hand-picked board of three for the *Militant* editors to "show cause" why its second-class mailing privileges should not be withdrawn.

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An extensive protest campaign began against this attack on the free press. The *Militant*, the weekly organ of Trotskyism in America, has been part of the Roosevelt administration's frameup drive to silence the voice of revolutionary socialism through the imprisonment of the 18 Minneapolis Labor Case victims and Kelly Postal.

Last July *The Militant* was requested to refrain from court action and reapply for its second-class rights. This was done. Following a further delay of eight months, the Solicitor of the Post Office Department on March 7 finally approved the restoration of these mailing rights.

Off the Press!

Second and Enlarged Edition

The Struggle for Negro Equality

by

John Saunders and

Albert Parker

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THE MILITANT

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Working People

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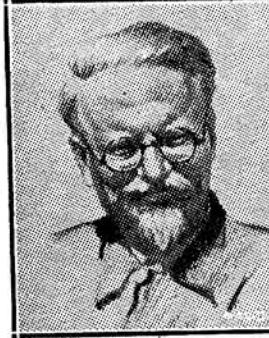
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"Entered as second class matter March 7, 1944 at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879."



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

— LEON TROTSKY

JOIN US IN FIGHTING FOR:

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

Michigan Party

The decision by Michigan unionists to launch a new farmer-labor party is a step of first rate importance. It is positive proof of the growing political development of America's mass production workers. The experience of life itself is compelling the workers to recognize the class character of government. They see that Big Business, having gained a monopoly of the political power through their domination of the Democratic and Republican parties, are using this power to enrich themselves at the expense of the American people. The Michigan Commonwealth Federation is the first significant step toward freeing labor from political and economic bondage to the Wall Street money-bags.

As was to be expected, Roosevelt's labor lackeys in control of the CIO "Political Action Committee" greeted the new movement with undisguised hostility from its very inception. That is no surprise. The CIO Political Action Committee was established for the express purpose of heading off the movement for an independent labor party. Sidney Hillman, chairman of the CIO committee, has stumped the country as a glorified ward-heeler for Roosevelt, attempting to crush every manifestation of independent political action. The CIO top bureaucrats fear independent labor action just as much as do Roosevelt and the capitalists. The labor party movement can expect at this stage only hostility from this crew.

Any new movement organized to break the political monopoly of the American capitalist class, must be prepared to cope with the furious onslaught that will be launched against it from all sides. More dangerous even than its avowed opponents are those timid souls inside the labor party movement who will counsel warding off the blows by watering down the program. These Pollyannas will try to persuade the young movement to take refuge behind the "respectability" of middle class liberals, lawyers, and others of such ilk. They will caution the workers against making "unreasonable" demands which will frighten away some vegetarian allies. The new political movement can only grow, however, and come to fruition, it can achieve its high promise, only if it sets forth an unambiguous fighting program that answers the needs of the workers and poor farmers and then steadfastly adheres to this program regardless of the opposition.

The Michigan Commonwealth Federation is still a fluid movement. What it becomes will de-

pend in large measure on the militants in the Michigan labor movement. It is the duty of these militants, these veterans of dozens of strike struggles to get into the labor party movement and influence its development in the right direction. The contribution of their militancy, experience and knowledge will be the best guarantee against the degeneration of the new party by political quacks and messiahs who, always on the lookout for a "career," flock to a new promising movement.

As far as the militants are concerned: the job now is to join the new movement, get your locals to affiliate to it, build the new party, and help hammer out a bold program that will meet the needs of workers, farmers and their allies.

Irish Neutrality

American state department demands on Eire to expel Axis diplomatic agents is tantamount to an ultimatum that the Irish state abandon its neutrality and enter the war as an ally of the Anglo-American combination. Why are Roosevelt and Churchill so determined that little Eire shall enter the war? The official explanation that Axis embassies in Dublin can become a source of leakage of Allied military information is obviously an invention.

