

ROOSEVELT DISCLOSES REAL WAR AIMS

Stalinists Intensify Anti-Trotskyist Slander Drive

'Daily Worker' Forms A Red-Baiters United Front With Tobin, Anderson, H. W. Smith

By Art Preis

The latest Stalinist frameup and lynch-incitation campaign against the labor militants, particularly the Trotskyists, has reached a sustained pitch and is pouring out ever-increasing volumes of slanderous filth. The first manifestations of this GPU-inspired drive were described in detail in last week's *Militant*.

During the past ten days, this campaign has touched new heights of fury and malevolence. Stalinist panic has been aroused by the most recent expressions of mounting trade union support for the defense of the 18 imprisoned Trotskyists, framed under the infamous Smith "Gag" Act for their socialist opposition to the imperialist war.

Two events in particular have been the inspiration for the current Stalinist lies and hysterical invective. One was the highly successful Civil Rights Defense Committee's united labor rally two weeks ago in New York City on behalf of the Minneapolis Labor Case victims, when national leaders of important CIO international unions denounced the scabby attempts of the Stalinist strike-breakers to sabotage the campaign to free the 18. The other was the unanimous resolution passed by the Boston convention of the AFL International Ladies Garment Workers Union, which urged immediate unconditional presidential pardon for the railroad Trotskyist leaders.

Following the singular failure of the Stalinist *Daily Worker* to intimidate outstanding union leaders from speaking at the New York CRDC rally by a howling diatribe accusing them of being "suckers" for the Trotskyists and aiding "seditionists," the *Daily Worker* then went into a spate of slanderous frothing after the meeting.

First, the *Daily Worker* printed a "news" report of the meeting which fabricated the scurrilous libel that the "hope" of the 18 imprisoned working-class anti-fascist Trotskyist fighters "is bound up with the defense of the seditionists on trial at Washington."

Stalinist venom was spit particularly at the union speakers,

George Baldanzi, executive vice-president of the CIO Textile Workers, Thomas De Lorenzo, president of the militant Brewster Aeronautical Local 365, CIO United Automobile Workers, and at Samuel Wolchok, international president of the CIO Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Employees, who had sent his personal representative to address the meeting.

After assuring its gullible readers that the imprisoned Trotskyists "helped Hitler," the *Daily Worker* then whined that "Baldanzi and De Lorenzo spoke exactly like the Trotskyists." De Lorenzo's "Trotskyism," according to the horrified Stalinist press gangsters, consisted of the fact that he "charged that the Brewster plant was shut down because the government wants to 'break the union contract.'" Baldanzi was accused of a "red-baiting tirade" — because he nailed the Stalinists as reactionary agents of Wall Street.

So agitated were the Stalinists over this meeting, that a few days later the *Daily Worker* raved about it in a lead editorial, under the invidious heading "Abyssal Spectacle." After turning an apologetic red, white and blue over the fact that workers would dare to hold a meeting protesting the outstanding violation of labor's democratic rights during this war while Allied invasion forces "were storming the beachheads," the editorial repeats once more the frameup amalgam between the imprisoned Trotskyists and indicted fascists on trial in Washington.

The editorial then reveals the nub of its frenzy — its chief

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Unions Pledge Aid To the 18 at CRDC Meetings in East

NEWARK, N. J., June 17. — 80 members and leaders of important trade union and civil liberties organizations participated in a Civil Rights Defense Committee dinner-meeting here tonight to hear George Novack, National Secretary of the CRDC, report on the growing support of labor and civil liberties groups for the 18 imprisoned Trotskyists, and to mobilize the progressive forces in this area for the fight to free the 18.

Among prominent union leaders who participated as speakers and pledged the backing of their organizations to the CRDC campaign were Sol Stetin, Manager of the Northern New Jersey Joint Board of the CIO Textile Workers Union; Walter Czejkowski, President of the Trenton, N. J., CIO Industrial Union Council; Irving Rosenberg, President of Local 108, United Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Workers, CIO; and Carl Thol, member of the New Jersey State Industrial Union Council and President of Local 260, United Automobile Workers, CIO. Thol spoke as the personal representative of Irving Abramson, President of the state CIO.

In the report of his recent three-month coast-to-coast tour, Novack stated: "I have rejoiced to discover from one end of the country to the other how much more receptive than two and a half years ago the labor movement is. Because labor has learned in these two and a half years to understand the march of reaction and the necessity to defend civil liberties and labor's rights."

PLEDGED SUPPORT

Pledging the full moral and material aid of the 40 Textile Workers locals in New Jersey, Sol Stetin declared "these 18 don't belong in jail. What happened to them could happen to me or other

(Continued on page 6)

A Fascist Faces the Wrath of Italian Workers



This remarkable photograph, together with others taken at the same scene which are reproduced on Page 3, shows how the armed anti-fascist workers and soldiers fought and hunted down the hated fascists as the Allied armies entered Rome. In the above picture, a fascist is cornered by the workers, whose feelings toward fascism and its minions are clearly revealed in their faces. Another fascist is cowering behind the steel grille of the tobacco shop where he and his colleagues tried to hide.

Anti-Fascists Are Suppressed In Rome Under Rule Of Allies

By Louis Bonn

When the Allied military forces marched into Rome, as in the case of their previous occupation of Naples, they found a city already being cleansed of armed fascists. The Italian workers and anti-fascists know how to deal with the fascist scum.

Delayed, censored and garbled Allied press reports from Rome, issued when the Allied troops first entered the city, reveal something of the violent and successful armed struggle put up by the proletarian masses. As a tiny delayed Associated Press dispatch, written on June 4, discloses: "Anti-Fascist Italians clashed with German soldiers and Italian Fascists in bitter, hand-to-hand fighting in the Rome area today. The anti-Fascists were in civilian clothes but were wearing red arm bands bearing the hammer and sickle insignia."

Nothing is more revealing of how the Roman masses fought and subdued the fascists than the Associated Press photographs which *The Militant* reproduces in this issue. These pictures of the armed Italian workers and ex-soldiers hunting the fascist rats out of their holes tell a vivid story of the mood of the masses entering upon their liberating struggle after 22 years under the axe of fascism.

As these remarkable photographs show, the Italian proletariat did not wait for the "liberating" armies of Roosevelt and Churchill. The masses, who had felt the heel of fascism for over two decades know what it is and how to fight it. And, as the expressions of the anti-fascist fighters in these pictures clearly reveal, the workers of Italy are sternly determined to wipe out fascism root and branch by their own effective methods and their own mass action.

AMG ROLE

But in Rome, as in Naples previously, after the armed masses themselves had subdued, disarmed and arrested all the Nazis and Fascists they could find, the Allied Military Government, turning the guns of Allied troops against the anti-fascist workers, proceeded to disarm them, arrest them and turn them over to fascist-controlled tribunals. AMG troops raided the headquarters of workers organizations and anti-fascist Partisans. One of the first formal acts of the AMG was to impose a foremost scion of the old butchers' regime, the fascist-monarchist Prince Filippo Pamphili, as Mayor over the people of Rome.

In Rome, as in Naples, the AMG was immediately moved to

retain and entrench all the vilest forces of capitalist reaction in the local government. At the same time, the power of "democratic" imperialist arms was turned against the anti-fascist workers in an effort to subdue their independent struggle and save the toppling structure of Italian capitalist-monarchist rule.

Only one dispatch has thus far

made its way through the Allied censorship to give some idea of the AMG acts against the rising masses. That dispatch, by Homer Bigart, published in the June 17 N. Y. Herald-Tribune, reveals as in a lightning flash the true story. It describes the raids made by the AMG police upon the head-

(Continued on page 3)

Nail Harry Bridges

The CIO council of Toledo, Ohio, representing over 60,000 industrial workers, last week unanimously adopted a resolution urging the national CIO to remove Harry Bridges, Stalinist head of the CIO Longshoremen's Union, from his post as CIO regional director on the West Coast.

Over 200 delegates endorsed the resolution denouncing Bridges for his strikebreaking role in the Montgomery Ward strike and his enunciation of a permanent no-strike policy. During the discussion on the resolution, one delegate declared: "I can remember when this body discussed resolution after resolution to protect Bridges (against deportation.) His action is a slap in the face to every member of the CIO."

(Continued on page 2)

SWP Issues Appeal For \$1000 Solidarity Fund

Workers Asked to Express Solidarity With British Trotskyists Now Facing Capitalist Persecution in Churchill's Frame-up Trial

The Socialist Workers Party has initiated a drive to raise the sum of \$1000 as a Solidarity Fund on behalf of our British co-thinkers now being persecuted by the British Tory government. Four members of the Revolutionary Communist Party (Trotskyists) of Great Britain have been indicted under the notorious Trade Disputes Act, charged with having aided a strike called by the Tyne Apprentice Guild. The prosecution arose as a result of the militant coal and Apprentice strikes which swept England in March and April, shaking the British ruling class with fear at the rising working class dissatisfaction and opposition.

The British Tory press unleashed a violent campaign against the Trotskyist vanguard of the English working class, attributing the strike wave to the work of these "agitators" and demanding drastic government action to curb all strikes. When the inspired campaign had been lashed into a hysterical frenzy, spectacular raids were staged by Scotland Yard on the offices and homes of the leaders and members of the RCP. The arrests of four leading members of the RCP and their indictment under the Trades Disputes Act climaxed the lynch campaign against the British Trotskyists. This is the first time that the notorious anti-labor Trades Disputes Act, a law adopted by the Tories after the 1926 Strike to hamstring the labor movement, has been used by the British government since its adoption.

The anti-labor character of the prosecution was made crystal clear when a few days after the arrests the political lackeys of

British imperialism, goaded by the Tory press, promulgated a new "Defense Regulation" imposing drastic penalties on "strike agitators." The British capitalist government, like its counterpart in the United States, attempts to screen its reactionary blows against the labor movement by singling out for special persecution the most politically advanced and class conscious vanguard of the working class.

All genuine militants, all class conscious workers will want to express their support of the four framed-up British Trotskyist leaders. You can express your solidarity with our British co-workers by sending contributions for the \$1000 Solidarity Fund to the Business Manager of *The Militant*, 116 University Place, N. Y. 3, N. Y.

The brutal treatment accorded our British fellow-workers by their capitalist jailers stands in glaring contrast to the tender concern displayed by the ruling class over the well-being of Britain's number 1 Fascist, Sir Oswald Mosely, who was released from prison because of "ill health." The Trotskyist fighters for labor's rights and interests

were kept in jail for 42 days without bail! "The magistrates refused bail," says a recent report, "saying that the defendants should be kept in custody in view of the nature and gravity of the charge and also the circumstances surrounding the case." We are informed by the latest report that all four defendants, after being committed for trial, were finally allowed bail only "on condition that they report daily."

The prosecution and trial have aroused a wide movement of support among many leaders and organizations of the English working class. Eight Members of Parliament have underwritten the defense and have joined the "Anti-Labor Laws Defense Committee," which is a broad united front labor defense organization on behalf of the defendants. Leaders of the defense committee have declared that they have come "forward to support the first people to be penalized" under the vicious Trades Disputes Act which is being used as a capitalist weapon to undermine the British labor movement.

An injury to one is the concern of all! A blow against the British labor movement and its vanguard, the Trotskyist Revolutionary Communist Party is the concern of class conscious workers throughout the world. We are sure that the advanced section of the American working class will rally to the support of our British comrades.

CRDC Exposes Supreme Court Stand In Recent Rulings On Free Speech Cases

George Novack, National Secretary of the Civil Rights Defense Committee, last week sharply condemned Roosevelt's Supreme Court which in recent rulings showed its solicitude for the legal rights of pro-Nazi convicted under the Espionage Act, but has three times refused even to hear the appeal of the 18 imprisoned Trotskyist anti-fascists who were framed up under the infamous Smith "Gag" Act because of their socialist views.

"The rulings handed down on June 12 by the U. S. Supreme Court setting aside the convictions in the Hartzel and Baumgartner cases stands in glaring contrast to the refusal of these same Justices in December 1943 even to consider the appeal of the 18 CIO truckdrivers and Socialist Workers Party leaders in the Minneapolis Labor Case," Novack charged in his press statement.

"Although Hartzel and Baumgartner were convicted under the Espionage Act of 1917, and the 18 Union and Trotskyist leaders were convicted under the Smith 'Gag' Act of 1940, these cases involve nothing but utterances, although of a diametrically opposite political character. The former were avowedly pro-fascist while the Minneapolis defendants are Marxist and pro-labor."

In the Hartzel-Baumgartner cases involving anti-Semitism and

the 18 CIO and Socialist Workers Party leaders now serving 12 to 16 months prison terms as the first victims of the vicious Smith 'Gag' Act. Our Committee is appealing to President Roosevelt to rectify this injustice by pardoning the 18."

Novack reported that a number of progressive union bodies in the past two weeks have joined the almost 300 labor organizations, representing over a million and a quarter American workers, which had previously gone on record to back the fight to free the 18. This fast-growing support includes such International Unions as the United Textile Workers of America, CIO; United Transport Service Employees, CIO; United Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Employees, CIO; and the AFL International Ladies' Garment Workers Union.

