

FREE THE 18!

# THE MILITANT

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

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

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

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

### UNION SPOKESMEN

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

De Lorenzo, who is himself facing a frameup indictment growing out of his militant union activities, has recently joined the National Committee of the CRDC, as did Baldanzi, who will act as chairman of the mass meeting. Wolchok heads the union which lead the Ward strike in Chicago.

Other speakers will include Roger Baldwin, Director of the American Civil Liberties Union, which has backed the defense of the 18 from the start of the case; Norman Thomas, of the Socialist Party; Daniel Bell, Associate Editor of the *New Leader* and Albert Gates, Editor of *Labor Action*.

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

### L. A. MASS MEETING

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

In his most recent press statement, Novack declared: "The Smith Act is considered unconstitutional and a violation of the Bill of Rights by all progressive sections of the labor and liberal movements. Both the AFL and CIO opposed its passage in Congress and it was denounced by the American Civil Liberties Union as an 'instrument of oppression against unpopular minorities and organized labor.'

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

### Foremen In Detroit Strike To Achieve Union Recognition

By Jeanette Lane

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

As things are now going, the peace we will make, the peace we seem to be making, will be a peace of oil, a peace of gold, a peace of shipping, a peace, in brief, of factual situations, a peace without moral purpose or human intent, a peace of dicker and trade about the facts of commerce, the facts of banking, the facts of transportation, which will lead us where the treaties made by dicker and trade have always led."

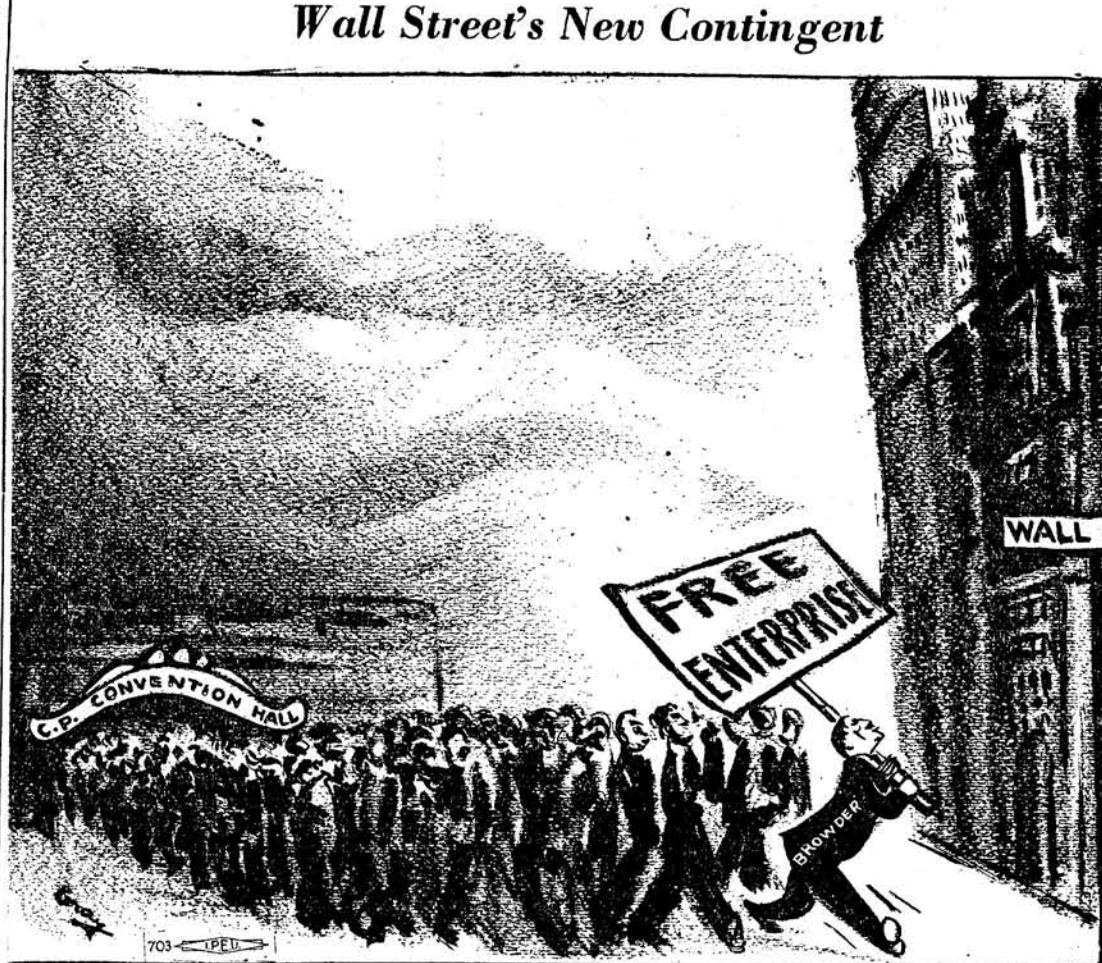
A predatory peace can be the only end of a reactionary war. Does the learned Mr. MacLeish draw this conclusion? Heaven forbid! His concern is precisely to prevent the masses from drawing any such conclusion.

