

## UAW President Supports Fight To Free The 18

Thomas Letter States Reasons Why Labor Should Back the Imprisoned Trotskyists

R. J. Thomas, President of the CIO United Automobile Workers, largest international union in the country, has declared his support for the 18 imprisoned Socialist Workers Party and Minneapolis Truckdrivers Local 544-CIO leaders convicted under the infamous Smith "Gag" Act.

Thomas, whose international represents over one million members, stated his position in a letter addressed to W. G. Grant, President of Ford Local 600, and read before the local's General Council meeting on July 9. It answered a Local 600 inquiry concerning the attitude of the UAW and CIO on the Minneapolis Labor Case by stating:

"I am of the opinion that these people should be supported for two reasons: first, the National CIO takes that position; and second, they were undoubtedly sent to prison under a law with which we cannot possibly agree. That does not mean that we agree with the policies of these particular individuals, but the case itself involves a serious threat to labor generally in the state of Minnesota."

Thomas' statement followed the action of the Resolutions Committee at the recent Michigan CIO Convention, representing 800,000 organized workers, which by a 6 to 1 vote endorsed a resolution in support of the 18 and has recommended its adoption by the incoming state executive board.

These expressions of support lend additional weight to the growing labor and liberal forces, now numbering close to 300 union, Negro, fraternal and civil rights organizations with over 2,000,000 members, which have given their moral and material aid to the Civil Rights Defense Committee's campaign to free the 18.

These resolutions, along with petitions bearing over 11,000 individual signatures and hundreds of letters from labor and liberal leaders, will be presented to the Presidential Pardon Authority in Washington during the first week of August by a CRDC-sponsored committee of nationally prominent union and civil rights spokesmen. This committee will urge President Roosevelt to grant an unconditional pardon to the 18 victims of the outstanding viola-

### Easily Satisfied

Winston Churchill is a modest imperialist with modest appetites. Addressing Canadian airmen in Normandy this week, he said: "We have fought for honor and we seek no reward. We seek no territory, we desire no oil fields, we seek nothing that is not our own. But what is our own in the Commonwealth, that we don't want any other people to express an opinion about. That we will firmly retain."

The British Empire and Commonwealth only embraces an area of 13,707,084 square miles and a population of 557,080,150—more than one-quarter of the land surface of the earth and more than one-quarter of its inhabitants. Modest Churchill!!!

tion of civil liberties during World War II.

The flow of supporting resolutions and financial contributions from union and other labor bodies is increasing every week. Last week alone, resolutions and contributions were received from the following unions and labor fraternal bodies:

UAW-CIO Local 142, Dearborn, Mich.; UAW-CIO Local 3, Hamtramck, Mich.; Dairy, Bakery, Cereal and Food Workers Division (20 locals); CIO United Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Employees, Detroit, Mich.; St. Louis Joint Council, URWDSEA; CIO Textile Workers Local 139, Trenton, N. J.; CIO Textile Workers Local 140, Maynard, Mass.; AFL Machinists Local 68, San Francisco; AFL Food Packers Local 124, New York City; Sheep Shearers Union Local 1, Butte, Mont. The Jewish Labor Commit-

(Continued on page 2)

# MORTAL CRISIS STRIKES CRUMBLING NAZI REGIME

## Allies Reveal Plan For Strangling the German Revolt

By Ralph Graham

With wide fissures opening in the Nazi regime, presaging its downfall, the imperialist bandits of the Allied "democracies" are making ready to put into operation their nefarious plans for strangling the working class revolution which they are now certain is going to follow.

Just as they sought to destroy the great Bolshevik Revolution which arose in Russia from the carnage of World War I, so today they stand ready to sink their bloody talons into a revolutionary socialist Germany.

### CHURCHILL'S ROLE

Churchill was the principal plotter against the workers' Soviet Republic which emerged from the Bolshevik Revolution. He was to the fore in inspiring, encouraging and financing the White Guard counter-revolution and in organizing the inter-Allied military intervention. Among his imperialist co-conspirators was Woodrow Wilson, who preached the "right of self-determination of all nations" but worked to overthrow the Bolshevik regime which had been freely chosen by the workers and peasants of Russia. It was Wilson who sent American troops to Archangel and to Vladivostok to cooperate with the White Guard rabble in their attempts to drown the Russian Revolution in its own blood.

Once again, after the lapse of a quarter of a century, Churchill occupies the center of the counter-revolutionary stage, with plans for smashing the German socialist revolution. His leading fellow-conspirator this time is another "great democrat"—Frank-

(Continued on page 5)

### He'll Finish Them Both



## Democratic Party Convention Furthers Big Business Aims

By Art Preis

Blessed and backed by a powerful section of the more far-sighted Wall Street interests, Franklin D. Roosevelt was renominated virtually automatically last week as the Democratic Party's 1944 presidential candidate. His platform, which reveals throughout his personal imprint, contains but one tangible plank — a pledge to prosecute to successful conclusion Wall Street's war for world domination, and to impose a conqueror's "peace by force."

Roosevelt, as he himself stated in his nomination acceptance speech, stands "on the record." That record shows that Roosevelt in his foreign policy has consistently advanced Wall Street's fundamental program of world domination. Under his regime at home, Big Business, through its control of the war production program, has immeasurably strengthened its monopoly grip on America's productive facilities and resources. It has piled up unprecedented war profits and thrust its hands into a grab-bag containing billions worth of government-financed plants a n d land developments. It has fastened such government shackles on labor as compulsory arbitration, wage freezing, forced labor decrees, anti-strike legislation, extortionate taxes.

### DEMAND GUARANTEES

While Big Business takes due account of past favors, it is never guided by considerations of gratitude. The plutocrats demanded additional guarantees for the future. They secured them from Roosevelt and his party bosses at the Democratic Convention, just as they had previously obtained them from Republicans.

### WORKERS CONTROL

With a relatively full utilization of America's gigantic capacity to produce it is possible to create an economy of abundance for all. But full employment is impossible under a system in which the main concern is profit. To ensure the utilization of America's productive capacity labor must advance the slogan of: Nationalization of industry under workers control. Against the program of Big Business of producing solely for profit; of shutting down plants and junking productive equipment; of lowering wages; of curtailing production and creating a permanent army of unemployed pariahs, labor must counterpose its own program of full production and employment.

With industry nationalized under workers control the slack in unemployment, (which it is estimated will reach the figure of 20 million in the "post-war" period if "free enterprise" prevails), can be taken up by a reduction in hours with no reduction in pay. The increase in the productivity of labor makes it possible to meet the needs of the people, to raise the standard of

(Continued on page 2)

## Germany Stands On Brink Of Mass Revolutionary Upsurge

Junker Officer Caste Makes Desperate Bid To Salvage Its Power By Deal With Allies

By William F. Warde

Hitler's totalitarian regime, which he boasted would "reign for a thousand years," is today in the throes of a mortal crisis. Eleven and a half years after the Nazi agents of German capitalism waded to power through the blood of the German working class, the rulers of Germany are at each other's throats and engaged in a virtual civil war. This savage conflict on top reflects profound revolutionary ferment below among the masses. The mighty German proletariat is preparing to rise up against its oppressors, wipe out the Nazi enslavers and deal death blows to capitalist-Junker rule.

### ATTEMPTED COUP D'ETAT

The momentous events which began to shake Germany last week were precipitated by an attempted coup d'etat led by Junker-Generals and a reported assassination attempt against Hitler. A sweeping blood purge ensued within the commanding summits of the armed forces, already crumbling under catastrophic defeats. Hundreds of officers were reported executed, including Col. Gen. Beck, former chief of staff. Thousands more were arrested.

At the same time, there were persistent rumors of mutinies in the naval forces at Kiel and Stettin and among the troops at the front, and of clashes between the Wehrmacht and SS detachments. Hitler, Reichsmarschal Goering and Grand Admiral Doenitz were compelled to appeal over the radio to the German army and people, pleading with them to ignore the orders of the conspirators and remain loyal to the Nazi regime. To ensure that loyalty, however, Hitler went to extraordinary lengths, placing Gestapo-head Himmler in charge of the army within the Reich and appointing Nazi henchmen over the army commanders.

Simultaneously with the disclosure of these events, dispatches reported violent disturbances in Berlin and other leading cities. Other accounts stated that the

streets of Berlin were deserted and patrolled by SS detachments and the Gestapo. Hitler has been obliged to institute martial law within Germany itself, signifying that his regime is now under a state of siege.

These are unmistakable signs of a developing revolutionary situation in Germany. They recall the events of 1918, when, after the Russian Revolution, the German General Staff abandoned all hope of victory, mutinies broke out in the armies and in the fleet, the workers, soldiers and peasants rose up, formed Workers and Soldiers Councils and working class governments were established in parts of Germany. With the subsequent unfolding of events, the present crisis can lead to the overthrow of the Nazi regime through the insurrection of the masses. Germany stands on the threshold of the proletarian revolution!