The Detroit Briggs Local 212, UAW-CIO, at a recent general membership meeting adopted a strong resolution addressed to President Roosevelt condemning the imprisonment of the 18 and demanding an unconditional presidential pardon for them. The resolution charges that the Smith

"Gag" Act is a "vicious statute condemned by leading civil liberties and labor organizations as contrary to every principle of democracy," and denounces the "unprecedented action" of the Supreme Court for refusing to review the Minneapolis Labor Case "even though the Smith 'Gag' Law clearly violates the constitutional rights of free speech and free press." Accompanying the resolution was a \$100 contribution to the CRDC campaign.

The General Council of Ford Willow-Run Bomber Local 50, UAW-CIO, unanimously adopted a similar resolution and also sent a \$100 donation.

George R. King, Recording Secretary of Hudson Local 154 UAW-CIO, sent a telegram for the local's executive board to Roosevelt, terming the Minneapolis convictions "a challenge to the Bill of Rights" and stating that the Hudson local leaders "strongly urge that you grant a full and unconditional pardon to these 18 labor unionists."

The Toledo (Ohio) Area Council of Railroad Workers addressed a

(Continued on page 5)

TRADE UNION NOTES

By Joseph Keller

This seems to be Toledo Week for this column. There's a lot stirring in that lively union town, scene of the first great early battles in the organization of the auto workers. Several items of such unusual interest have come to our attention that, at the risk of seeming to slight other sections of the labor movement, this column is passing them on to our readers all in one batch.

First of all, it is a pleasure to report that the Toledo warehouse workers have been aroused to the point of action by the strike-breaking conduct of Harry Bridges, Stalinist stooge head of the CIO Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, and his declaration for permanent unconditional surrender to the bosses through a no-strike pledge not only for the "duration" but forever after.

Toledo CIO Warehouse Workers Local 363 held a special meeting on June 2 and passed a resolution condemning Bridges as a "tool of the National Association of Manufacturers" and a "strikebreaker" for his treacherous role in the Montgomery Ward strike, and declaring that "5000 warehouse workers in Northwestern Ohio demand his immediate removal as CIO regional director for the West Coast."

Copies of the resolution were sent to CIO President Philip Murray, the national CIO and the Toledo Industrial Union Council. The local warehouse union officials declared they intend to present their resolution against Bridges for endorsement by the Toledo CIO, as part of a campaign to remove Bridges and his traitorous policies from the CIO.

Toledo's militant organized industrial workers are beginning to get wise to the real Wall Street and Big Business character of Roosevelt's labor relations agencies and are demonstrating reluctance to go down the line once more for that "friend of labor" in the White House.

On June 6, at the largest meeting ever held by the Toledo CIO Political Action Committee, that body postponed action on an Ohio PAC request for an endorsement of a Roosevelt 4th term.

This action was taken after a number of delegates argued against giving another signed blank check to Roosevelt and demanded that any endorsement of him be withheld until the War Labor Board, National Labor Relations Board and other Roosevelt agencies cease their anti-labor policies.

If this attitude is seriously maintained by the Toledo CIO Political Action Committee, then it can never conscientiously endorse Roosevelt. For his compulsory arbitration machinery is deliberately designed to hold the workers in check, freeze wages and impose all sorts of restrictions on the unions in the interest of the corporations.

Genuine independent labor politics is possible only when labor breaks once and for all with capitalist politics in every form. Undoubtedly, there will be those among the top leadership of the Toledo CIO who will shrink back from the only path indicated and argue, as they have for years, that "now is not the time" for building a real labor party. Of course, if you question them closely, you will find that so far as such timid "leaders" are concerned, no time is the time to build a labor party. But willy-nilly, they are going to be pulled along, or be shoved out of the way, by the CIO workers, who are coming to realize, as the Roosevelt regime moves ever more rapidly to open reaction, that NOW is the time to launch labor's own party.

To those who argue that labor has no interest in politics, but only in "economics," an editorial

in the Toledo Union Leader, organ of the CIO United Automobile Workers Local 12, gives a strong answer. The editorial correctly points out that the Big Business interests make no distinction between their economic and political interests.

"One would need to be blind and stupid not to recognize the interests which business, both big and little, takes in politics. 'Labor is being asked to close its eyes to its political interests. It is being asked to believe that economics is one thing and politics another, and never the twain shall meet.'"

"We believe that unless labor interests itself in politics and becomes politically conscious and aware of the intimate relationship between its economic welfare and political power, it will suffer great losses and perhaps be restricted even as it was repressed in Germany and Italy under the fascist regimes."

The editorial then adds the challenging conclusion: "Labor is in politics, and we hope it gets in up to its neck. If there be those who believe that labor might take over the government, let them believe it. Certainly under a labor government we could not fare worse than we did under the governments which were elected and controlled by the big business interests."

What the editorial fails to make clear, however, is how labor can protect its politico-economic interests through the parties owned lock, stock and barrel by Big Business. No matter how active the workers may be in politics, when they support the parties and candidates of Wall Street they are only helping to pull the trigger of a gun pointed at their own heads. What is needed is not "politics" in general, but labor politics and a labor party.

The government and corporations are getting more efficient with practice in laying off the workers once war profits can no longer be squeezed from them. The Brewster Aeronautical Corporation workers, whose militant two-day "sit-in" turned a national spot-light on the real "post-war plans" of Wall Street, were given three-days' notice before being fired.

Last week, 1500 workers at the Federal Shipbuilding and Drydock Co.'s Port Newark (New Jersey) shipyard were dismissed on 24 hours' notice, and the union, CIO Industrial Union of Marine and Shipbuilding Workers Local 16, claims that 5000 are scheduled to be tossed out on the streets by July 1. As in the Brewster case, abrupt termination of Navy contracts was the reason for the mass lay-off.

The company has invited the discharged male workers to apply for employment at its Kearny, N. J., yards, but this does not include several hundred women workers for whom the company claims "there are no facilities." The union charges further that the men will have to start at Kearny "on a 30-day probationary period" and will lose the seniority built up at Port Newark.

There is no doubt that, like at Brewster, there is a union-busting angle involved. Local 16 members have emphasized this, because the company has always fought the union viciously. The company added insult to injury by making the dismissed workers, including World War II veterans, go through a long delay before getting their pay. One union official declared that the workers are being "pushed back into fox-holes of insecurity."

117 tool grinders went on strike on June 16 at the large Chicago Dodge plant of the Chrysler Corporation. The tool grinders walked out in protest of the firing by the company of a union man.

SWP Branches Hit 5000 Mark In 'Militant' Subscription Campaign

The returns of the week — 618 NEW SUBSCRIBERS — show that the branches continue to sell the introductory 25c subscription with the same enthusiasm and determination that resulted in fulfilling the quota of 3,000 NEW READERS in the eighth week of the 3-month Militant Subscription Campaign.

OUTSTANDING ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE WEEK

Buffalo continues to lead nationally with 492 percent.

Rochester moved from last place on the scoreboard to sixth.

Chicago sold the most subs during the week — 110, followed closely by Detroit with 104.

Two more branches joined the 100 percenters: Rochester and Youngstown.

FROM OUR MAIL BAG

Detroit: Today's mobilization resulted in 54 subs, some from among the Stalinists and some from a reactionary district which is predominantly southern. The comrades are enthused with the results. Everyone is talking about the success of the campaign and everyone is confident of a 6,000 goal. It is wonderful to know that we'll have 6,000 more people reading our paper."

Chicago: "We will wind up the drive with two Red Sunday branch mobilizations, in addition to other visiting which is being arranged. Through our work last Sunday, an excellent worker contact was made."

Rochester: "More subs will follow. Rather slow in starting, but we are getting under way now."

Minneapolis: "These subs were obtained by six comrades who went out for about an hour in a working-class district last Thursday evening before they attended the branch meeting. We are planning on mobilizing a group for this Thursday again." Cleveland: "We are really getting our sub campaign under way and are in urgent need of more cards."

West Side Branch (New York Local): "The overwhelming majority of our subs is the result of an intensive house-to-house campaign during which we are covering almost all the vast working-class neighborhoods on the west side of Manhattan — Chelsea, Washington Heights, Harlem, etc. We have already gone over three quotas set for ourselves — 175 was our first quota, 250 our second, 500 our third. With every comrade in the branch participating, we are striving to hit the 700 mark."

Milwaukee: "We plan to devote more attention to the sub drive now."

Newark: "We have a friend, a Negro shop steward, who has sold 4 subs in his shop. He went out last week canvassing and sold more subs and he wants to go out again."

San Francisco: "Our Oakland work Sunday resulted in 40 subs by 4 1/2 couples in about 1 1/2 hours. We are determined to keep the subs rolling in."

St. Paul: "All the comrades were thrilled with the news that we went over the top in the first eight weeks of the campaign. We think the party nationally can give itself one big pat on the back — and go on to getting renewals when the campaign ends with the knowledge that our paper practically sells itself. St. Paul's aiming at 100 subs now and we're certain we'll make it."

Los Angeles: "These subs were obtained in a working class neighborhood, and we averaged about 5 per man-hour. We agree that the subs obtained very directly with the hours put in."

"I feel that I must express my appreciation for a leadership that knows how and when to act. The \$15,000-15th Anniversary Fund and this subscription campaign couldn't have been achieved by any other than a real Bolshevik organization with a Bolshevik leadership."

Only two weeks left before the termination of the campaign. Let's finish with every branch a 100 percenter.



One of our agents in Los Angeles expresses the opinion that The Militant improves with each issue:

"Please tell the editors of The Militant that the comrades who criticized the articles on trade unions, the Communist Party, and Roosevelt feel that recent issues of the paper, especially the one for May 20, have shown a tremendous improvement. Now one of these comrades suggests that it would be a good idea to print the nine-point program on the front of the paper so that all workers may see at first glance exactly what The Militant stands for."

"The Militant is certainly becoming better all the time. We feel very enthusiastic about all the new features. 'Shop-talks on Socialism' is an excellent addition, and it should be very helpful to the new readers we are obtaining among the workers by means of the 25c. sub cards."

A reader in Chicago also comments about the new column, 'Shop-talks on Socialism':

"I suppose you have been told many times already, but I would like to add for myself that the

paper as a six-pager has improved tremendously. The new column 'Shop-talks on Socialism' not only has the right flavor but takes up the general subject of socialism from the propagandistic point of view. In my opinion even more space should be devoted to this each week."

That the workers appreciate the truth is shown by a letter from our agent in Detroit:

"I gave a girl at the shop a paper and two days later she asked for a subscription. Said it appeared to her to be the only paper with the truth in it. She was very interested in Charles Jackson's column, 'The Negro Struggle'."

A subscriber in Ft. Wayne, Indiana, sent us the following note with a subscription: "Perhaps reading The Militant will help a young CIO official friend of mine from sinking further into hopeless maneuverings and arm him against the Stalinists."

Distribution of The Militant at

SCOREBOARD

| | Quota | Subs | Percent |
|---------------------------|-------|-------|---------|
| Buffalo | 50 | 246 | 492 |
| Newark | 80 | 267 | 333 |
| New York | 500 | 1466 | 293 |
| Toledo | 30 | 88 | 293 |
| Bayonne | 50 | 114 | 228 |
| Rochester | 15 | 33 | 220 |
| Reading | 30 | 60 | 200 |
| Detroit | 300 | 568 | 189 |
| Philadelphia | 30 | 56 | 186 |
| Seattle | 150 | 259 | 172 |
| Texas | 10 | 17 | 170 |
| San Francisco | 150 | 254 | 169 |
| Allentown | 15 | 25 | 166 |
| Chicago | 200 | 319 | 159 |
| Boston | 100 | 154 | 154 |
| St. Paul | 50 | 75 | 150 |
| Los Angeles | 400 | 500 | 125 |
| Youngstown | 50 | 56 | 112 |
| Milwaukee | 15 | 15 | 100 |
| New Haven | 25 | 23 | 92 |
| Minneapolis | 200 | 176 | 88 |
| Akron | 40 | 31 | 77 |
| Cleveland | 50 | 38 | 76 |
| St. Louis | 20 | 9 | 45 |
| Quakertown | 10 | 4 | 40 |
| San Diego | 50 | 18 | 36 |
| Members-at-Large, Friends | 355 | 99 | 27 |
| Flint | 15 | 3 | 20 |
| Pittsburgh | 10 | 2 | 20 |
| TOTAL | 3,000 | 4,975 | 166 |

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Roosevelt Reveals Wall St. War Aims

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available for joint action when necessary." [See editorial: "War Aims"—p. 6.]

The phrase "according to their capacities" indicates what Roosevelt has in mind. American imperialism has built up the mightiest armed forces of all time. The militarism of the United States, as Trotsky forecast several years ago, has become "the most grandiose in history." It is not difficult to see that Wall Street will dominate Roosevelt's proposed international organization.

American finance-capital already "bestride the world like a Colossus." Roosevelt through his "master design" is preparing its world political role.

A deceitful vagueness, intended to camouflage the predatory purposes of the Wall Street plutocrats, characterizes Roosevelt's statement. The unadorned reactionary character of his "master design" was, however, revealed very clearly in trial-balloons sent up from Washington in May through the medium of lengthy articles in the Saturday Evening Post by Forrest Davis and Demaree Bess, who long have been used as mouthpieces for official policy.

The articles by Forrest Davis purported to tell "What Really Happened at Teheran" in the conferences of Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin. Demaree Bess undertook to explain in some detail the political significance of the agreements reached.