ment, Novack declared: "The Smith Act is considered unconstitutional and a violation of the Bill of Rights by all progressive sections of the labor and liberal movements. Both the AFL and CIO opposed its passage in Congress and it was denounced by the American Civil Liberties Union as an 'instrument of oppression against unpopular minorities and organized labor.'

### THE RUN-AROUND

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

(Continued on page 2)



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

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

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

### THE NEW PREAMBLE

The preamble to the constitution of the newly-created "Communist Political Association," which the convention adopted, declares that this self-avowed agency of Wall Street "adheres to the principles of scientific socialism, Marxism, the heritage of the best thought of humanity and of a hundred years' experience of the labor movement."

Yet Browder, in his speech to the convention as reported in the *Daily Worker*, pointed out that the new Stalinist program "has no element of socialism in it." What purpose, then, is behind the lip-service to socialism and Marxism? Obviously it is designed to confuse those in the party who still wish to struggle for socialism.

What Browder and Co. did not and could not explain was how the alleged adherence to socialism could be reconciled with the avowed defense of capitalism which is the core of Stalinist policy as announced by Browder.

### BROWDER RESOLUTION

Browder's resolution stated: "Whereas the bulk of the American people are not yet convinced of the need for a more radical solution of our social and economic problems through large-scale nationalization of industries or through the establishment of socialism, all patriotic forces including the adherents of socialism, can and must bend every effort to promote the maximum of economic security, production and employment that CAN AND MUST be achieved under capitalism."

But what need is there for socialism at all if economic security can be achieved under capitalism? The socialist movement arose as an objective, imperative need of the world working-class precisely because there IS NOT AND CANNOT BE any economic security for the workers as long as capitalism lives. And the need for a revolutionary socialist organization exists precisely because it is necessary to convince the bulk of the working-class of the need to abolish

As secretary-treasurer of the Local, Kelly Postal obeyed the vote and transferred the Local's funds to the new CIO union. For acting thus he was charged with "embezzlement" on complaint of Tobin and railroads to prison for a term up to five years.

(Continued on page 5)

KELLY POSTAL

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

The Kelly Postal case grew out of the Minneapolis labor case in June, 1941 when a long-standing conflict between Local 544 of the Teamsters Union and Daniel J. Tobin, president of the Teamsters International Union, came to a head. The membership of Local 544 voted almost unanimously to disaffiliate from Tobin's AFL union and join the CIO.

As secretary-treasurer of the Local, Kelly Postal obeyed the vote and transferred the Local's funds to the new CIO union. For acting thus he was charged with "embezzlement" on complaint of Tobin and railroads to prison for a term up to five years.