The news that comes through to us is fragmentary and mutilated by a manifold censorship. But it is clear that incipient civil war has broken out in Germany. It has been set off by the Junker bid for supreme power. Hitler himself disclosed the engineers and aims of the conspiracy when he denounced the "clique of ambitious, unscrupulous, and at the same time foolish, criminally stupid officers" who "hatched a plot to remove me, and, together with me, virtually to exterminate the staff of the German High Command." Thus, Hitler admits he is now at war with the Junker military caste who provided one

(Continued on page 5)

## How Workers Can Fight Peril Of Unemployment

By R. Bell

Estimates of the number of unemployed by the end of this year vary from two to four million. The latter figure is given by the AFL economist, Boris Shiskin, who contends it is based on "known factors" in the production program. Shiskin declared that the estimate of four million unemployed by the end of 1944 was "conservative," and is based on the assumption that the war against Germany and Japan is still going on. In the event of a military collapse of Germany it is conceded there would be a sharp drop in production of 30 to 50 per cent with a catastrophic decline in employment.

### CAUSES OF UNEMPLOYMENT

The causes of the steady decline in employment in the midst of a global war, in which industrial production plays a decisive role, is twofold. First, war production cutbacks and contract terminations are dictated by the needs of the workers who are summarily dismissed, and without any provision for reconversion to civilian production. Second, and of more lasting effect, is the "rationalization" of production: that is, the introduction of labor saving devices, the construction of more efficient plant and equipment, the speedup, all of which has increased enormously the productivity of labor. Less workers are producing more material than ever before.

The productive capacity of American industry has expanded so prodigiously that for the first time in history capitalism is unable to provide full employment in the midst of a world-wide war, in which a potential labor force of over ten million is in the armed forces. The growth of unemploy-

ment is accompanied by a reduction in wages for those employed. Those made jobless by cutbacks are forced into taking lower paid jobs in other departments or in other plants. In a survey conducted by the N. Y. Post it was found that such changes in employment result in "a pay cut of about \$20 a week." "Many of these industrial expendables," says the Post, "have refused at first to work for lower pay, but they are being forced into new war jobs by the strict War Manpower Commission job-control which went into effect July 1."

With such pay cuts imposed on the workers through the medium of the Roosevelt-McNutt forced labor plan, the gradual elimination of overtime with its premium pay together with a shortening of the work week has resulted in a general drop in "take home wages." This decline in "take home wages" in the face of a constantly rising cost of living and higher taxes means a lowering of the worker's standard of living. While corporation profits soar to higher levels, wages remain frozen under the Little Steel formula.

To close the widening gap between frozen wages and the rising cost of living labor must fight under the slogan of: a rising scale of

wages to meet the rising cost of living — an "Escalator Clause" in every union contract should provide for an increase in wages for every corresponding increase in the cost of living. But this is just one aspect of the larger problem indicated above.

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(Continued on page 2)

## Fall of Tojo Gov't Shows Sharpening Of Crisis in Japan

By Li Fu-Jen

Japan's imperialist ruling class is moving at an accelerated pace toward the abyss of social revolution. The collapse of the Tojo cabinet last week was a symptomatic reaction in the ruling summits to a growing restiveness at the base of Japanese society, which, as in the case of Nazi Germany, portends a violent revolutionary upheaval.

For seven long years the Japanese workers and peasants have

running mate could in no wise affect the basic course and policies of the Roosevelt administration. That course is determined by the fundamental world aims of American capitalism, which Roosevelt has consistently pursued. The significance of the conflict over the vice-presidential nominee at the convention lies in its symptomatic character. It revealed Roosevelt's contempt for his servile supporters among the union bureaucracy, whom he knows he can count on, no matter how many blows he delivers to labor.

### BOSSES AND CIO

Sidney Hillman, Philip Murray and the other "labor statesmen" of the CIO Political Action Committee chose to assert themselves at the convention by a demonstrative campaign for the renomination of Wallace. Their

(Continued on page 4)

(Continued on page 4)

## Stalinist Hooligan Assault Denounced In Washington AFL Convention Motion

In a frenzy of journalistic hydrophobia the Stalinist gutter-rag, *The New World*, (July 20) snarled through two full pages at the "Trotskyites," a term which, in the vocabulary of Browder's pen-prostitutes, includes all workers and progressives who fight for labor's rights, civil liberties and free speech. The Stalinist frenzy was occasioned by the action of Local 104, embracing 20,000 members of the Boilermakers Union in Seattle, which had adopted a resolution condemning *The New World* for instigating an assault by Stalinist hooligans on a meeting of the American Friends Service (Quakers) held at the Plymouth Congregational Church.

The *New World* attributed the adoption of the resolution to a "Trotskyite cell" in the Boilermakers Union and then proceeded to red-bait Local 104 for supporting and contributing to the defense of the 18 Minneapolis labor prisoners framed up under the notorious Smith "Gag" Law. The issue was "loaded" with reactionary muck dug out of the pages of its parent organ, the *Daily Worker*, in a desperate attempt to influence the state convention of the AFL which was being held at the time.

The Stalinist editors addressed the convention in an editorial lecturing the delegates on "how the

A resolution was adopted flaying the Stalinists for seeking to defile labor's name by an action which "constitutes a denial of freedom of speech." The Stalinists were denounced for cloaking their vile activities in the mantle of labor.

Meeting in conjunction with the Washington AFL convention, the Washington Machinists Council, representing all of the locals of the International Association of Machinists in the state, also adopted a resolution denouncing the Stalinist vigilante attack on meetings of the Institute of International Relations sponsored by the American Friends Society. Forty-four delegates, representing a membership of 80,000 workers, adopted the resolution unanimously, condemning *The New World* and the Stalinists for perpetrating an act, "unworthy of the labor movement." The special "anti-Trotskyist" edition of *The New World* failed to accomplish its purpose. The "dominant labor group" in the State of Washington pilloried the Stalinists for what they are — the deadly enemy of the workers.

Fascism cannot be defeated by borrowing the methods of the fascists. The preservation of the labor movement requires vigilant defense of the democratic rights of labor. Organizing hooligan gangs to break up meetings, acting as finger-men for the cops, slandering and vilifying those who stand opposed to their policy of unconditional surrender to the bosses and their government, the Stalinists direct their main blows at the most uncompromising fighters for labor's rights and labor's interests — the Trotskyists.

The workers in the Pacific Northwest, who have a long and militant tradition in the struggle for free speech, have been taught a valuable lesson. Under cover of a red-baiting attack on "Trotskyite cells" the Stalinists sought to terrorize the workers into condoning an act of political vandalism. The stinging rebuke administered by the organized labor movement of the State of Washington quickly called the Stalinists to order. We know that this lesson will not be lost on the American labor movement!



# TRADE UNION NOTES

By Joseph Keller

It is now going on three months since President Roosevelt broke the Chicago Montgomery Ward strike by seizing the plant on the pretext of compelling Sewell L. Avery, the nation's No. 1 Open Shopper, to comply with WLB directives issued last year. Avery has his plant back, is slashing away at the union, and hasn't obeyed any government directives to date.

Roosevelt has proved himself singularly flabby about enforcing the orders of his own agencies against such recalcitrant employers. Meanwhile, Avery is fighting a cagey delaying action through the courts against compliance with the WLB orders for granting of a maintenance of membership clause to the union. Last week, the U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals at Washington, D. C., got around to throwing out Avery's suit to enjoin compliance with the WLB's directives, issued 18 months ago, ordering his company to sign a maintenance of membership contract with the unions in his Detroit, Denver and Jamaica, N. Y., stores. The court ruled, binding on all lower courts, that no judicial agency may interfere with the enforcement of orders by a government war agency, and conversely, that WLB orders are not enforceable by court orders.

So far, this hasn't prodded a stir out of Roosevelt or the WLB. Avery is sitting tight and planning to stall a lot longer by appealing to the U. S. Supreme Court. It should be plenty clear by now that Roosevelt has two distinct policies concerning the enforcement of WLB directives. When union men refuse to comply with the pro-corporation orders of the WLB, FDR swings a big club, using troops when he thinks it necessary, and he acts with the speed of a P 51. But when labor-hating profiteers like Avery spit in the face of the WLB repeatedly, Roosevelt becomes mighty absorbed in other things, like Democratic Party conventions.

Last week, this column reported one of the latest moves in the Stalinist campaign to disarm the unions and open the gates of the labor movement from within to the offensive of the open-shoppers. That was the action of the Stalinist leadership of Local 65, CIO United Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Employees, in giving the employers a column in the local's paper, New Voices, to spread their opium among the workers.

A union leadership which opens the columns of the labor press to the propaganda of the unions' enemies isn't the type which will fight for the interests of its members, as the very issue, July 9, which publishes the first of the bosses' columns gives direct testimony. On the opposite page New Voices publishes the list of Local 65 WLB cases which have been stalled before that body. Local 65 has no less than 64 cases, one submitted as far back as February 1943, bogged in the WLB swamp. Almost half of the cases go back more than six months.