"POST-WAR" WORLD

"The post-war world, as Mr. Roosevelt views it," wrote Bess, "will be a loose association of United Nations, all of whom will be dependent upon the wisdom and good will of three great powers — the Soviet Union, the British Empire and the United States — plus China as a sort of 'cousin' great power. Nearly all the military and economic power in the world will be concentrated in the hands of the first three, and the function of the United States in this triumvirate will be to serve as a balance wheel between the two others. This 'great design' stands or falls upon the prospect that Soviet Russia can be lured back into the 'family of nations.'"

Roosevelt's "master design," as Bess rather dolefully admits, "is only remotely connected with the generalities of the Atlantic Charter and the Four Freedoms." It means that "if the United States is to act as a permanent balance wheel between Britain and Russia, we must be prepared for continuous participation in the affairs of every continent and the seven seas. For this purpose, we shall require a permanent powerful military establishment and a world-wide economic system under Government control — far more powerful and more extensive than Americans have been willing to support in the past."

A FACADE

Thus Roosevelt's "international organization" to "maintain peace and security" turns out to be nothing but the facade of a new triple alliance of the type which led up to the shambles of the first world war, with this important difference: that whereas the old triple alliance was dominated by Britain, then the leading world power, the new triple alliance will be dominated by the United States. And just as the old League of Nations — the "Thieves' Kitchen" as Lenin called it — was the instrument of Anglo-French

imperialism, the new League proposed by Roosevelt will be the instrument of American imperialist domination, with Britain in the role of junior partner.

What is this if not the old game of power politics which Roosevelt never failed to condemn when it was used by the Axis? The logic of imperialist policy leads inexorably in this direction. And Roosevelt's "master design," far from achieving that "peace and security" of which he prates with such piety, can only lead to new and even more terribly destructive wars in the future.

One of the first jobs envisaged for the new League of Nations will be to divide up the loot of war. As United States News reports in a recent issue, Roosevelt "is unwilling to see the whole French Empire restored intact." He is casting a greedy imperialist eye on French Indo-China, Madagascar, New Caledonia, the islands of Miquelon and St. Pierre and Martinique. This, in part, explains Washington's "coolness" to de Gaulle who, as the magazine states, "adamantly claims full rights to all French possessions."

According to the same source, Washington officials "hold that the United States has a definite stake in what is to be done with the Italian empire," since part of it lies close to Saudi Arabia, where Standard Oil, with State Department help, recently grabbed a vital oil stake.

American imperialist ambitions also reach into the rich domains of the British Empire — "We are certain to have a continuing interest in bases in Newfoundland, Bermuda, the West Indies and British Guiana. Also, the war has shown that Hongkong, Singapore and Burma are as vital to U. S. security in the Far East as they are to British security. Some arrangement that will recognize this U. S. interest is being sought. This country is actively defending Australia and New Zealand, and has guaranteed the defense of Canada. These British Dominions now look more to the United States for military aid than they do to the mother country."

What has been divided once can always be redivided. Just as division of the colonial loot after the last war planted the seeds of the present conflict, so the present plans of the Imperialists are preparing the way for still another world slaughter if capitalism is permitted to remain. Imperialism, with its never-ending hunt for colonies, bases, spheres of influence, markets, investment opportunities, profits, is inseparable from war. For Roosevelt to describe his prospective international organization as an instrument of "peace and security" is the hollowest hypocrisy.

Another function of the new triple alliance wrapped in the cellophane of "international organization" is to police Europe and all the world against the mortal danger of the socialist revolution. Stalin, like the imperialists, fears socialist revolution. The Soviet bureaucracy knows that a successful Socialist revolution anywhere in Europe will topple it from power.

The pattern of this policing function has already clearly emerged in Italy and North Africa, where police-military dictatorships are being propped up with Allied bayonets. These are the blackly reactionary aims of the Wall Street masters. These are their "war aims." These are their "post-war plans."

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Allied Officials In Rome Suppress The Anti-Fascists

(Continued from page 1)

quarters of anti-fascist Partisans, the search and seizure of anti-fascist arms, the disarming and arrest of anti-fascist Italian fighters. With supreme irony, Bigart reports that "the disarming of the Partisans is a delicate chore, demanding the utmost tact"—indeed, it is hard to explain how a "liberating" army is being used to repress and hound down the masses who arms in hand drove out the hated fascists!

STARK CONTRAST

These stern AMG measures against the anti-fascist workers stand in stark contrast to the AMG attitude toward the old fascist officialdom. Writing on June 18 from Rome to the N. Y. Times, Herbert L. Matthews is constrained to report that "some of the men and women who worked closely with the Germans and Fascists either have been confirmed in their positions or received the Allies' help and blessings, while some anti-Fascists have been rebuffed or ignored." Here is the real pattern of Allied "democratic liberation!"

SAME FUNCTION

This pattern is further disclosed in connection with the new puppet Bonomi regime. By the grace of Italian capitalist reaction and the consent of the AMG, a so-called "democratic coalition" regime, headed by Bonomi, has been rigged up in Rome. What this miserable caricature really is can be well understood in light of the fact that its very existence is dependent upon the recognition of the Allied governments, that it cannot function except by approval of the Allies, and that it was permitted to operate at all only after it had agreed to carry out all the crushing terms of the armistice imposed by the Allied imperialists and previously accepted by Badoglio and the monarchy.

Thus, the Bonomi government continues the function of the Ba-

doglio regime, acting as the executor of the Allied onerous armistice terms — terms so harsh that they have been described as more severe than the ones imposed on Vichy by Hitler. Indeed, to this day the Allied authorities have not dared reveal the secret terms of the Italian armistice. The real authority as before remains the AMG, the ruling machinery of a conquering foreign army.

Herbert L. Matthews reports in the June 20 N. Y. Times the statement of "an authoritative Allied spokesman" that "any Government must have the approval of the Allied Governments before it can take office." And before the Bonomi regime was approved "the Allies insisted that the new Government make no change in the monarchical institution." Such is the latest "people's" government in Rome.

TERRIBLE CONDITIONS

Already, the Roman proletariat are experiencing the terrible conditions of life that the Naples workers have been feeling since Allied occupation. Soaring prices, black markets, hunger and starvation are rife. Matthews describes the conditions as so bad, that even "the vast white-collar, middle class element is temporarily worse off than it was under the Germans." Matthews reports, "A sharp rise in prices is occurring here as in Sicily (after Allied occupation). This is partly due to the original policy of fixing the lira rate at 100 to the \$1 (devaluation of the Italian currency), the necessity of Italy's meeting the occupation costs and the sums being spent by the troops, all imposed on the paucity of goods." In short the Allies are looting Italy.

Just as the Neapolitan masses rejected the old Badoglio regime as the puppet of imperialist conquerors, so the Roman masses and the revolutionary industrial proletariat of North Italy will in short order reject the new treacherous Allied Quisling regime of Bonomi.

Hunting Down Fascists in Rome



(Above) A fascist crawls out on his belly from his hiding place behind the steel grille under the ready guns of anti-fascist workers in Rome who drove to cover and hunted down their oppressors. (Below) Talking fast, the fascist, seen also in the picture on Page 1, is being marched off to arrest.

and made unprecedented sacrifices, the armies of the Soviet Union literally lifted themselves up by their bootstraps from the ashes of defeat and disaster.

SKEPTICAL ATTITUDE

In contrast to the skeptical attitude of the Allied imperialists and their military specialists, in contrast to all the renegades, turncoats and traitors in the labor movement, the Trotskyists alone understood and appreciated the mighty reserves of power of the first workers' state, despite its degeneration under the corrupt and counter-revolutionary Stalinist bureaucracy.

While the rest of the world gazed in amazement at the tremendous recuperative powers of the Red Army, unable to find any adequate explanation for the phenomenon, the Trotskyists alone understood its true source. As long ago as 1934, in the thesis "War and the Fourth International," the imperialist attack on the Soviet Union was predicted. Also predicted were the defensive qualities of the degenerated workers' state.

"Within the U.S.S.R.," the thesis declared, "war against imperialist intervention will undoubtedly provoke a veritable outburst of genuine fighting enthusiasm. All the contradictions and antagonisms will seem overcome or at any rate relegated to the background. The young generations of workers and peasants that emerged from the revolution will reveal on the field of battle a colossal dynamic power. Centralized industry, despite all its lacks and shortcomings, will reveal great superiority in serving war needs."

THE PROGNOSIS

This prognosis has been fully verified by the events. The difference between the Soviet Union and France in the present war is the difference of social systems. In France, the workers and the masses had no interest in defending the capitalist fatherland against the invading armies of German imperialism. After the first heavy blows of the invaders the soldiers fell back in disorderly retreat and the French capitalists proved totally incapable of rallying the nation even for a stubborn defense, much less a counter-offensive.

In the Soviet Union, capitalism was banished by the Bolshevik Revolution and the foundations of a socialist economy based on nationalized property were laid. Despite sixteen years of the unbridled rule of the rotten Stalinist bureaucracy, which has destroyed many of the social gains of the revolution, undermined

many others, and weakened the international position of the Soviet Union, these essential foundations of socialism still remain. The Soviet Union is a degenerated workers' state, but it is still a workers' state. The Soviet masses, together with the Red Army, sprang to its defense with such unparalleled devotion and self-sacrifice because they understand this, because they realize that defense of the Soviet Union against imperialism means the defense of their own socialist future. This, and this alone, is the explanation for the high morale of the Red Army and the Soviet masses. No one has seriously attempted any other. There is none.

CLASS INSTINCT

With sure class instinct, the workers of all the world have hailed the tremendous victories of the Red Army. They have followed with passionate interest the vicissitudes of the great military struggle. They have recognized the involvement of their own class interests in the great fight between the Soviet Union and German imperialism. They stand for the defense of the Soviet Union against imperialism just as they stand for the defense of their unions against the capitalists.

Great masses of workers throughout Europe have been inspired to resume their revolutionary struggles by the glorious defense of the Soviet Union and the victories of the Red Army. Word of the Red Army victories is passed around among partisan and guerrilla fighters throughout Europe. These victories helped inspire the revolutionary resurgence of the workers in Italy. They are echoed in the hearts and minds of workers in France and all of western Europe.

Europe is on the eve of a new revolutionary resurgence. The tide of socialist revolution is again rising. The European workers, who have been inspired to resume their struggle by the heroic actions of the Soviet masses, will in turn impart to the Soviet workers new hope, new confidence and new strength.

The emergence of the socialist revolution in the west will inspire the Soviet masses to revive their struggle to wipe out the treacherous, counter-revolutionary bureaucracy and to join with the workers throughout the world in the march toward the Communist future.

The Militant

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

ILGWU Convention Demands Probe of Tresca Murder

The recent Boston convention of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union went on record demanding that the Federal Government investigate the unsolved murder of Carlo Tresca. Tresca was shot down in New York City on January 11, 1943. A militant anti-fascist, an ardent fighter for the rights of labor and civil liberties, editor of the Italian anti-fascist paper, *Il Martello*, Tresca had incurred the enmity of powerful political enemies among both the Fascists and Stalinists. All the evidence pointed to the indubitable fact that the assassination was a political crime. Yet the N. Y. State and City authorities have made no progress toward seeking out Tresca's known political enemies in an effort to track down the assassin. This apparent lack of initiative, which most observers attribute to political reasons, has led such organizations as the ILGWU to call upon the Federal Government to intervene.

In an open letter to Mayor LaGuardia, Aldo Feliciani, associate editor of the anti-Fascist monthly, *The Countercurrent*, accuses LaGuardia of showing little concern about the Tresca murder. Nor has the District Attorney's office or Governor Dewey shown any greater concern. In view of these facts, Feliciani asks some pertinent questions: "Is the course of justice being obstructed by the same dark forces which hired Carlo Tresca's assassin? Is there some political reason why the Tresca mystery has not been solved? Would it complicate our international relations, or embarrass any one in the coming election campaign, if the forces which inspired that murder were revealed at this time?" The inference in these questions point the finger of suspicion directly at the Stalinist GPU whose role in the Tresca murder bears much closer scrutiny than has been given by the agencies charged with the solution of the crime.

Only the strongest pressure of the labor movement can compel the authorities to move toward unmasking the assassin who struck down one of labor's staunchest and most incorruptible fighters—Carlo Tresca.

"Post-War Plans" And The Brewster Shutdown

By C. Thomas

The protest demonstration of the Brewster Aircraft workers against the sudden termination of the company's Navy contract, has stimulated a flurry of activity by administration spokesmen on the problem of war production cutbacks which "demobilize" thousands of workers who are summarily dismissed upon the termination of the contract. War production cutbacks, sudden contract termination, plant shutdowns, all of which resulted in the instant dismissal of thousands of war workers, has been going on for some time. For example, it is estimated that in recent months the number of contract terminations by the Army alone has totalled around 1500 per month. All of this has occurred with the capitalist press adopting a conscious policy of either suppressing the news, playing it down, or giving it purely local coverage, so that the workers in one section of the country remained largely unaware that the same coldblooded procedure under which they were victimized also occurred in other localities throughout the country.

It is to the credit of the militant workers of Brewster Local 365, CIO, that they shattered the conspiracy of silence by launching an independent ACTION which achieved nation-wide publicity. Their dramatic "sit-in" gained the sympathy of the entire labor movement and focused the attention of the workers on the government's "post-war planning" policy which concerned itself wholly with providing relief for the war profiteers and not at all with the welfare of the workers. The sole contribution of the Roosevelt administration has been the notorious Baruch-Hancock report drawn up by and for the Wall Street stockjobbers, promoters and war contractors. After a year's labor, the government "Post-War Planning Committee," the prime agency dealing with the problems of reconversion, gave birth to a monstrosity which they named the Contract Termination Bill.