War has become totalitarian and global. Nobody can escape any longer, nobody can withdraw into his own little shell, nobody can for long remain neutral. Argentina, as all South America, writhes under the heel of Yankee imperialism, but cannot escape its deadly grip. Even the most primitive peoples in the densest jungles of the South Pacific cannot escape the long hand of the Second World War. And now the imperial squeeze play is beginning to be applied on little Eire.

Eire's valuable ports, her proximity to Britain, her strategically important position have long ago pre-determined the fact that the Anglo-American combination would use all of its power, all of its vast economic and financial resources to force Ireland into the war, and to open its ports and airfields to Allied use.

De Valera, head of the government of Eire, has of course indignantly rejected the Allied demand. In truth, he could do nothing else. The Irish people, with tradition of 700-year long struggle for freedom, are no more willing to fight for British imperialism in the present war than they were in the last.

Rejection on the part of Dublin for expulsion of the Axis diplomats has already brought swift retaliation: The Churchill government severed all normal travel and communications between Britain and Eire, and between Eire and North Ireland. If this does not suffice, further pressure will probably follow.

The imperialists in their mad drive are dragging into the bloody maelstrom every individual, young and old, male and female, every country, every colony, every island—nothing and nobody is safe. Now they are out to dragoon Ireland into the slaughterhouse.

Secret Diplomacy

The Teheran conference, hailed by the Stalinist scoundrels as the threshold to a new era of peace and progress, fully exemplifies the secret diplomacy of the administration. When Roosevelt returned from Teheran, he kept mum about the decisions made there. To this day the people whose lives and futures were placed upon the block have not been informed about the transactions which took place among the heads of the powers. Roosevelt even had the nerve to declare that no secret agreements whatsoever were concluded at Teheran.

Revelations made since the conference by the highest authorities, including the prime participants themselves, demonstrate that the President is a deliberate deceiver of the American people.

In his latest speech to the House of Commons Prime Minister Churchill stated that he had discussed with Stalin the question of Poland's territory and they had agreed to hand over to the Polish government slices of German territory in compensation for eastern territories to be taken by Stalin. Territorial partitioning by means of private barter between the powers without consultation with or regard for the populations involved, is typical of the old wicked diplomacy and power politics which have already inflicted two world wars upon humanity.

Shortly before, the semi-official "Army and Navy Journal" disclosed that at Cairo Churchill and Chiang Kai-shek had consented to the United States taking possession of the Japanese mandated islands in the Pacific, the very islands which the Japanese imperialists had taken and held as a result of a similar dirty deal among the Allies after the first world war.

"Open covenants openly arrived at" Wilson sanctimoniously proclaimed 25 years ago, as the first goal of the war to "make the world safe for democracy." How hollow, how false these words sound today. The "big three," Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin, practice secret diplomacy like oriental potentates and with such unheard-of brazenness, such arrogance, such contempt for the people!

How can it be otherwise? Their reactionary schemes, their counter-revolutionary designs, their plans for a world of slavery and dictatorship cannot stand the light of day. They can only be hatched conspiratorial fashion, behind the backs of the people.

The awakening labor movement in its fight to thwart the counter-revolutionary aims of American Big Business, will adopt as one of its important planks the old socialist cry: Down with secret diplomacy!

United States with the same program and methods that the Bolsheviks under Lenin and Trotsky established the Soviet Union. In the interest of truth please publish this correction.

WORKERS' FORUM

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

SWP Protest

(We print below a copy of the protest wire sent by the Socialist Workers Party to the Editors of Life Magazine on January 17, and the letter of retraction sent to the SWP by the Editors of Life Magazine on March 3.—Ed.)