In the face of this miserable record of failure to defend the interests of their own membership and of servility to the employers, the Local 65 Stalinist leaders have the gall, in the July 23 New Voices, to stab in the back the members of their own international union who went on strike at Montgomery Ward. New Voices devotes an entire page to an attack on the striking union, and the leadership which backed the strike. It even goes so far as to state that the union in striking "did exactly what Avery wanted" and against their own union brothers defends the strike-breaking actions of Harry Bridges, who has been denounced throughout the labor movement. This treacherous crew calls for a "real labor leadership"—namely, one which will "mobilize all the people of America behind the War Labor Board." What is needed is a mobilization of the Local 65 members to give the boot to the finky Stalinist machine, and get a militant leadership that will organize a real fight to clean up the scores of Local 65 cases buried in the WLB "graveyard of Grievances."

In his summation of the CIO Steel Workers wage case before the WLB panel hearings, CIO General Counsel Lee Pressman answered arguments of the steel corporation mouthpieces that the government has no power to balance price rises by granting wage increases. Pressman correctly pointed out that the only law limiting Roosevelt's power to raise wages is the Stabilization Act of October, 1942, which authorizes him to maintain both wages and prices at their September, 1942 levels.

Pressman further quoted Roosevelt's statement in September, 1942, that "if we are to keep wages effectively stabilized, it becomes imperative, in fairness to the workers, to keep equally stable the cost of food and clothing and shelter and other articles used by the workers."

The CIO attorney pleaded: "If you take this commitment of the President of the U. S. to the people of the nation, we ask how can it be argued that it is the government's policy not to protect wages against a rise in the cost of living. Any contention to the contrary is to fly in the face of the policy announced by the President of the U. S."

Now this is a very impressive point—except that it was not addressed to the correct parties. If Roosevelt and his war labor agencies have not only the power but the policy "to protect wages against a rise in the cost of living," then why haven't they done so? On the contrary, through his two "hold-the-line" orders and the WLB's Little Steel Formula, Roosevelt is directly responsible for imposing the wage freeze while the cost of living has soared over 45 per cent. Only recently, on the basis of one of the dirtiest "compromise" deals on record, Roosevelt signed the emasculated "price control" bill, which virtually guarantees immunity to the war profiteers while they intensify their price gouge.

Pressman, Philip Murray, head of the CIO and the Steel Workers Union, and all the other CIO tops are playing a political game. They admit the Administration's power and "policy" to keep wages in line with price rises, but then go through a lot of double talk trying to conceal the truth about Roosevelt, before whom they bow as abject servitors.

Although he has spilled a lot of demagogic twaddle about equalizing wages and prices, Roosevelt has used his power deliberately to clamp down the wage freeze and to protect the price-boosting profiteers. Pressman and his like are covering up this fact with a lot of fancy talk in order to keep the workers from a real fight for wage increases. That is why Murray and his lieutenants confine their "fighting" to whinnies before the WLB, the very agency brought into being by Roosevelt, with the connivance of the union bureaucrats, to put a leash on the unions and frustrate their demands for wage increases.



The increased activity in the branches during the three-month subscription campaign has resulted in a great number of subscriptions being submitted to us directly, either in letter form or on the sub coupon in The Militant. This week we have received a 6-month sub from Shasta County, California; a 3-month sub from San Francisco; a 6-month from Oakland; a 6-month from New York, which subscriber wrote: "Kindly send me a six-month subscription. Also I am enclosing money for 3-month subscriptions to two of my friends."

Our agent in Allentown sent in the following appreciative comments: "Very good remarks are coming our way re 'Shop Talks on Socialism' especially. Hope that particular column will be kept. Personally I'm particularly fond of the '10 Years Ago In The Militant' column. It brings back the past particularly well, refreshing my first year in the party, my first year of awakening to political consciousness."

In a discussion with one of our New York readers about The Militant, he said: "It is evident that workers are beginning to write for the paper. For instance, a sentence like this—'When my paper isn't here on Friday it turns me up. Without it is like fumbling around in the dark for a light switch.' (Militant Army, June 24 issue)—is in refreshing contrast to the more abstract formulations which necessarily must be used in other articles."

Our agents report the following incidents while doing door-to-door work in the subscription campaign: Los Angeles: "One comrade reported that for two hours he worked with no results in introducing The Militant as a 'labor paper.' When he changed to 'socialist paper' his sales went up immediately."

# Trial Shows British Trotskyists Were Sent To Jail Because Of Their Socialist Views

Fresh evidence of the frame-up nature of the imprisonment of four British Trotskyists is published in the July issue of the *Socialist Appeal*, organ of the Revolutionary Communist Party, which shows clearly that the Trotskyists were convicted not only for "aiding workers on strike," as charged, but for their revolutionary socialist views.

The Trotskyist leaders are the first to be imprisoned under the vicious Trade Union Disputes Act, passed after the 1926 General Strike, but never used until the recent strike waves threw the ruling class into a new hysteria of fear. The Tory press blamed the strikes on "agitators;" Ernest Bevin, Labor Minister of the coalition government, who bore personal responsibility for the "Pit Ballot Scheme" of conscripting young boys for work in the mines, accused the Trotskyists of "instigating" the Tyneside Apprentices' resistance to his labor draft, and invoked the Trade Disputes Act against them.

## TEARSE TESTIMONY

According to the report of the trial published in the *Socialist Appeal*, the prosecutor, Paley Scott, was "shouting, sneering, bullying." A few quotations from the testimony bear out this description in every respect. Comrade Roy Tearse, first on the witness stand, testified that he was a member of the Revolutionary Communist Party, and also national secretary and organizer of the Militant Workers Federation (an industrial organization). He explained, "The object of the Militant Workers Federation is to coordinate the struggles of the working class in the unions and the factories, for a fighting, militant working class policy." In response to Scott's demand, "You want to shake the country?" Tearse replied, "I want a socialist society in Britain and the world, which would completely overturn present day society."

Comrade Heaton Lee, a former organizer of native mine workers in South Africa, was asked: "What interest did you have in the boys going down the mines?" Said Lee, "I had a great deal of interest. I have been down the mines for four years and I know what it is like. I know the chaos and waste that results from the private ownership of the mines." He testified that he had spoken at meetings of the apprentices and given them political advice on how they could win the fight. "My idea was that they should gain for themselves all the support they could among other sections of the working class... to bring pressure to bear on the Gov-

ernment to agree to their demands (nationalization of the mines)."

Count on the sub drive, I could hardly believe it was over seven thousand subs. Our comrades have done a wonderful job. It seems incredible, that with our limited numbers and all other work, so much was done in this recent campaign. New York especially receives my respect."

Rochester: "Comrades here are elated over the outcome of the sub campaign. Being on top is no small honor. As one comrade put it, this branch will now have to maintain the same high standard in all phases of party work. And I believe they will!"

Buffalo: "The Buffalo people don't feel too bad about winding up in third place. They think, and rightly so, that in pacing the country through most of the campaign, Buffalo has functioned as a sort of spark plug that helped step up the tempo of the drive."

New York: "I sold one of my subs to a woman who listened to me for about two minutes and then said, 'All right I'll take it. When she came back with her quarter she said, 'Where did you get the name, The Militant?' I replied because it is a militant labor paper. She said, 'You know I am giving you this quarter and taking this sub because I like the name of your paper.'"

The results of the experimental work being done by the San Francisco comrades in preparation for the campaign to be launched in September are very encouraging:

"Our renewal work is difficult mainly because the majority of people were not in. (It was a sunny Sunday yesterday!) But we will also go out evenings during the week in order to catch these people at home."

"We attempted to sell the four Minneapolis Trial pamphlets for 25c. and were successful in selling five sets. In some cases people who did not wish to renew bought the pamphlets. Of the nine discontinued subs, four are leaving town, two are now in the armed forces, one address was incorrect and we can't check on it, and two are just not interested."

"Our agent in New Haven reports continued success in obtaining 3-month subs: 'We went canvassing yesterday and got the four subs. In one block all told we have got nine subs. We are continuing our sub drive every Friday night.'"

Agents sent the following comments concerning The Militant Subscription Campaign: Chicago to West Side Branch (New York Local): "We wish to extend our hearty congratulations for your superlative work in the sub drive and to acknowledge you as the champions in our three-way competition. 'We hope to turn the tables in the coming literature campaign.'"

Detroit: "When I saw the latest

## In Trotsky's Day

During the trial of the four British Trotskyists, the Crown Advocate inadvertently revealed the real fear of the ruling class, the underlying reason for the prosecution. We quote the following testimony verbatim.

Paley Scott (prosecutor): You knew that the Government couldn't nationalize the mines in three weeks?

Heaton Lee: Yes, I believe it could be done. The mines and the whole social services were nationalized in one week in Russia in 1917.

Paley Scott: That was in the days of Trotsky!

Cries of "Hear! Hear!" from the prisoners' dock.

## KEEN AND HASTON

The prosecutor's sarcasm reached its low point in his brief interrogation of Comrade Ann Keen, District Secretary of the North-East (London) section of the Revolutionary Communist Party. His major question to her was "You devote your whole life to the work of the Revolutionary Communist Party?"

"Well, as much of my life as I possibly can," was her calm reply.