BARUCH REPORT

The Contract Termination Bill, more commonly known as the George-Murray bill, was based on the Baruch-Hancock report, and was adopted by the Senate last May. While providing generous cash payments for war contractors the bill makes no provision whatever for war workers thrown out of employment by cutbacks and contract termination. In fact, the sponsors of the measure, rejected the Kilgore amendments which did provide a bare minimum of protection for the workers.

Although spokesmen for the government's Post-War Planning Committee "promised" to submit legislation dealing with the human problems involved in reconversion, nothing was done until the Brewster workers staged their spectacular "sit-in" demonstration.

The "sit-in" provoked a flurry of feverish activity by the administration and its supporters directed toward the primary object of getting the workers out of the plant. Richard Frankenstein, head of the aircraft division in charge of the struggle. A dabbler in Democratic politics, Frankenstein shuttled between New York and Washington, "pulling wires" and using his "influence" with the big shots in the nation's capitol. There was no lack of promises forthcoming. Promises of jobs for the Brewster workers, of an investigation of the manner in which the contract was terminated, of new contracts, of an overhauling of the government's contract termination policies; promises galore — if only the workers would leave the plant!

THE "SIT-IN"

The upshot of the matter was a long-distance call from Frankenstein in Washington calling off the demonstration. The "sit-in" was called off, said Frankenstein, "because he was convinced that the intervention of President Roosevelt, James F. Byrnes, Director of Economic Mobilization, a Senate subcommittee and other Federal officials would bring early re-employment to the 13,500 employees facing dismissal." Frankenstein, evidently, still believes in fairy tales! Unfortunately, workers lacking political experience are too easily seduced by the prospect of an easy solution to their problems, permitting some ward heeler with an "in" to use his "pull" instead of relying on their own strength and solidarity.

As an aftermath of the Brewster demonstration the Postwar Planning Committee has made a feeble gesture toward the introduction of legislation dealing with the human problems of reconversion. A supplementary measure

Rome Fascist at Bay



Now that he no longer holds the whip hand, this fascist is not so arrogant. Facing the poised rifle of an anti-Fascist Italian soldier, the fascist, who was seen crawling from under the steel grille in the picture to the left, is trying to explain that it was all a "mistake".

to the Contract Termination Bill has been offered by Senators George and Murray, also based on the Baruch-Hancock report, which is being used to head off the more liberal Kilgore bill which has the support of organized labor, the pro-labor National Farmers Union etc. The Roosevelt administration spokesmen, so lavish with their promises during the Brewster "sit-in" are opposing the Kilgore bill.

James F. Byrnes, Director of War Mobilization, more commonly known as the Assistant President, has plumped for the George-Murray measure, along with the grass lats, the cost-plus patriots and other enemies of labor. But even this pitiful measure is being kicked around in Congress with slight chance conceded for its adoption before Congress adjourns for its summer vacation on June 24th.

WAR CONTRACTS

The administration is therefore concentrating on getting the Senate-approved Contract Termination Bill for the relief of war contractors enacted before Congress adjourns to permit the political deputies of wealth and privilege to devote their time to electioneering in the coming political campaign. "The Post War Planning Committee," remarks PM, "which initially shapes all demobilization legislation is in the hands of ultra-conservatives who long ago decided to take care of business through the Contract Termination Bill, but are somewhat reluctantly handling the other measures." The initial flurry of activity began to subside when the Brewster workers, on the advice of Frankenstein and his "friends of labor" in Washington, abandoned their demonstration and left the plant. It is now coming to a grinding halt.

One of the lessons of this experience, which has not been lost on labor, is that the independent ACTION of the Brewster workers prodded the Washington politicians into a greater show of activity than a whole previous year of petitions, resolutions and protests of the "letter-to-your-Congressman" type had done.

In drawing the lessons of the Brewster shutdown the official organ of Local 365, *Aero-Notes*, states: "Only the Trade Union

movement generally and the United Automobile Workers in particular have done any real post-war plan thinking. . . . However, by and large, these post-war plans are mere scraps of paper, only an intelligent appraisal of the needs that will face the workers and the nation. The urgent need of the day is a terrific publicity campaign designed to continually agitate for legislation adopting NOW the program for post-war America and the post-war world. We cannot afford to sit back, content in the knowledge that we have a plan. As soon as the leaders of labor realize this, concrete steps can be taken to assure our future security."

"POST-WAR" PLANS

As *Aero-Notes* correctly points out, there has been no dearth of "post-war planning" by labor leaders. It has become quite a current hobby. We have been presented with national plans, hemisphere plans and even with global plans! All very eloquent "scraps of paper" but quite meaningless as far as meeting the needs of the workers is concerned.

However, *Aero-Notes* misses the mark when it says that "the urgent need of the day" is a publicity campaign aimed at securing adequate legislation "NOW." The labor movement cannot hope to compete with the means of publicity at the disposal of the ruling class—newspaper, radio, school, pulpit, movies—in control of Big Business. Such "pressure" campaigns by themselves cannot succeed. A few days of independent ACTION by the Brewster workers accomplished more than a whole year of "publicity."

A plan for the organization of the "post-war" world if it is meant seriously can be nothing but a political program. Such a program will remain but a "scrap of paper" unless labor forges the instrument for carrying the program into ACTION. Such an instrument is the political party. The real "urgent need of the day" therefore is the organization of labor's own Independent Labor Party.

There is no short cut, no clever "publicity" campaign, and certainly no "friends of labor" who will hand us these things on a silver platter.

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An Eyewitness Reporter Describes Effects Of British Rule In India

[The following article was written by a young American merchant seaman who recently visited India.]

By John Stevenson

"It's just as well they don't speak English, for then the bloody rabble might get the notion that they are on the same level as we are." These were the words of a British customs officer who boarded our ship on the river at Calcutta. Needless to say, he was speaking of the Indian masses.

Although the famine that ravaged Bengal had subsided considerably before we arrived, everyone on the ship knew about it and we were prepared for anything. At that, I don't think any of us expected to see bodies floating beneath the gangway in the swift Hooghly current. But after the first day, even such a ghastly sight became commonplace. Whenever we saw a couple of crows sitting on something in the water, we knew what it was. If a carcass bumped into a boat, a native boatman would nonchalantly pole it away, regardless of whether it was an ox or a human baby.

But it is not this that I remember most vividly about Calcutta. Of the thousands of starving people I saw, the scene that left the most vivid impression on my memory was the sight of a dying native lying on the sidewalk, shrieking and contorting his body in every imaginable way, laughing hysterically and pounding the cement. The passers-by regarded him casually, not a single person stopped. This was no unusual occurrence. They had seen hundreds dying in the streets.

SLAVE CONDITIONS

The English masters have been in control for a couple of hundred years, and the net result is that the masses of India have been reduced to the condition of slavery. The British founded Calcutta; today it is second in size only to London in the British Empire... and it isn't even safe to use the drinking water there. Countless people are born and die on the streets. The average Indian never partakes of one full, balanced meal in his whole life! Small wonder then that the life expectancy of the average Indian at birth is 27... it is well over 60 for Americans. Don't forget, one out of every five persons inhabiting this bounteous earth is an Indian. The famine in India was man-made and the culpability lies pri-

marily with the British rulers. Amidst record-breaking crop yields over 5,000,000 people perished from starvation, and innumerable others from the concomitant evils that follow in the wake of famine, including epidemics. And not only in the urban areas. The peasants were faring no better. Thousands of them sought aid in the cities and were driven out of Calcutta. At the height of the famine, hundreds of people starved to death in the highways and byways of Calcutta daily. They had no homes, and the majority of them had no clothes. Frequently entire families would be seen dead. I heard from an eyewitness of a dog eating a man who lay in the gutter, while he was still alive. Too weak to move or shoot the mongrel away, the man could only emit feeble cries for help. At this time, hundreds of tons of grain were stored in the "Royal" Botanical Garden... for military purposes. It is obvious why India has the largest volunteer army in the world... at least the soldiers aren't starving!

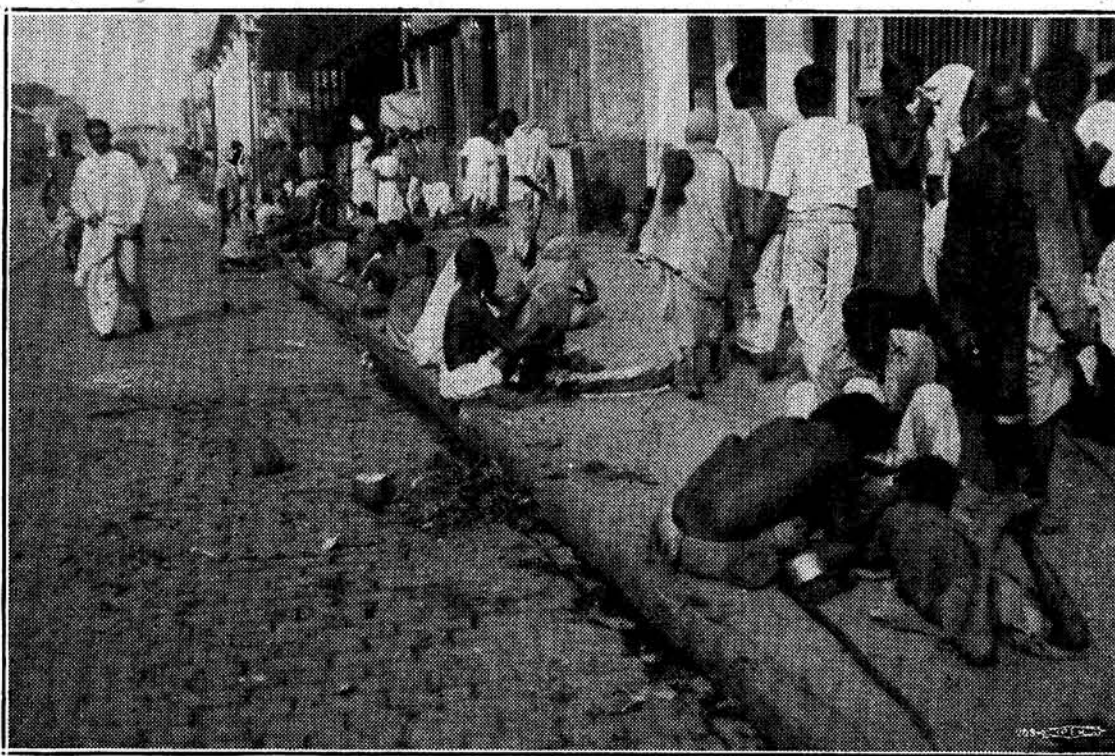
THE FAMINE

The famine has thrown the whole province into turmoil. What little education there was (approximately 10% of the people are literate) has been entirely disrupted. The children are so weak they can't attend school; or they have no clothes; or the indigent teachers have died or departed in search of better employment.

When the British rulers finally got around to instituting a system of food rationing in Calcutta, many people were not even issued coupons through sheer negligence and inefficiency on the part of the government. The amount of rice allowed is woefully inadequate. The cost is about 400% above the pre-war prices for the same quality. In many cases it is of such inferior quality that whole sections of the city become sick from eating it. Often, the rice is rotten, but starving people will devour whatever they can get their hands on. Heretofore, rice was about all the poor people could afford, but now they have even been deprived of their staple. There are only a few public relief stations around Calcutta, and even these are supported not by His Majesty's Government of India, but by wealthy Indians.

The prices of many necessary items have soared away beyond the means of the masses. When the government attempts to ration these articles, they mysteriously disappear from the market. Adequate clothing in particular is denied the workers because of

Typical Street Scene in India



This is a street scene in a town of India. Diseased and starving men, women and children sit on the sidewalk begging from passers-by. This picture falls far short of conveying the actual conditions of famine, filth and misery in which British imperialist rule has steeped the Indian people, over 5,000,000 of whom have perished from starvation in the past year.

these shifty business deals by the merchants. The workers seem to manage without shoes, but to see them huddling together for a little warmth on chilly days is real heart-rending. If they are fortunate enough to have a "home," it certainly has no heating system. Consequently hundreds of the destitute sleep in the day-time in the warm sun. They are everywhere; in the parks, on the sidewalks and even on the public monuments. At night many starvings forage around for something to eat. Nothing usable ever goes to waste in that city. Thousands of the people have NOTHING but the scanty rags on their bodies, hence anything at all that comes into their possession is valuable. The natives sometimes fight each other over the possession of a tin can, a bottle or a piece of wood that is discarded from a ship. Prostitution is rampant; small boys are forever following you around soliciting for their sisters, who generally are in their teens.

A CHESS GAME

But you can rest assured that the Maharajahs and Nawabs suffered no inconveniences over such a trifling matter as a famine.

India has had a coal-mine crisis recently. The mine owners were spouting patriotism while coining huge profits. When the excess profits tax was raised, they refused to operate the mines. Naturally the government backed down and lowered the levy. Everything was all right except that a sufficient number of workers could not be induced to slave underground at the wretched wages offered by the owners. Now the government is contemplating the withdrawal of women's food ration tickets unless they work underground in the mines!