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

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

By C. Thomas

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

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

### WHAT THEY FEAR

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

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

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

### LOOMING CRISIS

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

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

(Continued on page 2)

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

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

### BROWDER RESOLUTION

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

## OUR GREEK MARTYRS

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

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

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

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

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

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

# TRADE UNION NOTES

By Joseph Keller

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

Under the Wagner labor relations act, the workers are supposed to be protected from the coercion and intimidation of employers. The Budd company is known as the "Ford of Philadelphia," and to this day has successfully prevented its workers from enjoying the benefits of unionization by the most vicious union-busting measures.

Nevertheless, under the guise of an alleged concern for "freedom of speech," the federal court has given juridical sanction for all the labor-hating corporations to launch open propaganda campaigns that can have no other purpose than interfering with the rights of workers to join unions of their own choosing.

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

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

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

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

## "Seizures" Are Screen For Anti-Labor Drive

(Continued from page 1)

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

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

Come on Los Angeles, St. Paul, Cleveland, New Haven, Minneapolis, Chicago, San Diego, Akron, Bayonne, Flint, Quakertown — let's catch up!

Come on Pittsburgh, Rochester, St. Louis, Texas — let's get out of the zero column!

### OUTSTANDING ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE WEEK

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

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

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

### FROM OUR MAIL BAG

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

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

**Reading:** "Send us 20 more sub cards."

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

### SCOREBOARD

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

ALLEGTON, PA., May 19 —

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

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

### SPONTANEOUS PROTEST

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

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

### WORKERS DEFIANT

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

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

## Worthington Steel Workers Strike As Grievances Pile Up

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

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

### WALKOUT SPREADS

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

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

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

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

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

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

## THE WORKERS AND THE SECOND WORLD WAR

A Speech by

JAMES P. CANNON

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# The Fraud Of Government "Trust-Busting"

By Miriam Carter

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

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

## Sherman Anti-Trust Act

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

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

It was in 1890 that the Sherman Anti-

Trust Act was passed, to allay the discontent of the farmers, workers and small business men who had suffered from the ruthless methods used by the Robber Barons in the building of their giant trusts. However, under the Sherman Anti-Trust Act, together with the Clayton Act of 1916 which was to have put "teeth" into it, the great trusts have flourished and grown to such gigantic proportions that today they have the entire economy, as well as the government, under their thumb.

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

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

## Morgan-Rockefeller Feud

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## Graham Committee Report

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

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

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

the great trusts."

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

### GPU Caught Red-handed

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

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

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

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

### Robert Sheldon Harte

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



ROBERT SHELDON HARTE, 1915-1940

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

## Dissolution Of C.P. Voted At Convention

(Continued from page 1)

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

### THE NEW CONSTITUTION

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

However, while warning po-

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

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

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

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

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

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

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Aftermath of the Coal Strikes

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## Working Conditions In Rubber Industry

By Theodore Kovalsky

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

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

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

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

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

### YOUR STANDARD OF LIVING . . .

WHAT'S HAPPENING TO IT?

By C. Charles

★

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

# William Haywood -- A Soldier To The Very End

## Homage To A Great Working Class Fighter

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

By James P. Cannon

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



William Haywood, 1869-1928

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

### A Soldier to the Last

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

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

### Haywood's Memoirs

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

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

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

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

### First Convention of the IWW

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

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

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

### Headed Left Wing

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

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

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

### Haywood Becomes a Communist

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

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

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

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

### Haywood and the Akron Strike

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

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

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

### Feared by Ruling Class

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

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

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

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

## CARTEL SWINDLERS NEVER SLEEP

By Ralph Graham

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

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

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

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

**CARTEL FIRMS**  
Cartel firms buy up and suppress patents covering improvements in the quality of consumer's products, especially where such improvements would prolong the life of the product and thus reduce the volume of sales. They also deliberately reduce quality.

A case in point is given in the monograph quoted above. General Electric is charged with reducing the life of lamp bulbs and discouraging bulb-testing by purchasers. The same firm was reluctant to introduce the much more economical and longer-lived fluorescent lamp for household use.