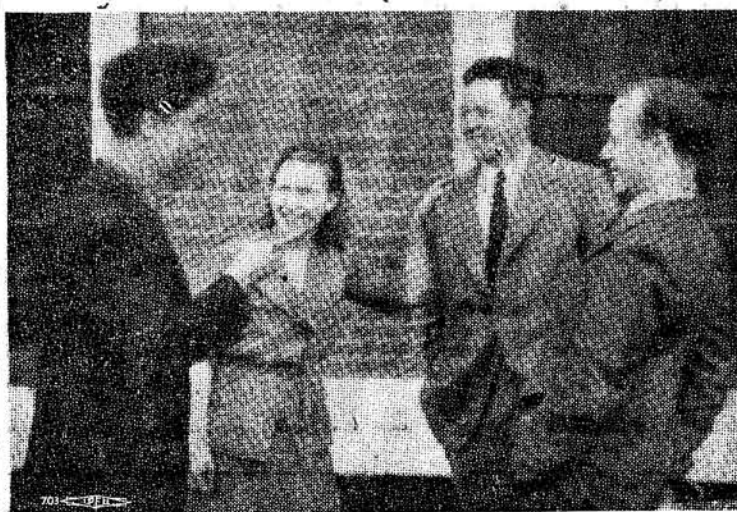
Comrade Jock Haston, General Secretary of the RCP, testified that he had, as a reporter for the *Socialist Appeal*, met the apprentices' delegation which had come to London to demonstrate before Parliament their opposition to the Bevin-mine-draft plan.

"I suppose you discussed politics with the apprentices in London?" the prosecutor asked.

"I discussed politics with them as much as I could. I am a politician," Haston answered.

Comrades Tearse and Lee were sentenced to 12 months, Haston to six months, and Ann Keen to thirteen days imprisonment, for "aiding workers on strike." "The comrades were not permitted to make a final statement before sentence was passed," writes the *Socialist Appeal*. "Despite this, the political issues were clear. The revolutionary policy of the

## The Four British Trotskyists



Comrades Jock Haston, Heaton Lee, Ann Keen, and Roy Tearse, photographed shortly before their trial.

Trotskyists versus the reactionary anti-labor policy of the capitalist class—these were the issues at stake. There was no ambiguity."

Over \$700 has come to the offices of *The Militant*, in support of the four British Trotskyist working class leaders imprisoned by Churchill's Tory government. Over two-thirds of the \$1,000 Solidarity Fund launched by the Socialist Workers Party on June 24 has already been raised.

We urge all of our friends and readers to send your contributions now, to the Business Manager of *The Militant*, 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y., so that the list below may reach the \$1,000 mark next week!

## BRITISH FUND CONTRIBUTIONS

From S.W.P. Branches	
New York	\$166.50
Los Angeles	100.00
San Francisco	100.00
Chicago	94.00
Detroit	100.00
Twin Cities	22.50
Newark	25.00
Buffalo	15.00
Bayonne	11.90
Cleveland	15.00
Youngstown	10.00
New Haven	5.00
Allentown	5.00
Milwaukee	5.00
Quakertown	5.00
Reading	5.00
Rochester	5.00
St. Louis	5.00

TOTAL \$694.90

Individual Contributions (Previously acknowledged) 20.00

TOTAL \$714.90

## San Francisco School of Social Science

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## FOURTH INTERNATIONAL Table of Contents

FOR JULY 1944

### Ten Years of Our Theoretical Organ

#### THE MONTH IN REVIEW

One Year After the Fall of Italian Fascism  
The Verdict Against the British Trotskyists  
Stalin's Policy in Rumania

"For the Fourth International!"

On the Anniversary of Klement's Murder

Financial Jugglery at Bretton Woods.....by Sam Marcy  
Significance of the Cuban Elections.....by J. B. Stuart  
Crisis in the British Labor Party by Our London Correspondent

Lessons of the 1934 Revolt in Austria.....by P. Berger  
Religion—Its Social Roots and Role II.....by Felix Morrow  
Australian Working Class and the War (from the Manifesto of the Revolutionary Workers Party of Australia) II

#### FROM THE ARSENAL OF MARXISM

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### ORDER FROM BUSINESS MANAGER

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## R. J. THOMAS STATES SUPPORT FOR IMPRISONED TROTSKYISTS

(Continued from page 1)

tee of New York City contributed \$50, and contributions have been received from four more lodges of the Workmen's Benefit Fund, No. 245, N. Y. C., 368, Reading, Pa., 265, St. Louis, Mo. and 248, Secaucus, N. J.

### STALINIST SABOTAGE

The letter from R. J. Thomas was requested by the Ford General Council at its June 11 meeting, following the action of the Council in tabling the question of support for the 18 when the clique of Stalinists, who hold strategic posts in the Local, fought viciously against a resolution of endorsement.

These elements, taking their lies from the Daily Worker, which has been intensifying its attempts to sabotage the defense of the 18 by a scurrilous slander campaign, spewed forth such a tirade of misrepresentations about the case, that one of them had to be called to order by President Grant.

When the local CRDC committee sought to obtain permission to speak before the next council meeting to answer the Stalinist slanders and falsifications with the documents in the case, the Stalinists succeeded in blocking

the request at a meeting of the Executive Board.

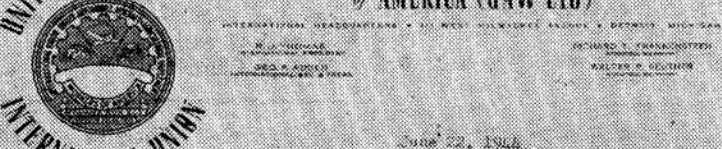
At the July 9 Council meeting, the CRDC distributed copies of the pamphlet "Who Are The 18 Prisoners In The Minneapolis Labor Case." On a motion from the floor, a CRDC representative was granted permission to speak. It was in the course of the discussion that President Grant read the letter of R. J. Thomas.

The Stalinists once more led the attack against the resolution. In an attempt to prejudice the delegates and confuse the issue, one of them read selected excerpts from *The Militant* which expressed criticism of the policies of Philip Murray.

Nevertheless, in this body hitherto dominated by the Stalinists, the resolution was narrowly defeated by a three-to-two vote. That the ranks, given an opportunity to get full and unbiased information on the case, would support a resolution overwhelmingly is shown by the actions of two important units of Local 600, the Aircraft and Transportation Units, which have gone on record backing the 18 and made contributions. It is expected that other Ford local units will follow these examples.

## Thomas Letter Supporting The 18

UNITED AUTOMOBILE - AIRCRAFT - AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENT WORKERS OF AMERICA (UAW-CIO)



June 22, 1944

Mrs. Kathleen Ruch  
Civil Rights Defense Committee  
832 West 10th  
Detroit 2, Michigan

Dear Mrs. Ruch:

We have today written the following letter to President W. O. Grant of Local 600 regarding the prosecution and imprisonment of eighteen members of the Minneapolis Truck Drivers Local 344, CIO.

"It is an old story that these people should be supported for two reasons: first, the National UAW takes that position; and second, they were undoubtedly sent to prison under a law with which we cannot possibly agree. That we do not agree with the policies of these particular individuals, on the one hand, and the serious threat to labor generally in the state of Minnesota,"

Sincerely yours,  
R. J. Thomas  
President  
International Union, UAW-CIO

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# Bonus Army: March Of The "Heroes Of 1917"

(The following article reprinted in condensed form from the July 25, 1942 issue of The Militant, was written by Felix Morrow, who was present as a labor reporter at the Bonus March outrage. Comrade Morrow is one of the Socialist Workers Party leaders convicted under the Smith "Gag" Act, now serving a sixteen month prison term at Sandstone Penitentiary.)

By Felix Morrow

On July 28, 1932, General Douglas MacArthur, then Chief of Staff of the Army, led his troops — cavalry, tanks and infantry — down Pennsylvania Avenue in Washington, D. C. At Third Street they charged the first contingent of the enemy.



FELIX MORROW

rose high, a fitting frame for the dome of the Capitol rising above them in the background.

## THE BATTLE OF ANACOSTIA FLATS

Under the personal direction of General MacArthur the soldiers — they were young boys; all veterans of the World War had been combed out and left behind at Fort Myers — repeated the mopping-up operation in nearby streets. Then they moved across the river to Anacostia Flats, where the main body of World War Veterans were encamped in shacks and tents. All told, there were about 20,000 vets, about 400 of them with their wives and children. Driven by the troops, they were scattered that night over the neighboring states of Virginia and Maryland. The flaming shacks and tents looked like a big city devastated by incendiary bombs.

That was the end of the Bonus March, so far as Washington was concerned. But 20,000 marchers, scattered to the four winds, told millions of workers and farmers how they had come to ask for bread and got bullets. Two veterans murdered that Bloody Thursday, Eric Carlson and Bill Hushka, became symbols of the gratitude of the ruling class for whom they fought in 1917.

The Bonus Army was a completely spontaneous creation of the unemployed veterans. No one issued the call for the March. It just happened. Driven by hunger and want, small groups of veterans in various parts of the country started for Washington. Like a snowball rolling down a hill the March gathered volume; at least 30,000 vets arrived in Washington between May 20 and July 28.