The British administration in India is the most expensive and extravagant in the world. India has become a charitable home for blue-blooded Englishmen in need

of a vacation and money in the form of an administrative post in the government. This monstrous bureaucracy spends more money on the police force than on education. But when the people meet to discuss the solution of their problems, brutal repressions immediately follow. The police have been known to burn the homes of many fighters for freedom. At one mass meeting, an English general ordered his troops to fire into the defenseless crowd inflicting casualties well over 1000, with 400 dead. The British have also used bombing planes against the native people. It is estimated that there are around 50,000 nationalists imprisoned at present... without trial. Yes indeed, the British imperialists have a method all their own of "preparing the colonial peoples for self-government."

Of course I didn't notice any posters flaunting the Atlantic Charter, nor any billboards proclaiming the Four Freedoms throughout the world. As you know, the authors of those noble declarations never meant to have them apply to India's multitudinous millions.

REVOLUTIONARY MOOD

Marx said that "Violent upheavals happen sooner at the extremities of the bourgeois organism than at its heart, where the regulation of its functions is easier than elsewhere." If any place on this globe is ready for a "violent upheaval," it is this vast sub-continent of India. The Indian National Congress Party of Gandhi and Nehru is as much opposed to a "violent upheaval" as are the English imperialists, for the broom of revolution would sweep out capitalism along with every vestige of imperialism.

But the mood of the people is certainly revolutionary. English domination of India has no mass support whatsoever. I think that the masses of India will realize that it is up to them to kick the props away from this decadent and putrid system of exploitation of the many for the privileged few.

and anti-labor reactionaries too numerous to mention. No, Bill couldn't betray the workers by doing that.

Bill Haywood was first of all, thoroughly class-conscious. He might have made mistakes—all of us do—but every fiber of his being was in complete sympathy with the exploited workers in their struggles for a higher, a fuller and a freer life.

J. C. Thompson
Route 1, Box 105
Mooreport, La.

P.S. Militant is good.

The writer is not correct in his description of the character of the 1912 Convention of the Socialist Party. Here is Haywood's appraisal of the convention as written in his autobiography: "In 1912 the Socialist Party held a convention at Indianapolis. The delegates were of an altogether different caliber than those who went to make up the convention of 1908. The class struggle meant nothing to many who were there supposedly representing the working class. There were seventeen or more preachers who could scarcely disguise their sky-piloting proclivities. There were many lawyers and some editors... To these leaders and their henchmen

Notebook Of An Agitator

The Tribe of the Philistines

I see that Joe Hansen's article in the February issue of *Fourth International*, written on the occasion of the departure of the eighteen Trotskyist leaders, has elicited comment in *Politics*, the new-thought magazine edited by Dwight Macdonald. In commenting on the comment, I am impelled first of all to congratulate the author on the equanimity with which he is enduring the imprisonment. Evidently he has read and taken to heart the advice Rose Karsner gave to the women in her speech at the farewell dinner: "Don't mope while the men are away."

Macdonald is clearly determined not to let our troubles get him down. From this hard-boiled point of view he takes Joe to task for dwelling on the trivial details of our departure—the leave-takings, the mementos, etc. The doughty Macdonald will have none of this sentimentality. He is a brass tacks chap—no nonsense, chins up and all that sort of thing. Perhaps he is right on this point. I, at least, can understand and sympathize, to a certain extent, with his matter-of-fact attitude. I am somewhat of a stoic myself—my mother taught me not to cry when I get hurt—and I appreciate the trait in others. I am ready to admit also that Macdonald is not motivated by personal malice or jealousy, as others who write in the same vein usually are, for I believe that he is sincerely stupid and is only guilty, at most, of indulging his cultivated knack for misunderstanding things and his faun-like impulse to play pranks on inappropriate occasions. In any case, this part of the quarrel between Macdonald and Hansen is not very important. After all, it is a matter of taste and emotion; and as long as freedom and democracy prevail everyone has the right to his own taste and his own emotion.

The other parts of the editorial in *Politics* raise more serious questions. One concerns the attitude of a man of politics toward his own ideas. The other concerns morality. Both are questions of exceptional importance at the present time.

The editorial indicts our party as a "sectarian group" afflicted with "arrogance which verges on paranoia." As evidence he cites Vincent Dunne's statement that "our movement is historic" and Joe Hansen's assertion that "the files of Trotskyist publications" represent more important material for future historians than the Roosevelt minutiae filed away at Hyde Park. These remarks impress Macdonald as the expression of a presumptuousness belonging to the domain of "political pathology."

CONFLICT OF OPINIONS

One cannot make an off-hand decision as to the merits of this dispute, for neither position is right or wrong per se. We are confronted here not with facts immediately verifiable but with a conflict of opinions regarding future developments. Consequently, in order to arrive at a reasoned judgment of the respective merits of the contending opinions, one must approach the dispute with a criterion, a point of view of his own, about contemporary society and its prospective further development. The majority—those who line up with American capitalism and its war program—believe that capitalism has a long and stable future before it. If their assumption is correct, or only half correct, they can very consistently and logically conclude that Dunne and Hansen, and all the rest of us Trotskyists, have fantastic delusions about the way history will some day be written. We, the minority, on the other hand, are completely convinced that capitalism, having outlived its progressive historic role—and a great role it was—is already doomed, is even now in its death agony and must make way for socialism.

If our assumption is correct, we can with no less logic and consistency conclude that the heralds of the new society, the pioneer militants of the revolutionary party, have far more historic importance than the representatives of the dying system and that this will be the judgment of the historians of the future. If our assumption is correct, it is the representatives and apologists of the outmoded social system who entertain delusions about the future.

Now, what are the premises, and what are the conclusions of Macdonald and the politico-literary species which he typifies? The magazine *Politics*—as far as one can make out from a cursory reading—is published to inform the world that the editor and his associated independent thinkers are somewhat dubious of the future of capitalism and are committed more or less, to the socialist alternative. Yet Macdonald says—no, he doesn't say, he takes for granted as self-evident—that the contemporary statesmen of capitalism are the important and significant men of today and that they will be so regarded in the historical tomorrow. Hansen's idea, for example, that historical research will not center around the personality of Roosevelt, strikes him as too funny for words. Then, having made his joke, he goes on to say that his convictions—he calls them convictions—are in many respects the same as the Trotskyists' ("The Cannon group stand for many of my own convictions.") In spite of that, he instinctively and automatically brands our party's confidence in the historic vindication of these same convictions as pathologic arrogance.

in the convention the time seemed opportune to amend the constitution of the Socialist Party, which they did with Article 2, Section 1 providing that: 'any member of the party who opposes political action or advocates crime, sabotage or other methods of violence as a weapon of the working class to aid in its emancipation shall be expelled from membership in the party.'

This amendment, passed by the convention, was actually aimed at Haywood and the left wingers. Haywood further reports: "This amendment was followed by a resolution of the National Executive Committee, of which I was then a member, directed against me, charging me with being an advocate of direct ac-

The significance of this non sequitur is quite clear. Macdonald's pen ran away with him. The intended lampoon of the Trotskyists turned out to be a document of unintended self-revelation. It is the portrait of a man who does not take his own ideas seriously and has no faith in their future. Such people are not worth very much. Their "convictions" are on the side of the proletarian revolution but all their deep-rooted instincts, feelings and spontaneous reactions—their heart and soul—are in the other camp. Hence their simultaneous "agreement" with the convictions of the Trotskyists and their amazement when we act on these convictions and draw them out to their logical conclusion.

UNINTENDED SELF-REVELATION

Similarly, when the question of bourgeois and proletarian morality—"their morals and ours"—is mentioned in our press the jack-ass ears of the philistine are pointed upward and forward in alarm. And when we calmly assert that our morals are better than theirs, that we are "the only really moral people"—among the conscious, articulate political elements, that is—Macdonald sputters like a society matron who has been insulted by a truck driver for snarling traffic. Joe Hansen's report of a casual conversation with Cannon about John Dewey and the Moscow Trials causes Macdonald to break out in a moralistic sweat. And "words almost fail him" at Cannon's "nerve" in pointing out a flaw, from the standpoint of "strict morality," in Dewey's conduct of the office of chairman of the Commission of Inquiry on the Moscow Trials.

Here also Macdonald mixes up a small matter with a big one. The small point can easily be disposed of. He accuses us of trying to rob the respected Commission of Inquiry chairman of the "credit" due him for his services in that capacity. This is a misapprehension on his part; and we are ready to concede anything he demands in order to set the thing straight, even though we do not attach the same weight as he to the matter of "credit." His accusation springs from his inability to read our press with an understanding of our standards and our sense of values. When we say that a man was moved to intervene in a great historic case by an appeal to his sense of justice we have meant to pay him the highest compliment we can possibly pay to a man who is not of our party and class. By his action in heading the Commission of Inquiry Dewey became the chief instrument in the investigation and exposure of the greatest frame-up in history. We are grateful to him for that, and he will be remembered gratefully by all lovers of truth and justice in time to come. It makes no difference whether Dewey's action was taken on his own initiative or was suggested to him by others. That is only a small collateral detail of the history of the affair. Dewey's credit flows from the deed itself, and we who believe in giving everyone his just due would be the last to underrate it in the slightest degree. Dewey must be honored for his courageous action all the more because he might justifiably have asked exemption for reasons of age and ill health. He must be doubly honored because, of all the great public men of present-day America, he alone felt it necessary "to do something for justice."

ABUSE OF POWER

But when all that is said the fact remains that Dewey, in making public in a radio speech the report of the Commission of Inquiry which found Trotsky not guilty of the crimes alleged against him, took advantage of the occasion to denounce the political doctrines of the defendant. There are no two ways about it, that was "a departure from strict morality," which comes under the heading of abuse of power. By our standards of morality that is a serious offense, and we want somebody to tell us by what moral standards it is justifiable.

Macdonald's readiness to defend Dewey's misuse of his office of judge to turn advocate, on the ground that Trotsky, the defendant, also expounded his views before the Commission, will not satisfy anyone who seriously wants to face the moral issue we have raised. Trotsky had been accused of crimes alleged to flow from his doctrines, and was asked by the Commission of Inquiry to give an exposition of these doctrines as evidence in the case. In the same manner the defendants in the Minneapolis Trial were permitted to expound their views in court. But Dewey, as chairman of the Commission, had assumed the office of Judge, and with it the obligation, after hearing the evidence, to say truly whether the defendant was guilty or innocent of the crimes charged against him. So much and no more is a judge permitted to say when rendering the verdict of his tribunal, according to our standards of morality.

Macdonald's attempt to defend Dewey's moral lapse on this occasion only demonstrates how flexible his own moral standards are. His bad experience should warn all petty bourgeois critics of the Trotskyists to confine their moralistic sweatings to eternal abstractions and keep away from the discussion of concrete cases. "Morality" is not their strong point—when you get down to cases.

a writer mentions "reactionary poll-tax Senator Reynolds," he infers that there is a poll tax law in North Carolina which is not the case.

I believe our excellent paper will not become colorless if this descriptive term is employed more carefully.

D. Swenson
Akron, O.

READ

'THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL'

WORKERS' FORUM

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

Bridges Boomed

Editor:

It might interest you to know that Harry Bridges got a good boozing from the membership of Local 110 at the June 7th regular meeting. He was scheduled to make a report on the post-war plans of the Union. He started out by stating "I am disgusted by this membership... worrying so much about small things that it can't see the big ones." Most of the reports previous to Harry's outburst had concerned conditions on the job, the drive to organize the unorganized dock seamen who work for the army, etc. Evidently these are the "small things" that Harry had in mind. In fact, he declared: "conditions on the job now don't mean a thing if you haven't got a post-war job." He berated the longshoremen for being too concerned with "two-bit matters" and asked why the men didn't get busy with "big things," like "setting up a post-war planning committee composed of officials and stewards." This would be something worth while, according to Harry.

About this time Harry got boozed. The men obviously didn't like to be talked down to like a bunch of naughty school boys. After this reception he backed up a little bit, trying to placate the resentful longshoremen by stating that he didn't mean to imply that the men were unable to determine what was best for the union. Oh, no! "There were many good union men" present who knew what the score was but they just weren't thinking straight tonight. Obviously, if they were, Harry implied, they would concern themselves less with "two bit matters"

and more with "post-war planning committees." But the men refused to be placated. One voice lifted the cry: "How about our raise?" which was echoed by other voices. Others cried: "We got enough; let's go home."

Harry wasn't exactly driven off the floor, but he soon sat down saying that he didn't want to make his report tonight anyway, and that he would make it at the next meeting. This indicates to me that all is not well in the Harry Bridges domain. So far as I know, Harry has never received a reception like this before.

Here is something else: At the meeting of April 19, the Stalinists introduced via the Executive Board minutes, a motion to purchase 350 copies of the *Peoples' World* for distribution at union meetings inside the hall. The motion was defeated by about a two to one vote. The opposition was led by the vicepresident of the union, James Kearney, leader of the only organized opposition to the Stalinists. He is a member of the Catholic trade union league. His criticisms of the *Peoples' World*, in this particular instance were very effective. He stated among other things that it was not a workers' newspaper, that he could see no difference between it and the *Hearst Examiner*, though in comparison he preferred the *Examiner* because he knew where it stood. He criticized the paper's stand on Badoglio, etc.

A member of the Executive Board said that he had supported the motion in the executive meeting on this basis; that it had seemed that a sizeable section of the membership wanted the *Peoples' World* distributed in the meeting hall, although, he said, he was not a supporter of the

Peoples' World. He further stated that if a sizeable section of the membership wanted *The Militant*, the paper of the Socialist Workers' Party which is distributed in front of our hall, distributed inside the hall at the expense of the membership, he would support it.