Another case is that of du

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

Methods such as these are employed by the monopoly trusts in all countries. All are designed toward the same end: fixation and maintenance of non-competitive, monopolistic prices at the highest possible rate in order to reap super-profits. The cartel gives expression to this purpose in the field of international trade.

In the economic crisis after the last war the market for natural rubber sagged to a point at which the rubber planters were faced

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

It is the same story as regards the powerful diamond cartel which controls with an iron hand the output and distribution of diamonds both for personal adornment and for industrial purposes. This powerful international trust has been able to boost the price of diamonds about 60 percent since the start of the war. At the center of the trust is De Beers Consolidated, a billionaire British concern which controls 95 percent of the world's diamond output through ownership of or cartel agreement with all the principal mines in southern Africa.

### DIAMOND MINES

The great diamond mines in Kimberley, Union of South Africa, are De Beers' greatest single property. Here thousands of indentured natives toil in the hot, steamy underground for wages equivalent to about \$10 a month.

They live in company compounds fenced with barbed wire and constantly under guard lest they attempt to smuggle out diamonds which they could conceal on their persons during work. As double insurance against this happening, each worker as he comes off shift is subjected to a close search. He is made to strip off his clothing and while this is being done, the worker's hair, ears and mouth are examined, also the spaces between his toes. He is then given a rapid-action cathartic and the stool examined for stolen gems. If a gem should be found, the unfortunate native faces a severe beating-up by guards and a long prison sentence.

The war has disrupted the

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

### TRUST-BUSTING

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

The war has disrupted the

### FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

#### Table of Contents

FOR MAY, 1944

- THE MONTH IN REVIEW
- Stalin and Badoglio
- On the Eve of Invasion
- The Montgomery Ward Case
- The May 1940 Assault Against Trotsky
- MAY DAY 1944 ..... by Ralph Graham
- THE GREAT MINNEAPOLIS STRIKE .. by James P. Cannon
- ENGLISH RESOLUTION ON WAR AND MILITARY POLICY
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The "LABOR WITH A WHITE SKIN CAN NOT EMANIPULATE ITSELF WHERE LABOR WITH A BLACK SKIN IS BRANDED" — KARL MARX.

## Negro Struggle

By Charles Jackson

### Walter White's "Fight" Against Jim Crow

Walter White, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, after his tour of the war fronts has brought back with him the proof that US Army officers in Naples, Italy are introducing a "No Negroes Allowed" policy even into the native business places. Informing the War Department of conditions as he found them, Mr. White complains:

"The Algiers censors, both British and American deleted virtually every pertinent part of the story. I was told that if I would insert a statement to the effect that this anti-Negro propaganda was the work of Nazi agents the story would be passed... I would have been guilty of making a false statement had I done so." This kind of practice he deplores. Why? Because it "postpones the day of victory." What kind of "victory" can there be under such a set-up for the Negro? Mr. White prefers to leave such questions unanswered. Instead he goes on to plead that "... if for no other reason than to win the war... it is imperative that any person, whatever his race, who causes trouble should be stopped." Here White stands revealed in all his nakedness. His own words condemn him. For in the opinion of those who run the war, Negro soldiers or civilians who demand equality are "causing trouble" and therefore "should be stopped."

Segregation is intended to keep the workers divided and to maintain a "surplus" of labor on the market. As long as billions in profits can be extracted by dealing in human labor power, so long will we have both war and Jim Crow. If you want to support this war you should drop the Negro struggle completely. That is exactly what the Stalinists have done. If Mr. White was consistent he would drop the Negro struggle and disband the NAACP. But disbanding the NAACP would mean, among other things, that Mr. White would have to find another job.

With reasoning typical of all bureaucrats, he thinks he can retain control of the Negro masses — and of his job — by spouting militant speeches while at the same time "keeping it good" with the powers-that-be by patriotic talk and the avoidance of embarrassing (to them) mass action. White's criticism of Jim Crow practices in the Army is nullified by his parrot-like apologies advising us to support the ruling class in their war. He blows hot only in order to blow cold.