For these tens of thousands to come penniless across the country was possible only because everywhere they found the masses actively in sympathy with them. Everywhere the unemployed, with sound instinct, understood the B.E.F. was breaking a path to Washington which could later be followed by the unemployed with broader demands. The Bonus Marchers had, besides, the powerful moral authority of men who had risked their lives ostensibly for a world in which they would be secure.

Hence the marchers easily brushed aside all attempts by federal and local authorities to prevent their continuing on to Washington. They commandeered freight cars and coupled them onto fast trains to Washington. They relinquished them only in return for state-owned trucks which carried them from one state to the next. . .

## 'HEROES OF 1917 — BUMS OF 1932'

Two slogans were especially popular among the veterans. They painted them crudely on signs and on the freight cars and jalopies: "Heroes of 1917 — Bums of 1932." "We Fought for Democracy — What Did We Get?"



Part of the Bonus Army camp of tents and shacks at Anacostia before General MacArthur's troops burned it down.

The slogans caught on with the great crowds who came to cheer on the veterans in every city and hamlet. Under popular pressure city authorities welcomed the vets, fed them and housed them, and made money collections to help speed them on.

General Pelham D. Glassford, Chief of Police of Washington, later wrote: "some members of the wealthy classes throughout the nation looked upon the occupation of the nation's capital as a revolutionary action."

Negro veterans were conspicuously active in many of the contingents. That new winds were blowing was clear when Negroes arrived side by side with whites in some of the Southern contingents and lived side by side with them in the shacks in Washington.

Perhaps the most significant fact about the Bonus Army is that all government attempts to get it to leave Washington failed. In the end only naked force could drive out the veterans. They had come to get Congress to vote immediate payment of the Adjusted Service Certificates (issued in 1924 but payable in 1945, granting \$1 a day for service at home and \$1.25 for overseas service.)

On July 16 Congress adjourned at midnight, the Senators and Representatives sneaking out side doors and fleeing the city, in fear of the veterans. Now, said the authorities, the veterans should all leave. Before adjourning, Congress had voted \$100,000 for fares to return veterans to their homes. But most of the veterans would not leave. Many had no homes to return to, the rest would not return empty-handed. The cry went up for a special session of Congress. In any event the veterans would not leave Washington.

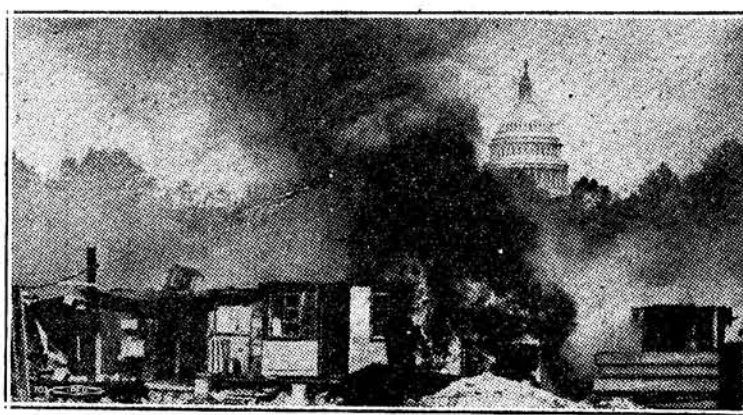
## POLICE CHIEF GLASSFORD AND HIS ROLE

Police Chief Glassford played a very skillful game. He announced that he had accepted responsibility for seeing that the B.E.F. was fed and housed — and appointed himself the (Bonus) Army's Secretary-Treasurer. Likewise he appointed one W. Waters, from Portland, Oregon, as Commander-in-Chief of the B.E.F. Whether Waters and similar "leaders" were FBI agents to begin with, or whether Glassford corrupted them, they were his agents.

With the bait of some tents and field kitchens he set up in Anacostia Flats, Glassford had Waters order the men to go there. Between Washington and Anacostia were the river, and drawbridges which could be raised to prevent the men from going to the capital. Only a few contingents refused to go to Anacostia and they set their shacks up on Pennsylvania Avenue, the main artery of the city.

Food and shelter were deliberately sabotaged by Glassford and his agents. Offers of farmers' groups to send food were ignored, the food-collections kept down to starvation levels, sums donated by sympathizers were not used for feeding the men, etc. For ten weeks many of the men slept on the ground. Their attempts to build beds and more permanent shacks were discouraged by the M.P.'s on one pretext or another.

The men had come to demonstrate to Congress. But the only



Veterans' shacks at Pennsylvania Avenue and 3rd Street, set afire by troops, light up the Capitol.

demonstration the Waters leadership called was a patriotic parade on the evening of June 7. A California contingent which broke away from Waters organized a Death Watch from July 11 to July 16 — a 24-hour-a-day picket line — and this was the only organized veterans' group at the Capitol throughout the March.

Yet, despite all these terrible handicaps, the men stood firm. Neither paid fares, nor promises of jobs through government agencies elsewhere, nor threats, nor the terrible living conditions at Anacostia, nor the demoralizing role of the Waters leadership — nothing could make the veterans leave Washington.

## MACARTHUR LEADS THE TROOPS

Hence by the end of July the federal authorities decided they dared wait no longer. The Treasury Department, which owned the property at Pennsylvania and Third, ordered the police to remove the veterans from the property. In the attempt to do so, the police killed Bill Hushka and Eric Carlson. Under the pretext that the police were no longer able to maintain order, troops were called out. General MacArthur considered the task of driving the veterans out so important that he — the ranking figure of the army! — personally led the troops.

How deeply the country resented the treatment of the B.E.F. was indicated when General MacArthur was booed off the platform at the American Legion Convention at Portland, Oregon, in the fall of 1932.

When it was announced that MacArthur would lead Roosevelt's inaugural parade, protests poured into Washington in such volume that secret service agents took extraordinary precautions, fearing an attempt on MacArthur's life. Roosevelt insisted on backing MacArthur, who not only led the parade, but served out his term as Chief of Staff. In the end, in spite of Roosevelt's veto, immediate payment of the Adjusted Service Certificates was voted by Congress and the issue was ended.

## THEY REMEMBER BLOODY THURSDAY

Today publicity has put a halo of heroism around MacArthur. But those still living of the 20,000 veterans of Bloody Thursday have not forgotten. Often, in the intervening years, I have run across such veterans and we have re-lived that day. For not a few of them, it was the turning-point in their lives. I am thinking especially of one of them, who, four years later, led a sit-down strike. "We learned their tricks in Washington," he said. "When they tried to fool us into going out of the plant or letting them in, I remembered the B.E.F. That's one reason why we won our strike."

He and others like him drew the lessons of Bloody Thursday. And they have handed down the story to millions of others, including many of the soldiers now marching off to war. When the government tries to make bums out of the Heroes of the present war, we shall see that the great battle of the "Heroes of 1917 — Bums of 1932" was not fought in vain.

## British Soldiers' Parliament Causes Worry To Brass Hats

Setting up their own "Troops Parliament" with an overwhelming Labor majority, British soldiers in Cairo are causing the brass-hats and reactionary Tory Government lots of worry.

The troops Parliament, according to an article in the May 26 issue of the London *Tribune*, grew out of a discussion group which had been conducted by the troops for years in a Cairo Service Club. Last November,

a South African Army Division presented a mock parliament as its contribution to the regular monthly meeting. So popular was the program that it became the permanent form of the discussion group meetings.

liament were constantly rumored."

Nevertheless, the April 5 meeting of the parliament was packed by starting time, and many reporters whose desire for news outweighed army orders were present. High-ranking officers also appeared. Tension mounted.

Before the Speaker of the parliament took the chair, according to the report, "an army officer walked onto the platform and read a notice from the military authorities which said in effect, that as the German radio was making capital out of the parliament, it should no longer be called by that name . . . and that further, civilians (allowed in if accompanied by soldiers) were not in future to attend."

A vigorous protest against such army interference was unanimously voted by all parties, including the Tories! The parliament then proceeded with its business of the day. The Chancellor of the Exchequer put forward his bill to break the big banks' stranglehold on the national economy. The report concludes: "He praised the working people of Britain, the engineers, miners and steel workers," and appealed to (the) Common Wealth (party) to park their snobbish and confusion, and march side by side with their comrades against a common enemy. The bill was passed. Cairo Troops Assembly had nationalized the banks!"

LABOR MAJORITY After two meetings of the mock parliament, general elections were held in which Labor received 119 votes, the Common Wealth party 55, Liberal Party 38, and Conservatives only 17. At the March 1 meeting of the Troops Parliament, Labor presented its program for the coming session, to last for six months. Bills scheduled to be "acted upon" were on India, Housing, Land and Agriculture, Nationalization of Power, Fuel and Transport, and an Education Bill.

To protect their parliament from immediate suppression by the military chiefs, the troops established the period in which they were supposedly acting, as "some future date, between the armistice and the signing of the peace treaty." They further provided that, although actual parties were being used, no speaker could claim to speak officially on behalf of his party. Their seriousness can be gauged also by their determination to discourage curious spectators; each person attending the parliament must pay 7½ pence, a sizeable sum to the extremely underpaid British armed forces. Even with this qualification, between 400 and 500 servicemen regularly attend the meetings.