E. H.
San Francisco

More On Bridges

Editor:

During our house-to-house work in Oakland I came across a Negro member of the ILWU 1-6, who told me how the Bridges machine put through the latest betrayal. It seems the permanent no-strike pledge was introduced as part of the executive committee minutes. Somebody moved to approve and that was all there was to it. That is how it got the "unanimous" approval of the Warehousemen... I needn't tell you that this Negro warehouseman is thoroughly disgusted with this latest Bridges move.

J. W.
Oakland, Calif.

About Bill Haywood

I read Mr. Cannon's short biography of Bill Haywood in your issue of May 27 with interest, but was surprised at some of the glaring misstatements of facts.

I happened to know Bill Haywood fairly well, having spoken from the same platforms with him at the famous Socialist encampments in Texas around the end of the first decade of the present century.

I happened also to be a delegate from Texas to two Socialist National Conventions back in those days—Chicago in 1908 and Indianapolis in 1912. I was, as

were all the Texas delegates, a member of what was then called the "Impossibilist" or Left-wing group, as opposed to the "Opportunistic" or Right-wing faction, led by the late Victor Berger.

Bill Haywood did not lead the "Reds" in the 1912 convention. He was there for a day or so but was not even a delegate. He sat with the Texas delegation for a few minutes but made no effort to make a speech.

Mr. Cannon states that Haywood led the Reds in a losing fight to control the Convention in 1912 and that we lost to the Right-wing. Nothing could be farther from the facts. The Left-wing absolutely dominated that convention and nominated almost unanimously Eugene Debs and Ben Hanford for President and Vice-President, on a revolutionary platform.

It was four years later, in 1916, that the Right-wing captured the convention and nominated Benson for President.

Now just a few words about Bill Haywood as a man. Bill was a modern "Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde" possessed of two distinct and opposing characteristics. To his political and economic enemies he was intolerant and overbearing.

Due to the almost constant hounding and persecution of the cohorts of capitalism Bill became one of the most bitter men I have known. Starting out with a hatred of the capitalist system he developed a bitter hatred for, not only the system, but all of its beneficiaries and for all its proponents. This philosophy of hate prepared him, ideally, for the transfer of his membership from the Socialist Party to the American Communist Party.

However I want to say in defense of the memory of Bill Haywood that were he alive today and back in America, I cannot believe that he would consider for one moment the move of Earl Browder and other C. P. leaders to crawl back into the same political bed with Mayor Hague of Jersey City and the anti-labor Kelley-Nash gang of Chicago and the strike-breaking Harry Bridges

The Negro Struggle

By Charles Jackson

Roosevelt's Jim Crow Mandate

Colonel Corn soliloquizes: "At last I've got the real low down on this fellow Roosevelt. He's all right after all. You know there's been a lot of rumors going around here saying he was trying to molly-coddle those Nigra's. They said he wanted to butt his nose into the way we have of keeping them where they belong. Come to think of it, Eleanor has had her picture took with some pickaninnies in some school up north."

"But I guess she has learned better by now. Then too, Roosevelt is supposed to have a lot of communists in the government up there and those communists, they say, are preaching some foolishness about racial equality. And then I did see where those communists disbanded their party and said that Roosevelt was standing for the same thing they had been calling for. Well, if that's the case Roosevelt and these communists too are all right with me because I've just found out in black and white that they are backing us up in the way we treat those Nigra's in the good old Southland."

"As soon as they get these Northern colored boys in the Army they send them down here to let us straighten them out on who is boss. An brother when we get through working on them you can bet they will fly right. But to make it easy for us they hand them a paper when they cross the Mason-Dixon line. Their commanding officer 'tells them that they have got to obey the laws of the South. He tells them that those are orders from headquarters. Now everyone knows Roosevelt as commander-in-chief of the armed forces really runs that War Department. If he says we team up with Stalin, we do; if he says we work with Badoglio, we do; if he says we don't talk no trash with that Frenchman, DeGaulle, we don't. So he must have said for us to handle these Northern Nigra's like we want to or else the orders wouldn't have come down that way. And as far as those communists go, if they are all for their commander-in-chief like they say they are, then it must be all right with them to turn these soldiers over to us, too. I guess they must have changed, but any way, they are all right with me now."

JIM CROW LAWS

"Let me look over this slip again. It does me as much good as another julep or another chaw of tobacco. They hand these to every Nigra soldier as he comes into the south on his troop train. Here is the one for Tennessee: "1. The laws of the State of Tennessee require the separation of races on all public transportation systems in this State. 2. Members of the colored race upon entering a street car or bus shall occupy those seats which are located at the rear portion of street car or bus and whenever seats in the bus or street car become vacant which are to the rear of any member of the colored race, such person shall vacate the seat which he then occupies and move back and occupy the rear seat which is then vacant. 3. The conductor or other person in charge of the street car or bus shall have the right to increase the space so set apart for either race, or he may require any passenger to change his seat when or so often as the change in passengers may make such change necessary. 4. All passengers on street cars or buses are required to take the seats assigned to them, and any person refusing to do so, shall leave the street car or bus, or if they remain in the street car or bus after having been asked and refused to take the seat assigned to them shall be guilty of a misdemeanor and fined not more than twenty-five dollars (\$25). 5. The laws of the State of Tennessee also give the owners and their employees of hotels, inns, theaters, public houses, moving picture shows, restaurants, places of amusement, or other business the right to determine for themselves the kind of patronage, customers, or guests they desire to have, and to exclude from their premises or business any person or persons for any reason they think necessary."

Yes, Colonel Corn, it looks like you've got something there. Roosevelt and his War Department are, without a doubt, completely convinced that you are the best prepared delegate to "acclimate and orientate" the Negro soldier as to what he is NOT fighting for. Of course you are not the only kernel on the cob when it comes to sanction of the policies of the "commander-in-chief."

The Walter Whites and other pussy-footing liberals down to the perfidious Stalinists are also telling us that this capitalist war will make things better for the Negro masses — telling us in face of the "Roosevelt Mandate" that this is a war for "liberation of oppressed peoples" or for the "extension of the four freedoms."

ONE AGENCY

But Roosevelt can not help himself even if he wanted to. He is merely one agency of government which, like all governments, reflects those practices which are of greatest interest to the ruling economic class in society. It is to the interests of the ruling class in this country to keep the Negroes suppressed because they can thereby more easily keep all of the working people suppressed. They practice a rigid Jim Crow system in the Army because they know that if they gave the Negro equality in the Army he would expect it when he returned home. Did I say expect? I believe demand would be the word.

You can be sure the exploiters do not want such a demand initiated because they fear it would spread to the workers of all races and would, in the end, be directed against the real enemy of the working masses, the reckless and purposeless system of capitalism.

PIONEER PARAGRAPHS

THE SOCIALIST PROGRAM CAN WIN OVER THE MIDDLE CLASS

Parliamentary cretins who consider themselves connoisseurs of the people like to repeat: "One must not frighten the middle classes with revolution. They do not like extremes." In this general form this affirmation is absolutely false. Naturally, the petty proprietor prefers order so long as business is going well and so long as he hopes that tomorrow it will go better.

But when this hope is lost, he is easily enraged and is ready to give himself over to the most extreme measures. Otherwise, how could he have overthrown the democratic state and brought Fascism to power in Italy and Germany? The despairing petty bourgeoisie sees in Fascism, above all, a fighting force against big capital, and believes that, unlike the working class parties which deal only in words, Fascism will use force to establish more "justice."

It is false, thrice false, to affirm that the present petty bourgeoisie is not going to the working class parties because it fears "extreme measures." Quite the contrary. The lower petty bourgeoisie, its great masses, only see in the working class parties parliamentary machines. They do not believe in their strength, nor in their capacity to struggle, nor in their readiness at this time to conduct the struggle to the end...

Without an understanding of this psychology of the peasants, the artisans, the employees, the petty functionaries, etc. — a psychology which flows from the social crisis — it is impossible to elaborate a correct policy. The petty bourgeoisie is economically dependent and politically atomized. That is why it cannot conduct an independent policy. It needs a "leader" who inspires it with confidence. This individual or collective leadership, i. e. a personage or party, can be given to it by one or the other of the fundamental classes — either the big bourgeoisie or the proletariat. Fascism unites and arms the scattered masses. Out of human dust it organizes combat detachments. It thus gives the petty bourgeoisie the illusion of being an independent force. It begins to imagine that it will really command the state. It is not surprising that these illusions and hopes turn the heads of the petty bourgeoisie!

But the petty bourgeoisie can also find a leader in the proletariat. This was demonstrated in Russia and partially in Spain. In Italy, in Germany and Austria the petty bourgeoisie gravitated in this direction. But the parties of the proletariat did not rise to their historic task.

To bring the petty bourgeoisie to its side, the proletariat must

Stalinists Intensify Slander Drive

(Continued from page 1)

"matter of concern" is that outstanding union spokesmen "should appear at such a meeting." Hadn't they learned "what Daniel Tobin of the Teamsters Union learned from hard experience?"

Then, in a final paroxysm of frustrated rage, the Stalinist editorial shakes its fist in print and concludes threateningly that any labor leader who defends labor's rights by defending the imprisoned Trotskyists "ought to be made to answer to his membership" and "blisteringly proclaims that 'it is time to put a swift stop to that sort of thing.'"

But on June 14, the *Daily Worker* blew off its biggest stink-bomb to date. This was an article headlined "ILGWU Draws Tobin Fire For Backing Trotskyists." The *Daily Worker* quotes portions of a letter sent to the ILGWU by Tobin, who originally inspired and helped perpetrate the frame-up against the Minneapolis Transport Workers Local 544-CIO and Socialist Workers Party Leaders. Tobin, says the *Daily Worker*, "expressed surprise" that the ILGWU has voted support for the imprisoned Trotskyists.

ANDERSON LETTER

Tobin is quoted as writing that he had read about the ILGWU action in *The Militant* and that "I am sending you a copy of a letter from the Federal District Attorney of Minnesota (Victor E. Anderson) which tells you the reasons these men were convicted. They were trying to overthrow the United States government, Attorney Anderson states." Anderson was one of Roosevelt's prosecutors who distinguished himself in the Minneapolis case by the most unbridled red-baiting and labor-hating declamations.

But Tobin adds his own commentary, the fantastic nonsense that the leaders of historic Local 544-CIO "were endeavoring to destroy the American labor movement by boring from within," for the purpose, as Tobin suddenly discovers three years after the fact, "of overthrowing the Stalin government" in the interest of a "dual Russian organization set up under Trotsky's leadership." Tobin has a mania about "dual" organizations, it seems, particularly since the Minneapolis section of his own union voted to throw off his dictatorship and join the CIO.

How did the *Daily Worker* get hold of Tobin's letter to Dubinsky? The further contents of the article indicate that Tobin was inspired to "take his pen in hand" by the Stalinists themselves.

For it turns out that "at the same time" Tobin had sent one of the chief Stalinist union hatchet-men, Louis Weinstein, secretary-treasurer of Painters District Council 9, a personal letter on the Minneapolis case "replying to a request for information."

STALINIST ACTION

This "request for information" from frameup artist and bureaucrat Tobin had been the pretext used by the Stalinists to block action in Painters District Council 9 on a CRDC request for support to the 18. Tobin piously enjoins Weinstein "to keep away from them. They were not sent to prison because they are union organizers, as they are saying in a circular in which they are making all kinds of charges against me."

It is a matter of public record that Roosevelt initiated the prosecution of the Local 544-CIO leaders at the express personal appeal of Tobin, after over 4,000 members of Minneapolis Teamsters Local 544-AFL voted to join the CIO when Tobin sought to remove the local's elected officials and establish his dictator-receivership over the union.

Tobin has the gall to add the brazen lie that "not one member of our organization or the trade union movement appeared as a witness in the case of those people," when the court records show that not a few of the government witnesses who perjured themselves against the Minneapolis defendants were actual paid agents and organizers of Tobin's who admitted the fact publicly on the witness stand.

But this blatant lie of Tobin, coupled with the statement of the prosecutor who helped to put over the frameup, is right up Weinstein's alley. He adds his own statement deploring the fact that hundreds of union, fraternal, Negro and civil liberties organizations have been "misled" into

win its confidence. And for that it must have confidence in its own strength.

(From "Whither France?" by Leon Trotsky, pp. 15-19, *Pioneer Publishers*, 1936 160 pages, \$75 cloth, \$.50 paper. Order from *Pioneer Publishers*, 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.)

Trying to Block the Road



supporting the case of the imprisoned Trotskyists.

Three years ago, when Roosevelt prosecuted the Trotskyists for being Marxists and revolutionists, the Stalinists complained because the capitalist government didn't frame these working class anti-fascist fighters as "Hitler agents" on the model of the Moscow Trial frameups. Now they are triply infuriated because over a million and a quarter organized American workers, expressing the views of the most progressive sectors of labor, have formally endorsed the cause of the imprisoned Trotskyists and denounced their persecution as a major blow aimed at the democratic rights and civil liberties of all workers.

LABOR SUPPORT

This growing labor support, as the Stalinists well know, reflects increasing labor respect and admiration for the courageous Trotskyist leaders. The prestige of the Trotskyists grows daily because, in going to prison, the

Trotskyist leaders had the courage and principles to stand up in uncompromising defense of their socialist ideas. With the Stalinists' own open defection into the camp of capitalist reaction, they are trying more desperately than ever to bury the Trotskyist program and movement, the authentic Marxism of our time, under a barrage of mud — the traditional GPU cover for its preparation of acts of a more sinister nature.