In the NAACP pamphlet "Spearhead of Democracy" it is written that the chattel slavery of eighty years ago has merely been substituted by a "slavery of economic denial, social proscription and political frustration."

### PIONEER PARAGRAPHS

## THEORY PLAYS A DECISIVE ROLE IN POLITICAL ACTION

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

There is a profound lesson in this terrible sequence of events for all the generation of the young proletariat awakening to political interest and political life. Trotsky explained it in 1928 in his book ("The Third International After Lenin"). In "The Criticism of the Draft Program of the Comintern" he explained to the communist workers of Russia and the world that precisely this theory of socialism in one country, with its inevitable nationalistic implications, would inevitably lead to the degeneration and downfall of the Comintern. When this was written

READ  
'THE FOURTH  
INTERNATIONAL'

# Economic Rivalries Within The Anglo-American War Coalition

By James Cowan

Try as they will to conceal the real nature and aims of the present world war, the capitalist "democracies" continue to reveal, in deed and word, its predatory character as a struggle for markets, raw materials, spheres of influence, profits—and for strategic military, naval and air bases essential to make them secure against all rivals. Behind all the fine phrases about democracy and the "four freedoms," about liberation and self-determination, lurk the hard

material interests of the contending camps, so powerful and compelling that they constantly defy all attempts at concealment.

The British and American monopolists are joined in a coalition to bring about the defeat of their German and Japanese rivals. But in the midst of the conflict there are regular outcroppings of the antagonism between the two Allies whose greedy appetites manifest themselves at every turn. Churchill and Roosevelt never permit themselves to forget that when they have encompassed the downfall of the Axis powers, there will remain to be settled the long-standing and growing conflicts between the Allies themselves.

In opening the conference of British Empire premiers in London at the beginning of this month, Churchill underscored the reality of these conflicts when he said: "The commonwealth and the Empire now have fighting on their side very powerful allies — the Soviet Union and the great Republic of the United States. It is right that the British Empire in its collective aspect should put itself solidly on the map and make all the watching world realize it stands together, woven into one family of nations, capable of solving our common problems in full loyalty to the supreme cause for which we have drawn the sword and which we shall not cease to pursue until complete victory is won."

### CHURCHILLS' FEARS

Churchill's fear of Britain's "powerful allies" and his obvious warning in their direction are a forecast of continuing struggle after Germany and Japan have been downed. The working-class, which is shedding its blood to assure the ascendancy of the Allies over the Axis, in the belief that victory will insure democracy and perpetual peace, must be fully aware of the implications of Churchill's words.

The British premier and the

coterie of capitalists for whom he speaks are intent upon preserving their robber Empire. The greatest threat to this Empire is the Wall Street monopoly capitalists who make no secret of their intention to dominate the entire world. This basic conflict is the permanent feature of Anglo-American relations in a global struggle between imperialist bandits. Virtually every point of contact between the two Powers is a point of conflict.

### KEY QUESTIONS

Differences must to some extent be submerged, rather postponed, in order to achieve the current common aim of defeating the Axis. But in key questions the Anglo-American conflict goes forward during and in spite of the war. Both sides are making advance dispositions, plans and preparations against the day when the fight will be brought into the open.

The elements of a trade war are in the making with reams of proposals on both sides of the Atlantic for holding or capturing markets. Capitalist groups are wrangling and jockeying for position in the lucrative field of international radio, telephone and telegraph communications. Inter-continent and transoceanic air transport is another source of rivalry. Yet another is the rich oil deposits of the Middle East. A CLOSED PRESERVE

At the center of all the rivalries is the competition for trade. Profits of the air and communications and oil monopolists depend upon volume of trade in manufactured articles. It is upon the holding or acquisition of markets, therefore, that the Anglo-American rivals mainly center their attention. And it is precisely here that the essence of the ineradicable conflict between the imperialists of Britain and America is revealed. The London Economist, authoritative organ of British business, recently published a series of five articles on this subject.