Socialist Workers Party

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Editor

Life Magazine:

We emphatically protest as utterly misleading and slanderous your report of imprisonment of 18 members of the Socialist Workers Party (Trotskyists) and Teamsters in Minneapolis under story heading quote U. S. INDICTS TWO TOPMOST FASCIISTS end quote. In 1939 the American Trotskyists called and led an anti-Fascist demonstration of 50,000 New York workers against the Nazis and Fascists meeting in Madison Square Garden. Hitler Mussolini and Franco jail and shoot Trotskyists who are fighting the Fascist regimes and struggling to establish a Socialist Germany, Italy and Spain. The 18 were imprisoned according to the U. S. Government indictment because they propagated the ideas of the Communist Manifesto and were working against Capitalism for the establishment of a Workers and Farmers Government in the

United States with the same program and methods that the Bolsheviks under Lenin and Trotsky established the Soviet Union. In the interest of truth please publish this correction.

Socialist Workers Party

Editor

Life Magazine:

We are extremely sorry that you felt our recent article called "U. S. INDICTS TWO TOPMOST FASCIISTS" was unfair in any way to the Socialist Workers Party and the Minnesota Teamsters Union. Such was, of course, not our intent, and we hope that you saw the letter from the Civil Rights Defense Committee which we published in the Letters Column of our February 7 issue to correct any possible misapprehension.

Thank you for letting us hear from you in this regard.

Sincerely yours,

Beverly Cram, for the Editors

Life Magazine

Editor:

Many malcontents are to be found among seamen today. We

who observe at first hand the applications of the Four Freedoms abroad cannot be otherwise. Unfortunately, mankind's progress suffers because man is fundamentally a conservative. He would rather struggle along with the little he has than institute a change, and though he may not actively oppose a radical, seldom is the occasion when he does not passively oppose him. Social outcasts and revolutionaries of varying hues are quite prevalent among merchant seamen, but even coupled with a life so stimulating to political activity and efforts at social rejuvenation, this is not enough to make most seamen appreciative of the tremendous and overwhelmingly important changes soon to be made in the world's political and economic structure.

It is necessary, therefore, that they take the right road and not be led blindly to the slaughterhouse by their union heads. Seamen want to know what is right. The Socialist Workers Party can show them what is right. My suggestion is that no stone should be left unturned in an attempt to educate the men of this powerful and indispensable maritime industry.

G. H.

Seattle

formation, by all means, is to have it done peacefully."

But all history shows that the outlived ruling minority will try to maintain its power and privileges by using violence against the revolutionary majority. Cannon points this out: "The outlived class, which is put in a minority by the revolutionary growth in the country, will try by violent means to hold on to its privileges against the will of the majority. That is what we predict."

"Of course, we don't limit ourselves to that prediction. We go further, and ask the workers to bear this in mind and prepare themselves not to permit the reactionary outlived minority to frustrate the will of the majority."

The justification for Cannon's position that "Our Party is unalterably opposed to all imperialist wars," is now far clearer than when the statement was made in the Autumn of 1941. At that time the pattern of Anglo-American imperialist plans had not yet become completely apparent, but now these reactionary schemes stand fully revealed for all to see. The support of the Badoglio dictatorship in Italy, the Darlan deal, and the brutal British policy in India have torn away all the camouflage of the "war for democracy" and have revealed the counter-revolutionary and imperialist character of the Anglo-American coalition.

Cannon's words sound like a prophecy. Answering a question as to what was the Socialist Workers Party's position on the claim that this was a war of democracy against fascism, he said: "We say that is a subterfuge, that the conflict between American imperialism and German imperialism is for the domination of the world. It is absolutely true that Hitler wants to dominate the world, but we think that it is equally true that the ruling group of American capitalists has the same idea, and we are not in favor of either of them."

"We do not think that the Sixty Families who own America want to wage this war for some sacred principle of democracy. We think they are the greatest enemies of democracy here at home. We think they would only use the opportunity of war to eliminate all civil liberties at home, to get the best imitation of Fascism they can possibly get."

The second edition of "Socialism on Trial" has a new introduction by Joseph Hansen, bringing the story of the Minneapolis case up to date. The 18 defendants are now serving sentences in Roosevelt's prisons for their adherence to socialist principles. But their fight against government persecution, crystallized in this publication of Cannon's testimony, has served to spread the ideas of socialism to ever-wider sections of the American workers.

Reviewed by Dave Jeffries

Workers' BOOKSHELF

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