In their furious red-baiting drive against the Trotskyists, the Stalinists have already formed a united front with Tobin, the red-baiting head of the Teamsters Union, Roosevelt's frame-up prosecutors and Poll-Taxer Smith, author of the infamous Smith "Gag" Act.

It is up to progressive labor everywhere to unite its ranks to defend the Minneapolis labor fighters and to destroy the poisonous influence of Stalinism — the most reactionary force inside the labor movement.

Unionist Says Labor Should Prepare Now

(The following article is reprinted from the May 25 issue of *The Searchlight*, official publication of Flint Chevrolet Local 659, UAW-CIO.)

By FRANCIS R. PALMER

On December 1, 1931, when most of the U. S. factories were closed, with millions of men and women unemployed and children crying with hunger, Silas Strawn, President of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, took a wide referendum vote among big business men in the nation's leading Chambers of Commerce and other great business organizations on this great question:

"Shall the U. S. Government help the nation's desperate unemployed?" The question was not on how much help, but on helping with anything at all. The vote closed Dec. 14 and boastfully he published the result:

197—yes.
2534—no.
Remember the vote 13 to 1—remember 'til you die.

In that 13 to 1 vote shines a soul of polished steel. That vote unmasks, strips naked for all to see, the attitude of American big business toward the common people of this country.

Today the workers must prepare to meet the "Post War Crisis," which is absolutely certain to come. The only fight for a better post war world that has any serious meaning, is the fight that begins right NOW.

PROMISES CHEAP

Remember this, "Any faker is always ready to PROMISE the good things of life to the workers some time in the future, but nothing doing right now." WHOEVER tells the workers that they must accept their burden today because of the "war crisis" will tell them to accept the same burden or a heavier one tomorrow because of the "post war crisis." The only way to meet the post war crisis is to meet the war crisis head on. HOW?

Let us see how Big Business is meeting the war crisis in preparation for the post war crisis. They do not say: "There is a war on, therefore we will sacrifice our profits and wealth to win it. We will not make any demands for the protection or extension of our economic and political power. We will not make a fight over any question affecting this power, no matter how important."

On the contrary, the "war crisis" is a BOOM to them. They mean to come out of the war with greater economic power and with a stronger political position from which to protect this power than

they ever had before. They fight every inch of the way for bigger profits, for firmer control of the government machinery. They fight every inch of the way to deprive labor of its rights. They know perfectly well that the stronger they are the weaker labor is, and the other way around.

LABOR'S RIGHTS

They did not reach their powerful positions by crawling on their bellies. They will not yield an inch without a fight. They will go their way without paying the slightest bit of attention to the GOOD ADVICE of labor leaders.

Labor's rights must be defended NOW, by YOU. The so-called labor leaders have not taken over our union, WE have surrendered it to them. It is time to take it back, NOW or NEVER. We must start today.

(1) Rescind the no-strike pledge "NOW."
(2) Build an Independent Political Party for the common people "NOW."

WHY WE ARE IN PRISON

Farewell speeches of the defendants in the Minneapolis Labor Case. The vital words of people condemned to prison for their courageous defense of Socialist ideas.

"We were obliged to tell the truth. We saw the abomination of the imperialist war and we were under compulsion to tell the people the truth about it. We saw the vision of a socialist society and were under compulsion to fight for it at all costs and despite all hazards."

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SHOP-TALKS ON SOCIALISM

By V. Grey

A bunch of the boys were talking things over in a Bethlehem Steel plant locker room. The subject of those 136 Bethlehem ship welders in Boston who chiselled \$500,000, was brought up. "That's a hell of a lot of cabbage" someone remarked. Out came a news-clipping. "Here's a list of shipyards, and how much they've made since the war began. I'll just read one: Bethlehem-Fairfield Shipyard Inc., Baltimore — cost to government, 33 million, company's investment one million. Fees paid to company 27 million. That's a lot of cabbage, too. I notice," he added, "that Admiral Emory Land isn't being held by the F. B. I. He was accused of being a party to a lot of ship swindles way up in the millions. But he's head of the Maritime Commission, and he's a Bethlehem shareholder, so it might hurt the 'war effort' to prosecute him."

"And what about the Liberty Ship Builders," a fellow said, "turning them out so fast they break in the middle — just to make their dirty millions a little quicker?"

A voice broke in, "Aw, you'd do the same thing if you had the chance. So would I. It's human nature."

Okay, Bill. Let's suppose you would do the same thing. Let's suppose you're the kind of a guy who could send a thousand kids to their death without batting an eyelash. Let's suppose you could think of the babies your greed had made into orphans, while you took an extra glass of champagne to toast your cleverness. That's "human nature" you say. You'd do it too, if you had the chance.

But you know damn well you'll never get the chance. Bethlehem Steel will take care of that. By the time you get a little dough ahead and a couple bills paid they'll lay you off again. If you try to cheat on the piece work like those welders did, they get the F. B. I. after you. Their own cheating on the whole people is so big, that their own men are right in the government and run the government as well as the F. B. I.

And you know you're not going to make a million dollars honestly. If you work hard and save your money it takes a long time to get a million bucks. Nineteen hundred and twenty three years, to be exact. That is, if you never get laid off, and the banks don't fail.

Why do you laugh at the poor guy who goes through the locker room at lunch hour selling eggs? He's trying to get ahead, isn't he? Bought a little farm on the installment plan. Works like hell. Eight hours a day in the shop and seven days a week on the farm. But you've been around here long enough to know that he'll keep his farm about as long as he keeps his job. The company can take away one and the banks the other. His efforts to get out of his class — out of the working class, are ludicrous. That's why you laugh.

There was a time when a little farmer or storekeeper had the chance of getting rich. (About as much chance as you have on

a five-way baseball pool — but still a chance). That was because companies like this one were still small and hadn't hogged everything yet. There was still room for expansion under their set-up. But there isn't any more.

The boys that are on top are out to stay there. And they're holding all the cards. No one can challenge them for their money. No one can attack them for the way they get it. And they don't scruple to use any and every foul means to keep it and increase it.

It may seem like human nature for these murderous millionaires to act the way they do. It's their nature, at any rate. But this is natural to them because they live in a society where everyone except themselves is underprivileged — and they are kings. They hire cops, thugs and whole governments to keep things that way. The people on the bottom, the workers in the shop have a little of that same attitude. They see themselves never getting ahead — never even sure of their jobs. So they, some of them, think it's all right to do what the rich do, since it's the only way you can be sure of the future.

But it's not the only way. When the boys take over the shop and the working people all over do the same thing, there will be enough and more than enough for all. There won't be any more six month layoffs. The dread of unemployment will be gone. And people will realize they can be comfortable and well off without cutting other people's throats. To that extent human nature will change.

But even if in a system of plenty, in a socialist society, "human nature" would make some of us want to be grafters and crooks, then we'll take serious measures against this kind of "human nature." A workers' government will prosecute any aspirants Graces, Rockefeller or Morgans, for the protection of the people, just as these plutocrats now use the government to protect their own profits.

Human nature, however, even as it stands today has a lot in its favor. The average bunch of people, the workers right here beside you for instance, don't tolerate bullying. Remember when two cops at the gate dragged that colored steward out of his car? Before you could say "Jack Robinson" four guys in the next car got out and beat up the cops. Of course you don't see this every day. But the feeling is there. There's a lot of things a dirty guy would never dare to do around a crowd of people because they'd be disgusted with him — and maybe go after him. And that's human nature too. If full publicity was given to the criminal activities of the millionaires right now, would they be safe from the wrath of aroused human nature? Not on your life!

In a society of plenty and security, human nature will be so changed that only a few freaks will want to cheat or rob, or become billionaires. These will be sent to medical asylums and treated with kindness and care until they are cured.

10 Years Ago In The Militant

JUNE 23, 1934

PITTSBURGH—Submitting to the pressure of the reactionary top leadership of the American Federation of Labor, the steel workers' convention voted to postpone rank-and-file plans for strike action. William Green forced the acceptance of his proposal, recommending "the setting up of an impartial board to be appointed by President Roosevelt." *The Militant* reported.

MINNEAPOLIS—Two phases of the Communist Party's role in the Minneapolis strikes, were pointed out by *The Militant*. First, during the organizational campaign of the General Drivers' Union, the Stalinists attempted to split the workers, and recruit them into their own sectarian "Red trade unions." The failure of this maneuver was indicated by the steady influx of workers into the AFL Drivers' Union. Thereupon the Stalinists resorted to slanderous attacks upon the leadership, giving aid and comfort to the boss-controlled Citizens' Alliance.

NEW YORK—The *Militant* presented in a series of articles, an analysis of the Stalinist program in Cuba during the historic 1933 general strike. The workers of Cuba were embarked on a tremendous political campaign against both the native capitalist exploiters and Wall Street imperialism. In the midst of this great political demonstration, the Stalinists, the largest working class party of Cuba, ordered their followers to break the general strike by returning to their jobs as soon as the economic demands were granted. "The Communist Party of Cuba," the Stalinists explained, "considers it advisable for the workers' and peasants' government, if it should be formed, to enter into negotiations with the government of the U. S. A. . . . The Communist Party allows the possibility of retaining American ownership."

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

— LEON TROTSKY

JOIN US IN FIGHTING FOR:

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

U. S. Supreme Court

The contrasting actions of the U. S. Supreme Court in the Minneapolis Labor case and in the Hartzel case presents an extremely instructive lesson in the operations of capitalist class justice.

Last December the Supreme Court three times refused even to consider the appeal of the 18 CIO truckdrivers and Socialist Workers Party leaders convicted under the infamous Smith "Gag" Act. Now in June 1944 the same Supreme Court justices upset the conviction of Elmer Hartzel of Chicago, sentenced to five years imprisonment under the Espionage Act of 1917. Hartzel had been found guilty of disseminating anti-Semitic, pro-Nazi literature and other documents of an allegedly subversive nature. Justice Frank Murphy in voiding this conviction, declared that, since the pro-Nazi material offered in evidence showed no intention to subvert the members of the armed forces, this Hitlerite had been unjustly deprived of his constitutional guarantee of freedom of speech.

During the last war, Eugene Victor Debs, leader of the Socialist Party, was sentenced to 10 years imprisonment under this same Espionage Act of 1917 for making a speech at Canton, Ohio, in opposition to the first World War. According to the present decision of the Supreme Court, one could superficially arrive at the conclusion that Debs' imprisonment was all a "mistake."

We say "superficially" because such reasoning could only be based on the erroneous assumption that the U. S. Supreme Court is the impartial watchdog of the political rights and freedoms of the people instead of being what it actually is—a class institution dispensing capitalist-class "justice" in the interests of the ruling class. The same Supreme Court which freed the anti-labor, pro-fascist Hartzel has three times refused to even consider the appeal of the 18 although the Minneapolis case involved the first test of the constitutionality of the Smith "Gag" act.

These cases show that the capitalist courts, from the lowest to the highest, will always contrive to find some legal technicality to apply repressive laws to railroad honest working class leaders to jail. Contrariwise, the justices can always find pretexts and precedents to provide the necessary loopholes through which the enemies of labor and the servants of Big Business can escape.

The labor movement can safeguard the democra-

tic rights of the American people only by relying upon its own independent strength, by fighting unitedly against every repressive law, by hurling back every attempt at labor-baiting, by defending every victim of the capitalist frameup machine.

War Aims

Last week President Roosevelt issued a statement embodying his "great design" or plan for the post-war world. It is upon the basis of this "great design," rather than upon any issues of domestic politics, that he plans to base his claim for a fourth term in the coming elections.

In Ralph Graham's article in this issue, Roosevelt's "great design" is analyzed and its predatory, imperialist character made clear. It is a design for a post-war world dominated by Wall Street through the device of a three-power military alliance among the United States, Britain and the Soviet Union—in which Wall Street plans to be the top dog.

Covering this alliance, in order to hide its reactionary character from the masses, is to be some sort of "international organization" resembling the late but unlamented League of Nations. It is to serve the victorious group of powers as an instrument for dividing up the loot of war, parceling out colonies, mandates, spheres of influence, etc. But in addition it proposes to police Europe and all the world, using the armed forces of its leading component states, in order to prevent the maturing socialist revolution. It will furnish support and sanction for reactionary dictatorships of the same type which now "rule" in Italy under the protection of Allied bayonets and which are planned for tomorrow in Yugoslavia, Greece, France and every other country where the restive peoples are seeking a way out of the bloody morass along the path of socialism.

This is the foreign policy on which Roosevelt intends to appeal to the voters.

Do the Republicans and their prospective candidate, Dewey, have any different policy? They do not. Through John Foster Dulles, Dewey's mentor on foreign policy, it has been made plain that the GOP candidate is a hearty supporter of these self-same piratical plans and schemes of the American imperialists. Dulles himself is senior partner in the big law firm of Sullivan and Cromwell, counsellors to the biggest Wall Street corporations.

In the presidential election of 1940 one of the burning issues was the question of United States entry into the imperialist war. Roosevelt and Willkie had an identical line on this issue. Both hypocritically mouthed phrases about not sending our boys into "foreign wars". Both favored dragging the country into the slaughter for the benefit of Wall Street.