Britain, the Economist pointed out, has always had urgent need for markets in which to dispose of the products of her industry and thereby pay for the huge quantities of food she must import to feed her population. This has grown more difficult from year to year as world markets narrowed and American competition grew. To insure stable outlets for the products of their industry, the British capitalists converted their empire into a closed preserve from which rival traders were excluded. This did not suffice, however, and Britain's invisible imports, represented largely by returns on investments abroad, were used to offset the unfavorable trade balance.

But British capitalism has been compelled to liquidate foreign investments in order to help pay for the war and an estimated annual income of \$800,000,000 from this source has disappeared. It can only be made good by increased trade.

Another source of British earnings was the great merchant marine. Before the war, the trade of all nations, including a large slice of American trade, was carried by ships flying the Union Jack. But British shipping has suffered tremendous losses from submarine attack and the United States is developing a huge merchant marine of its own which will be second to none. America's shipping magnates proclaim their intention of not only carrying American cargoes, but foreign cargoes as well, in a bid for domination in the shipping world. For Britain this means an annual loss of some \$40,000,000 from ocean freights.

For these and other related reasons, the Economist points out, Britain's need for markets becomes a vital problem of survival. The British capitalists intend to make bids for market outlets by every known device of cut-throat competition. And far from relaxing their control over Empire markets, they plan to tighten it up by strengthening the system of imperial preferences and thus bar competition from rivals.

### SOURCE OF CONFLICT

But here they come into sharp collision with the interests and plans of American imperialism. The productive plant in the U.S. has expanded enormously during the war. If a catastrophic economic crisis is to be avoided at

the war's end, markets must be found for the productive output of this mammoth industry — abroad. American capitalism, therefore, as the Economist says, is opposed to any system of preferences, quotas or subsidies which would have the effect of barring American goods from world markets, including and especially the markets of the British Empire. Confident of the ability of American industry to out-trade any and all of its rivals by means of free competition, the American capitalists seek and demand free and untrammeled access to world markets. What's more — this the Economist refrains from saying — they are ready to fight anyone who tries to close the door on their traveling salesmen.

COMMUNICATIONS NETWORK

Another struggle is on between American and British monopolists to control the field of international communications. A British monopoly controls Empire telegraph and radio systems and to meet the challenge of its far-flung power and immense profits a move is under way to merge twelve communications companies in the United States.

The initiative in this proposed merger was taken by the Federal Communications Commission, which last year, as a preliminary, effected a merger of Western Union and Postal Telegraph. To this combine it is proposed to add International Telephone and Telegraph, RCA Communications, Press Wireless, Tropical Radio, Globe Wireless and two smaller concerns.

James Lawrence Fly, FCC chairman revealed the motive behind the proposed merger when, as quoted in an article in Fortune magazine on this subject, he declared: "America's international communications system must act as an instrument of national policy. Our own inter-company cut-throat competition, which enables foreign governments and their inevitable monopolies to play American off against American to foreign advantage, must cease. The American company must be single and complete; must be strong, tough and efficient. And it must be backed by the government at every turn if we are to have this one essential of a nation a strength."

### PROMOTING MONOPOLY

Thus while one agency of the government, the Department of Justice, still adheres formally to the anti-monopoly, trust-busting policy of the Administration, another agency, the FCC, is actively promoting a monopoly in the field of communications. The intervention of the government here is indicative of a highly significant development of American imperialist policy. In the old days the big capitalist corporations were left to make their own way in foreign markets. Today the Federal Government steps in to correlate, organize and unify the drive of Big Business.

The logic of the campaign itself demands the elimination of competition between different American capitalist groups in the foreign field and their merger into single, powerful monopolies if the aim of world domination is to be achieved.