The precautions taken by the parliament were not, however, sufficient to prevent a strenuous objection from the brass hats. As soon as the labor composition of the parliament was made public, rumors began that "instructions had been received from the War Office for the parliament to be banned." Measures were immediately instituted by the authorities to isolate the parliament, which had aroused widespread interest and support, so that it could later be quietly wiped out. According to the *Tribune* article, "the local (Cairo) press was informed verbally that no further mention of the parliament was to be made; a picture feature for a paper was stopped by the censor; and moves against the parliament were made against the par-

## MARCH WITH WORKERS

Small wonder that the military authorities are striving to hush the voice of the British soldiers' parliament, which puts to shame the class-collaborationist policy of Labor Party leaders engaged at home in propping up the Tory regime! But the military authorities might just as well try to sweep back the ocean with a broom. The British troops who have gone on record for nationalization of the banks, like the 82 British soldiers who recently signed a petition for the freedom of the British Trotskyists, are marching step by step, not with the Churchill government, nor with the treacherous Labor Party bureaucrats, but with the leftward-moving British working class.

# Hillman's Primer For Practical Politicians: A Poor Substitute For Independent Labor Program

By C. Thomas

In a pamphlet recently published by the CIO entitled "Political Primer for All Americans," Sidney Hillman, chairman of the Political Action Committee, bares his political soul before the eyes of the workers. It is not a pretty sight. A more appropriate title for the pamphlet would have been "Political Primer for Ward Healers," or the gospel of political corruption as preached by a "practical" politician.

Hillman prides himself on being a "practical" politician. A practical politician is an artful fellow; an opportunist who pretends to be all things to all men; lavish with his promises before election and skilled in playing both ends against the middle after; a demagogue and baby-kisser; in short, a "heeler" utterly devoid of principle.

Hillman's pamphlet is devoted to teaching the art of practical politics which consists of garnering votes, by hook or crook, for the machine candidate. In the section devoted to training "heelers" it is pointed out that precinct captains "are men of influence

else in the precinct—and the job's yours." A very simple formula on how to carve out a political "career" in one easy lesson!

By coincidence, a few weeks after Hillman published his "Political Primer" an article appeared in Life magazine, July 17, entitled: "Mayor Kelly's Chicago." It is an illustrated "success" story of the political boss of one of the most corrupt and graft-ridden machines in the country. Boss Kelly, a "practical" politician, is pictured as "the friend of labor and management, Jews and Gentiles, blacks and whites." Verily, he is all things to all men.

Having mastered the technique outlined in Hillman's primer, Kelly's ward heelers are a model for Hillman's aspiring "precinct captain." "Kelly's Democratic machine," says Life, "is constructed on the needs, the weaknesses and the vanities of Chicago's millions. As in any large city, many are ignorant, a few

even illiterate. They need help. The men who give it to them are Kelly's 50 ward bosses. . . . The people pay for this help with votes." As Hillman points out in his primer, that is "the least a grateful voter could do."

## KELLY'S "SERVICES"

Among the many chores performed for "grateful voters" by Kelly's ward heelers there are listed: "settling disputes over the use of common clothes-lines, getting poolroom licenses, donating money to churches, fixing parking tickets, creating new city jobs and filling them with the 'right' people, getting home relief, filling out income tax blanks, etc., etc."

Of the services rendered by the machine which Life does NOT list are: police protection for organized vice, gangsterism and racketeering—one of the main sources of revenue for every corrupt political machine—as well as the services of Kelly's injunction judges in breaking strikes (Montgomery Ward), and the use of Boss Kelly's cops to shoot down peaceful workers as was done in the Memorial Day Massacre at Republic Steel. This ward-heeler organization that Boss Kelly has perfected is the ideal which Hillman preaches in his primer for practical politicians.

The methods of Boss Kelly and his machine are the methods of Tammany Hall, Mayor (I am the Law) Hague, Boss Crump, and other such "practical" politicians who boss the Democratic and Republican parties. "The truth is," says Hillman, "that politicians are no more corrupt than the people who elect them. The people corrupt the politicians." Adding insult to injury, this bureaucratic panderer to the political needs of the bosses unloads upon "the people" the responsibility for the cesspool of corruption inherent in the capitalist two-party system—which Hillman and the "labor statesmen" defend against those militant

workers who try to break away and form labor's own political party.

In contrast to "the people" who "corrupt the politicians" Hillman lectures that: "Politicians are good, friendly people. They resolve conflicts, compromise in the best sense. The alternative to our politicians is a dictator, someone who hates life and people." If it were true that the only alternative to "our politicians" is a dictator "who hates life and people," the future of humanity would be bleak and dismal indeed.

## HILLMAN'S OUTLOOK

Hillman's political horizon is bound by the two-party system and when he speaks of "our politicians" as the only alternative he refers specifically to the "practical" politicians who boss the two major parties. What an inspiring picture for the top political leader of the CIO to draw for the most progressive section of the American trade union movement!

Like all "practical" politicians, the outlook of Hillman and Company is based on maintaining things as they are under the continued reign of Tweedledee and Tweedledum. Where there is no real alternative offered as far as program and policy is concerned the people sink into apathy or are corrupted by the small favors of ward heelers into selling their votes to the machine candidates. That, as Hillman so profoundly observes, is the very "least a grateful voter could do."

Fixing tickets, settling disputes over clotheslines, distributing baskets of food to the "poor" on Christmas, is the practical politician's SUBSTITUTE for a program. Basing himself upon maintaining the status quo under the two-party system, Hillman must of necessity compete with the political bosses for the favor of the voters by reminding them that his "precinct captain" will come through with "food and shoes" during the next depression, and perform other odd chores in

exchange for their "grateful" votes.

Unfortunately for Mr. Hillman, "grateful voters" are reluctant to sacrifice the material benefits they derive from their present patrons for future promises. The result is that the corruptible "grateful voters" remain firmly ensconced in the camp of the boss machine, while the "uncorruptibles" remain apathetic and do not vote. This process was observed once again in the recent Michigan primaries. Michigan is a stronghold of the CIO encompassing some 800,000 workers. Together with their families and friends they comprise a decisive section of the electorate. Yet the Stalinist Daily Worker, a rabid partisan of Hillman's policies, views the results of the Michigan primaries with alarm, offering the explanation that "the powerful labor movement in the Detroit area just did not turn out and vote." This is the "practical" result of Hillman's policies.

## A WORKER'S PROGRAM

What the workers want is a program that will do away with depressions in the midst of potential abundance; a program of job security and full employment; a program that will raise the standard of living of the working masses. In short, a political program that offers a SOLUTION to the elementary problems of food, clothing and shelter and frees them from the haunting fear of unemployment, insecurity and want.

Such a program can only be advanced by a political party that bases itself on changing society, and not upon maintaining the status quo. Only the working class can build a party capable of leading the oppressed and exploited sections of the population forward. With such a program, and an Independent Labor Party to forward the program, the people will flatten the ward heelers like a steamroller and along with them, the "practical" politicians, who stand as obstacles in their path.

## 10 Years Ago In The Militant

JULY 28, 1934

AUSTRIA — "Central Europe was charged with the dynamite of a new world war when the Nazis assassinated (Premier) Dollfus in an unsuccessful move to extend the boundaries of Nazism," reported The Militant. "Whether the powder keg . . . will now go up in explosion and thrust humanity into bloody slaughter is still unclear. . . . France and England . . . are considering a warning to Germany to respect Austrian independence. . . . They are interested in maintaining the distribution of the booty. . . as it was handed out in Versailles in 1919.

"A sinister cloud that hangs over the international complications. . . is the danger that the plunder gangs now at each other's throats, may bury their differences for the time being and agree on Hitler's 'drang nach Osten' — an assault on the Soviet Union."

MINNEAPOLIS — "Martial law was proclaimed here today (July 26) by Farmer-Labor Governor Floyd B. Olson, in an effort to break the general strike of drivers and helpers which is now rounding out its second week," a special wire to The Militant declared.

Martial law was invoked at the behest of the employers after the police reign of terror had failed to break the strikers' ranks. On July 20 police gunmen in a brutal pre-arranged assault had slain striker Harry Ness and wounded fifty other workers. On July 24, the workers of Minneapolis, 40,000 strong, marched in an inspiring funeral procession for their martyred brother, and listened to the stirring words of Albert Goldman, union attorney, who said:

"If ever anyone was guilty of malicious, premeditated murder, and attempt to murder, it was the police who fired at the pickets last Friday. . . . The life of our murdered brother typifies the lives of all workers. How long will the working masses tolerate a social system which gives to over 12,000,000 unemployed the right to starve. . . to millions more the right to be exploited and receive a miserable wage? The answer has been given by the workers of Toledo, Milwaukee, Birmingham, Frisco, Portland, Seattle and Minneapolis. . . . The workers have numbers and the fighting spirit of Harry B. Ness. . . . If the workers will be filled with such a spirit, they will not have to die. They will live and conquer the forces of exploitation, of reaction, of murder."