Now, once again, the workers will have the choice of electing one of two candidates, both of whom are pledged to the same reactionary foreign policy of the Wall Street plutocracy. They will be able to vote for Tweedledum Roosevelt or Tweedledee Dewey. The domestic issues are being forced into the background, and the workers will not even be able by their votes to register their opposition to the wage freeze, the attempts to regiment the workers, the growing attacks on the labor movement.

The fake choice which will confront them serves to emphasize once again the need for an independent labor party, a party which will run candidates of its own against the capitalist candidates, a party whose policies will serve the needs and interests of the people and not the interests of the Wall Street pirates.

CIO Political Action

The long heralded "first national conference" of the CIO Political Action Committee took place in Washington last week. In a statement of purpose issued by Philip Murray when the PAC was first launched it was announced that at such a national conference to be held before the national conventions of the two major parties "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."

Instead of waiting, as promised, until "after the political conventions" of the two major parties had acted on the program, Murray-Hillman and Company rushed pell-mell to endorse Roosevelt and Wallace. Instead of presenting a program to meet the needs of the workers, they modeled their program to fit the requirements of Roosevelt's demagoguery. "The program," reports the N.Y. Times, "contained no serious note of dissent from Administration policies."

The section of the PAC program devoted to foreign policy did not go beyond reiterating the demagogic commonplaces of the "four freedoms, the good neighbor policy, the Atlantic Charter, etc." On domestic policy, the program called for the elaboration of Roosevelt's "New Bill of Rights" by a permanent planning board. The so-called "New Bill of Rights" was part of Roosevelt's annual message to Congress which advocated the adoption of a forced labor law!

Hillman-Murray announced that those candidates who subscribe to the PAC program will receive endorsement. Of course, even this is not being lived up to, as Roosevelt has already been endorsed.

The CIO Political Action Committee is counterfeited all the way through. It has nothing in common with genuine independent labor politics.

FREE THE 18!

Class Justice



Unions Pledge Aid To The 18 At CRDC Rallies In The East

(Continued from page 1)

union leaders." He denounced the attempts of the Stalinists to sabotage the CRDC campaign, pointing to their strikebreaking in the recent Botany plant sit-in at Patterson as an example of their traitorous role in the labor movement.

Promising the full cooperation of the Trenton CIO, Walter Czejkowski called on New Jersey labor "to help those hundreds of miles away who fought the good fight in the union movement."

Carl Thol stated: "I am convinced more of these cases will occur. The 18 did not receive justice. That's why we must go out and support the CRDC because we believe in justice for all, because the CRDC should remain active to prepare to defend other unionists in the future."

"Anyone who knew these men, their loyalty and method of building unions, their fight not only against the employers but against the city and state machine, and their fight against the Stalinists, will take up their defense," declared Irving Rosenberg. "The case of the 18 is no isolated case, but a part of the whole anti-labor attack of the big corporations."

Letters of support were read from Irving Abramson and Carl Holderman, President and Secretary-Treasurer respectively of the state CIO. The meeting sent a unanimously-endorsed telegram to

Roosevelt demanding an immediate unconditional presidential pardon for the 18. \$113.30 was contributed for the Minneapolis prisoners relief fund.

BOSTON, Mass., June 14—Representatives of leading New England union and civil rights groups participated in the well-attended CRDC supper-meeting held here tonight on behalf of the 18 prisoners framed up in the Minneapolis Labor Case.

The main speaker of the meeting was George Novack, National Secretary of the CRDC who described the fast-mounting support from labor and progressive forces everywhere which is rallying behind the CRDC campaign to free the 18.

Among the organizations which sent delegates to the affair or messages of support and contributions were the State Council of the Teachers Federation, AFL; New England Joint Board, CIO; United Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Employees; New England Region, CIO Paper, Toy and Novelty Workers; Boston Local 1 and Lowell Local 3, CIO; United Shoe Workers; Locals 706 and 704, CIO United Transport Service Employees; Boston Local 1, CIO Amalgamated Clothing Workers; Casa Del Popolo, Somerville; and the Socialist Party of Massachusetts.

Professor F. O. Matthiessen of Harvard University, a member of the CRDC National Committee

was chairman of the meeting. One of the principal speakers was Miss Emily Balch, former International Secretary at Geneva, Switzerland, of the Women's International League. She likened the present persecutions of the Trotskyists to the attacks on labor and socialist groups during the last World War.

Alfred Albert, counsel for the American Civil Liberties Union in Massachusetts, presented a careful analysis of the legal aspects of the Minneapolis Labor Case, demonstrating how the government has violated the constitutional rights of free speech and press. The meeting contributed \$140 to the Minneapolis prisoners relief fund.

NEW HAVEN, Conn., June 13.—Addressing a small but enthusiastic group at the home of Willard Upham on the case of the eighteen imprisoned victims of capitalist prosecution, George Novack, National Secretary of the Civil Rights Defense Committee, gave a graphic account of his tour through the country and his visit to the prisoners at Sandstone, after detailing the facts in the case.

The speaker pointed out that the case was comparable to the frame-up of Mooney and Billings in the last World War. Just as in that case, he warned, so the present one implies the beginning of a concerted drive against labor.

International Notes

YUGOSLAVIA

Major Randolph Churchill, son of Prime Minister Winston Churchill, has been in Yugoslavia lately as a British attaché to the staff of the Stalinist guerrilla leader, Marshal Tito. In an interview with a Yugoslav reporter before leaving for Rome, he expressed the greatest admiration for Tito and his regime.

"What Tito and the Partisans have done should serve as a model and example to all the enslaved countries of Europe. . . Here in Yugoslavia, there can be seen in miniature the New Europe which is being created."

Everyone will ask himself what sort of "model" this is that arouses such enthusiasm in the breast of Churchill's son and official deputy. Clearly the Stalinists who head the Yugoslav movement must have travelled far toward bureaucratizing the movement and subverting it to their reactionary program and aims.

SOUTH AFRICA

Native workers in the Union of South Africa, a British dominion and part of that Empire which Churchill has sworn to preserve and defend, are on the march to abolish the slave laws under which they are held in the vilest servitude by their white imperialist masters and exploiters.

A total of 540 delegates, representing trade unions and Negro farmer and tenant organizations, together with political, religious and student bodies, met in Johannesburg during the week-end of June 3 and passed resolutions demanding repeal of the infamous Pass Laws. Under these laws, all idle Africans are obliged to carry passes signed by their employers showing that they receive

permission to leave work. To be on the streets between 9 p. m. and 4 a. m. they must have special passes, also issued by employers. In addition, they must be able to produce a receipt that they have paid a head-tax of one pound (about \$4).

According to a dispatch to Allied Labor News, the anti-Pass Law convention adopted a resolution declaring that the Pass Laws "hold the African people in a condition of abject poverty and subjection, retard industrial development, hamper the growth of organization of African workers and weaken the entire labor movement. They are the cause of sharp racial friction between the peoples of South Africa; they uphold the cheap labor system, resulting in malnutrition, starvation and disease; they fill our jails with innocent people and they create widespread crime."

At the conclusion of the convention, Allied Labor News reports, the delegates marched through Johannesburg to the market square. There more than 25,000 native workers formed in procession and paraded through the streets, carrying banners inscribed with slogans against the Pass Laws.

A false note appears in one of the convention resolutions, which declared that the Pass Laws are "in conflict with the high and progressive war aims for which the United Nations are fighting." This was the work of the reformist native leaders who evidently controlled the convention. Actually there is no such conflict. The principal war aim of the British imperialists—and we have Churchill's word for it—is to preserve the British Empire, and that means to perpetuate the very

slave conditions against which the Africans are fighting.

ITALY

An outspoken indication of the reasons for Allied Military Government in Italy and for the foisting of the monarchy and its police-military dictatorship on the country, was given in a June 14 dispatch from Rome by AP correspondent Edward Kennedy. He writes:

"Every doughboy wants to get home as soon as the war is over... (but) a large part of the population, especially businessmen and others with property, are fearful of what may happen in Italy when it is given back to the Italians."

"Some think Italy will go Communist; some think there will be civil war; some think the country will flounder about for lack of leadership."

"Some Italians are saying the present Bonomi government is a Kerensky government which will lead to Communism...."

"One Rome businessman said, 'The Allies ought to stay here and govern the country for five years.'"

"And then he said: 'I'm afraid that as soon as the war is over America will go isolationist again and the British will pull out, too. Then there's almost sure to be civil war and Communism.'"

The "patriotic" Italian capitalists first subjected "their" country to the Nazis. Today they lend themselves to its subjection under the rule of the "democratic" imperialists. The motive is the same in both cases: the desire to preserve their property, their profits and their privileges. These are the people who always call on the workers to fight and die for "their country."

Southern Town Officials Unloose Jim-Crow Terror

The Negro people have been given another vivid demonstration of the benefits they are deriving from this capitalist "war for democracy."

In the town of New Iberia, Louisiana, leaders of the Negro community had the "effrontery" to demand and secure a government school to train Negro welders for war work. On the evening of the day the school opened, May 15, four of the local Negro leaders, two physicians, a teacher and the president of the local NAACP, a retired business man, were waylaid by agents of the sheriff's office and superintendent of schools, subdued at gun point, severely clubbed and driven from town. Four other Negro citizens, two physicians, an insurance salesman, and a woman school teacher were threatened and compelled to flee the town.

These brutal actions of the "white supremacy" scum were carried out by the official "guardians of law and order." The whole "upper crust" of the white ruling class combined to conceal the crime and the criminals, and the Negro community was terrorized to prevent exposure. Only weeks after the attacks, when the victims issued affidavits and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People disclosed the events, did the facts become public.

As a consequence of these terrorist acts the entire Negro community has been left without proper medical aid, and two patients in the Negro hospital, maintained by one of the expelled physicians, are reported to have died as a result of lack of care.

The outstanding victim of the assault was J. Leo Hardy, a retired businessman, who was president of the local branch of the NAACP, and who had led the committee which secured the welder's school against the open opposition of the town officials.

All the beaten victims were taken from their homes or places of work at night, driven in the sheriff's or deputies' cars to the town outskirts, abused, kicked and clubbed, and forced to walk miles on foot to refuge in neighboring towns.

The federal government agencies, the War Manpower Commission and U. S. Bureau of Education, helped to bolster anti-Negro prejudices by first establishing an all-white school for war workers excluding Negroes, and then refusing to establish a similar school for Negro workers. Only after an appeal to the FEPC office in Dallas, Texas, was a segregated school for Negroes set up.

To date, the federal government has taken no action against the "white supremacy" gangsters and the victims are unable to return safely to their homes, families and possessions.

Capitalist Courts Go Easy On Big Business Criminals

War has provided Big Business with exceptional opportunities for all-out profiteering, swindling, graft and fraud. The ordinary "corner-cutting" practices permitted under capitalist law are universally supplemented now by open criminal violations. Actual illegal acts have become so extensive and brazen that in a few exceptional instances the government has been compelled to bring some corporations and their officials to trial.

But a kindly Providence almost invariably seems to hang over the corporation defendants caught red-handed in criminal acts and brought to court. They rarely land in jail, and never for long. Indeed, most of the corporations indicted for anti-trust law violations have had their trials "postponed for the duration" at the direct request of Roosevelt and his cabinet officials. In fact, only cases of glaring fraud have been tried.

In these latter few cases the outcome has almost invariably been the same; either a directed acquittal on the part of an obliging federal judge or, if a rare jury has convicted, the reversal of the jury's decision by the judge or a higher court. In dealing with criminal corporations, the capitalist courts and jurists demonstrate with almost automatic regularity that the "quality of mercy is not strained."

Last year, for instance, the Truman Senate Investigating Committee uncovered and made public extremely damaging evidence against Carnegie-Illinois Steel Corporation, largest U. S. Steel subsidiary, which was charged with palming off steel plate on the government that was below the required standards, destroying or falsifying inspection records, and concealing information relating to tests on steel plate. As was to be expected, several weeks ago a federal trial judge ordered a directed acquittal on the main counts and an obliging blue ribbon jury, hand-picked by the government and composed predominantly of business men, handed down a "not guilty" decision on the remaining counts along the lines indicated by the judge.

Just last week, 15 big flour milling corporations, charged with monopoly in restraint of trade and illegal price fixing, were convicted by a federal jury. The evidence had been brought by the Department of Justice, never noted for any zeal in pressing prosecutions against corporations except where the evidence is clear-cut and overwhelming. But the federal judge refused to accept the jury's verdict, threw it out immediately and handed down his own acquittal decision.

But if, by some chance, a corporation criminal does go to jail he doesn't stay there long. The wheels of the higher courts begin turning at high speed and the conviction is quickly reversed. That is what has happened in the case of the three Schmeller brothers, heads of the National Bronze and Aluminum Foundry Co., Cleveland, who were convicted and sentenced to 10 years' imprisonment last October, charged under the Saboteur Act with selling the government improperly made aluminum castings for aircraft motors. A federal appeals court two weeks ago ordered an acquittal of the three convicted capitalists.

The courts, from top to bottom, demonstrate their character as class institutions. Criminal capitalists caught committing the worst frauds are given every "benefit of the doubt" and treated with the greatest consideration. But honest workers, like the 18 imprisoned Trotskyists, who have committed no crimes whatsoever and have fought instead in the interests of labor against the crimes of capitalism, are for that very reason railroad behind bars and denied even a Supreme Court review of their case.