### UAW BACKS STRUGGLE

Meeting in Minneapolis the first week in May, the International Executive Board of the United Automobile Workers, CIO, voted to contribute \$25,000 to help the URWSEA organize the Montgomery Ward employees throughout the country. R. J. Thomas, president of the UAW-CIO, said that the money was part of a fund that will probably amount to over \$100,000 to be contributed by other CIO unions. This means that the CIO is giving semi-official support to the URWSEA against the Bridges-Stalinist controlled ILWU which claims jurisdiction in the same field. The incident of Stalinist strikebreaking in the Montgomery Ward dispute is doubly damning in the eyes of the CIO because of treacherous endorsement by Bridges, Curran, and other Stalinist stooges of the bill

to conscript labor to work in private industry.

### FAR REACHING ISSUES

The issues raised in the Montgomery Ward dispute, issues of far reaching significance to the entire labor movement, still remain in the category of unfinished business. The theatrical seizure of the Chicago plant by the government and its subsequent return to the company have settled nothing. Big Business has seized upon the incident to intensify its union-busting campaign. The stage is being set for a showdown between organized labor and the Wall Street plunderbund headed by the House of Morgan and its political agents. There can be no middle ground in such a struggle. The workers know the character of their external enemies — they have now been forewarned against the most cancerous menace within the labor movement — Stalinism. To be forewarned is to be forearmed. The unity of labor in the fight for its existence against the forces of reaction demands that the poison of Stalinism be ejected from its system.

### THE END OF THE COMINTERN

By James P. Cannon

with

*The Manifesto of the*

*Fourth International*

36 PAGES 10 CENTS

PIONEER PUBLISHERS

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# 10 Years Ago In The Militant

MAY 26, 1934

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

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

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

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

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

## SHOP-TALKS ON SOCIALISM

By V.

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

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

This argument boils down to the idea that you work only because there's a boss over you. But the real whip is economic necessity, not the foreman. The main "incentive" under capitalism is the fact that you have to work to live. This incentive is reinforced under Socialism, for under this system no parasites are admissible. The workers and peasants under Lenin and Trotsky wrote that right into the constitution of the first workers' state. But the whole thing is that it would not be the grim necessity and the dirty thing it is now. Socialism in addition has other incentives of its own, for the good

## CRDC MASS MEETING

Hear

### GEORGE NOVACK

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

Chairman:

George Baldanzi  
Executive Vice-Pres., Textile Workers Union of America

Thursday, JUNE 8, 8:15 P. M.

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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

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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.
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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.

## English Trotskyists

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

tinued in the great general strike

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

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

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

## Poll Tax

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

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

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

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

## CIO In Politics

When the CIO Political Action Committee was first established, Philip Murray proclaimed: "For the first time in American history, the forces of labor are now setting up a nation-wide organization to protect the political rights of the working man, as well as the rights of the returning soldier, the farmer, the small business man and the so-called 'common man.'" "We are, for the present," said Murray, "committed to no man or political party. We shall, in the next few months, have our organization perfected and its general principles agreed upon. We shall then, before the national conventions of the two major parties, hold a national meeting or conference of our own. We shall draw up and present to the American people a specific set of principles for the general welfare. Then, after the political conventions, we can decide what action to take regarding the two parties and the individual candidates, whether for state or national offices, or for the presidency."

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

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

And culminated in the great general strike

## L. A. Unions Back CRDC

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

Indicating their solid backing of the campaign to win a pardon for the eighteen, who are serving sentences in Federal penitentiaries, the workers in the audience contributed \$190 to the CRDC, thus subscribing the equivalent of a month's prison money for each of the prisoners.

Greetings were read at the meeting from Warren K. Billings

who together with the late Tom Mooney was sent to prison in a frame-up connected with the Preparedness Day bombing in San Francisco in 1916.

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

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

Negro interest in the case was shown by a message from the

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

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

The Los Angeles meeting was

another high point in the

Novack

national tour, the purpose

of which is to consolidate the

work of local CRDC organizations and advance the campaign for liberation of the 18 victims of Roosevelt's gag law.

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