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# Democrats Further Aims Of Big Business

(Continued from page 1)

purpose was to stir the dead ashes of the New Deal by representing the cause of Wallace as the cause of "liberalism" and his nomination as a definitive victory for the "progressive" forces within the Roosevelt administration and Democratic Party. The real party bosses — Flynn of the Bronx, Hague of Jersey City, Kelly of Chicago and Hannegan of St. Louis, plus the strong contingent of Jim-Crow Southern Democrats — determined to demonstrate who was really running the Democratic Party. With the aid of FDR's letter to Hannegan, they lined up their forces and on the second ballot the party bosses gave the nod to the delegates. Wallace and his following were flattened under a landslide, which gave Truman a ten to one majority.

As was to be expected, Hillman, Murray and Company hastened to affirm their continued abject loyalty to Roosevelt and his boss-ridden capitalist party. They reassured their baffled constituents that Truman was, after all, a "liberal." This product of the notorious Pendergast machine in Missouri, wholly acceptable to the party bosses as a "practical" politician amenable to machine dictates, built up his "liberal" reputation in the past couple of years as chairman of the Senate Committee investigating the conduct of the war production program.

This committee was established as a safety valve for popular resentment against the thievery in the war contracts agencies ridden by corporation dollar-a-year men. Its revelations were intended to satisfy malcontents that "something was being done about it." Its practical results, however, have been lean. No jail doors have been heard clanging behind any war profiteers and crooks exposed by Senatorial investigation.

## PLATFORM COMMITTEE

Where the labor henchmen of Roosevelt received their most significant rebuff was in the deliberations of the convention's platform committee. Murray addressed the committee and called upon it to adopt the program of the CIO Political Action Committee as evidence of the party's concern for "the aspiration of plain people everywhere."

Specifically, Murray urged inclusion in the party's platform of measures to effectuate Roosevelt's "New Bill of Rights." He asked approval of the principle of guaranteed annual wages, assurance of full employment through gov-

ernment jobs where private industry fails to provide jobs, guarantees against any grab of government-built plants by private interests. Murray called for "an extremely strong declaration" against racial, religious and minority discrimination and for positive support to a permanent FEPC, the immediate enactment of an anti-poll tax bill and a "genuine soldiers vote bill."

These proposals all received short shrift. The platform adopted offered not a single concrete proposal on the matters of reconversion and full employment, gave no assurances on the disposition of government-financed plants, proffered labor nothing more than unspecified "additional humanitarian legislation."

The plank on discrimination against Negroes was obviously a full-blown concession to the "white supremacy" Southern Democrats and has aroused great Negro protest. Walter White, Executive Director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, although a supporter of Roosevelt, correctly characterized this plank when he said, "The Democratic mountain labored and brought forth a mouse of evasion." More forthright was the pro-administration newspaper *PM*, which described it as "a fraud and deceit by any standards of measurement."

## ROOSEVELT RESPONSIBLE

Murray complained that an "extremely serious situation" has resulted from the "lack of proper, effective economic stabilization." The workers are bearing the overwhelming economic burdens of the war while the corporations and big farm owners are getting not only enormous war profits but assured profits after the war. Murray sought to center the blame for this "lack of effective economic stabilization" on such Roosevelt lieutenants as Byrnes. But it is obvious that responsibility for the wage-freeze, the failure to control prices, the protection of the war profiteers, rests squarely with Roosevelt.

While Murray and Hillman offered opposition to the party bosses and Southern Bourbons, the AFL pro-Roosevelt leaders simply went right down the line with the party bosses. They confined their role to behind-the-scenes conniving with the Flynns, Kellys and Hagues. AFL Teamsters President Daniel Tobin made a seconding speech for Roosevelt, in part payment for past services rendered by Roosevelt, particularly in the government's frameup of the Socialist

Workers Party and Minneapolis Truckdrivers Local 544-CIO leaders.

What the Democratic platform concretely affirmed was the intention of the Roosevelt regime to establish a system of collaboration between the victorious powers "endowed with power to employ armed force to ensure peace." It was significant that the platform did not propose to eliminate fascism — did not even mention the word. Roosevelt, through his deals with Darlan, Badoglio and the bloody monarchs of Greece and Jugo-Slavia, as well as by the conduct of his Allied Military Governments in the conquered territories, has already demonstrated that his purpose is to crush all independent actions of the European masses against the capitalist oppressors and attempt to reconstitute "stable" reactionary regimes.

Primarily, the platform "stands on its record," the first boast of

which is that "the Democratic Administration...saved our system of free enterprise." That is, Roosevelt saved, and bolstered by his measures, the system of the "economic royalists" whom he used long ago to berate. It boasts of the measures for relief of the unemployed, the labor legislation, etc. It does not mention that Roosevelt's crumbs of reform never solved the problem of unemployment; that in 1939, there were still 11,500,000 jobless, of whom a couple of million existed on WPA wages ranging from \$19 to \$60 a month — as the saying went, "not enough to live on and just too much to die on." It does not mention that America's workers won their collective bargaining rights on thousands of picket lines, in bitter battles where the government sided with the employers, through the blood shed by labor's martyrs.

This, at best, is all the capitalist system, under Democratic

or Republican guardianship, can offer the American workers in the future. The labor bureaucrats who played their feeble and servile roles at the Democratic Party convention betray the interests of the workers when they seek to portray Roosevelt, leader of the Hagues, Flynns, Kellys and Southern Bourbons, and the foremost agent of capitalist imperialism, as a "Friend of Labor."

The only friends labor has are in its own ranks. The only program which can provide peace, plenty and security for the workers is one devoted solely to their own class interests and directed against the monopoly profiteers, gangsters and parasites of the capitalist class. In opposition to the political tools of capitalism, the Republican and Democratic parties, labor must organize its own independent labor party.

## 'Peace-Loving' Profiteers!

Big Business suffered a sharp attack of "peace jitters" last week when news arrived of the attempted coup d'état by the Junker militarists against the Hitler regime and the collapse of the Japanese cabinet headed by Premier Tojo. Stocks quoted on the N. Y. Stock Exchange dropped in value by close to two billion dollars in what the N. Y. Times described as "the sharpest reaction on the stock market in more than three months."

What the profit-bloated capitalists fear, said the Times, is that "any furtherance of the unrest (within the Reich) might easily lead to a shortened war on the Continent."

These are the same capitalists who would have the workers believe that this is a war to destroy fascism and preserve democracy.

The Second World War has drawn millions of women into industry and made them potential factors in the class struggle.

After the war is over, women will again be told that their real place is in the home. True, many women will be glad to return to their home duties, simply because during the war, they had to combine their industrial work with housework and child-care, and thus had a double burden to carry.

However, women who have spent many years in industry will be different persons from the women who had previously worked "only for the family." The bigger aspects of the industrial world will be clearer to them.

Organized labor must do its utmost to get these women into unions while they are in industry. If the unions lose this opportunity, many industrially-trained and misled women may become strikebreakers in the future. Today, the working woman has an open mind. She may reach the right conclusions by herself, but to safeguard the future of the working class, this cannot be left to chance. The value of trade-unionism must be taught to her.

Capitalism created the working class, which is historically bound to overthrow capitalism in turn. In the Second World War, capitalism has brought forth an army of women wage earners, who previously had been far away from the battlefield of labor. Now women work side by side with men, women have joined the industrial army, women are due to become fighting members of the working class.

## Fall of Tojo Gov't Shows Sharpening Of Crisis in Japan

(Continued from page 1)

endured fearful war hardships. In return for their sacrifices, the ruling class held out to them the prospect of victory, first against China, then against the Anglo-American imperialists, and a fuller and more prosperous life through the realization of grandiose plans of colonial conquest.

## MILITARY DEFEATS

Today Japan is experiencing the first serious military defeats in her modern history. The plan of the Japanese imperialists for a "Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere" is turning out to be a mirage.

The tremendous sinkings of Japanese ships by Allied naval action is making it increasingly difficult for Japan's rulers to exploit the rich colonial conquests of the early months of the war in the Pacific. Raw cotton and vegetable oils are piled high on the wharves of China's ports. There are vast accumulations of tin and rubber at Singapore and Batavia, petroleum at Rangoon and Palembang, rice at Saigon and Bangkok. Inability to move these products because of shipping shortages is adding to the already abnormal war strains on Japan's home front.

And the Japanese people are growing hungrier and more ragged, more desperate and rebellious, from day to day.

It is one of the great anomalies of the situation that, having possessed herself of territories which produce the greater part of the world's rubber, Japan has been compelled to develop a large synthetic rubber industry because of inability to move sufficient quantities of the natural product from her new colonies to the homeland.

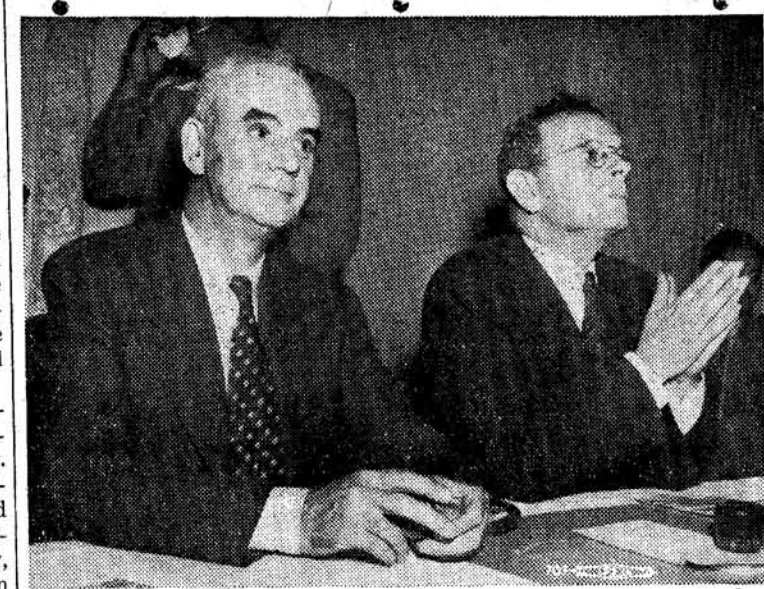
## MASS UNREST

However, we do know that there is a strong undercurrent of mass unrest which occasionally bursts to the surface. Four months ago, through the medium of Japanese newspapers which somehow reached the outside world, we reported the mounting war-weariness and rebellion of the Japanese masses, manifested in strikes and food riots. (*The Militant*, April 1, 1944).

Japan's ruling class has heeded these warning signals. They decided to make Tojo and his cabinet the scapegoat for all the military failures and economic hardships. Tojo has been jettisoned and his place as premier filled by Gen. Koiso, former governor-general of Korea.

But a mere change of cabinet will not even mitigate, much less remove, the crisis which precipitated Tojo's ouster. Japan's ruling class is sitting on a social volcano. Revolution is beginning to loom on the horizon of the Land of the Rising Sun.

## CIO Heads at Convention



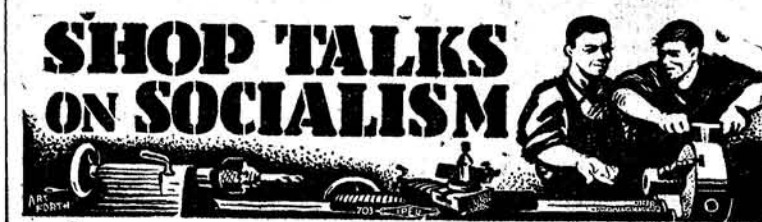
CIO President Philip Murray (left) and Sidney Hillman, head of the CIO Political Action Committee, photographed at the Democratic National Convention on July 18, as they vainly tried to get the PAC program adopted by the Resolutions Committee.

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By V. Grey

The boys were talking it over in the washroom. Slim, who worries a lot about what he reads in the papers, was saying, "Now take this Bretton Woods Monetary Conference. You don't know what's going on there because they just tell you what they want you to know. But I read where they kicked some big shot silver man out of the meeting. That could mean anything. But I figure the big issue is gold. And that's something this country has got plenty of."

"Well, you can have my share of it," Shorty broke in. "You tell 'em about the gold, Pop," said Fred with a wink at Shorty.

The old boy crossed his legs and began: "Well, sir, what's gold anyway? You can't eat it, you can't wear it, you can't build no houses with it. It's just a yellow metal that folks all get together and say is valuable. Then they fight over it, kill each other and have wars about it. Now suppose we made a law that gold wasn't valuable anymore and had slips of paper made with so many hours of labor printed on each one. They'd only be good for a month or two. No one would hoard them and the big bankers wouldn't control things anymore. It's as simple as that."

## NOT SO SIMPLE

But it isn't as simple as that. And the boys know it, even though they do let Pop ramble on. In the first place, it's not the material you get paid in that makes so much difference. It's how much of it they pay you. Say you get paid \$35. That's an ounce of gold. Scrap iron is about the same price per ton. You'd certainly rather get paid in scrap if they gave you two tons of it. You'd just turn around and exchange it for two ounces of gold or \$70.

You'd change it to gold because that would be more convenient than going to the grocer with a couple of bushels of scrap for a bunch of groceries, and to the landlord, the butcher, the gas company, etc. These people would have no immediate use for the scrap either, although they too would be glad to take it, if they could turn and sell it at more than the amount of your bill.

You see, gold is a product of labor, just like iron ore, steel, and the things you make in the shop. It takes a lot of labor to find a place where there's gold. It takes more labor to make the mining machinery, and it takes plenty of labor to get the gold out of the ground under even the best conditions. And there is a great deal more labor involved in getting an ounce of gold than there is in stamping out an automobile fender on number 3 press.

That's why, even after mining the ore, blasting the iron, making the steel, rolling the sheet metal, cutting to size, stamping out the fender, hammering, polishing and painting it, etc.—after all this, it still has about the same value as an ounce of gold. Both the fender and the ounce of gold take about the same amount of labor to produce.

We have to use something easy to handle and dependable in value. Gold retains its value much more steadily than most other things. Thus it not only has value by itself, but it supplies a measure of value. For instance, you can say that the wealth of the United States is 400 billion dollars in gold. Well, there isn't that much gold above the ground. And no one would want to turn all the wealth into gold anyway.

But the factories, mines and mills, if each were sold one at a time, would exchange for 400 billion in gold. This would be possible because the same gold could be used over and over again. You could just as easily say the wealth amounted to 20 billion head of cattle, except that the price of beef is changing so rapidly that tomorrow morning you'd have to change the figure.

It's like the heat-treated plug gages they use in the inspection department. They're made in the tool room with a two-ten-thousandths of an inch tolerance. For quite a long period of time they provide a dependable measure of slots and holes that have to be just right. You couldn't use your finger or a scale, or your naked eye. But you can use the same gage again and again to measure thousands of parts. And you use a small number of gages when you consider the hundreds of thousands of items that pass in and out of the inspection department to be tested.

Some people, who think more or less the way Pop does, want to make a law changing the value of gold. But you couldn't make gold any easier to find, any easier to mine or carry across the ocean just by passing a law. You could call a 365 thousandths plug gage a 665 but that wouldn't make it

any bigger. You could make a law that an ounce of gold was worth \$70 instead of \$35. And because dollars are easy for the government to print, that would be simple enough. But \$70 would just equal what \$35 did before. That's all. The ounce of gold wouldn't be any bigger and would be worth just as much butter and eggs as before. Only the price in dollars would be doubled.

Of course, many workers who are a few hundred dollars in debt think of this "cheap money" as a way to beat the loan sharks, because their debts are in dollars. And once dollars were twice as cheap, they could pay up that much easier. That part of it is true to a certain extent.

But what about your pay at the shop? You'd still be producing as many things as before. The boss would be selling them for at least twice as many dollars. And you'd have to pay twice as many dollars for everything you bought, but you'd only be getting the old amount of dollars in your check. Result: You'd have to force the boss to give you a hundred per cent raise in dollars in order to be as well off as you were before.

## PRODUCTION DECISIVE

This whole attitude of Pop's and people like him comes from looking at things one-sidedly. They look at gold as the basis of the whole capitalist system when it is in reality only the necessary medium of exchange or basis for such a medium (currency).

It is true that domination of money exchange and credit increases the power of the ruling class and extends it to the farthest corners of the earth. But, first and foremost, it is production that counts. If all the gold in the world were annihilated at one stroke, doubtless a few financiers would go broke because they had too much of their wealth tied up in gold at the moment. But the overwhelming bulk of their wealth as a class is in the productive industries of the country. There, millions upon millions of wage slaves like Pop and Shorty are laboring day and night to increase the wealth of this class. . .

That's how they heap up their millions and billions—by taking the cream of what you produce and leaving you the skim. You're producing "gold" for them and plenty of it. General Motors, for instance, makes more money than any gold mining company in the world. The third of a million people working for G. M. are paid an amount of gold that equals only a part of what they produce. The rest is kept by the bosses and turned into private swimming pools, racing stables, champagne baths and maybe a little gold. A lot goes back into production too—to buy new factories and machinery so as to make still greater profits in the future.

A time also comes when there is a tremendous surplus of goods unsold, one of the main reasons for this being that the worker doesn't get back what he produced, whether he gets paid in gold, airplane parts or peanuts. At such a time the screwballs will rant louder than ever about "the gold."

As far as work-certificates instead of money are concerned, that is a big question—but it might be enough to say it wouldn't be too bad an idea if the capitalists got certificates for "hours of labor performed." In such a case, they wouldn't eat very well. But the people who propose the labor certificate idea don't usually have that in mind. They look upon it as a safe and sane way to make the same old boss system work, where the boss continues to roll up profits and still the worker can be sure of a steady job and decent life. Such a thing is impossible.

The "Work Certificate" is only a substitute for the gold "certificate." In both cases the yardstick would be the amount of time worked and the amount of skill in the labor. And in both cases, just so long as the bosses own the factory, a robbery of the worker will take place. When we, the workers, take power, the whole produce of the plant will be ours.

True, gold and money will begin to lose their importance at the very first toll of capitalism's death knell. But it will take some time before world production is so enormous, and people's material wants so well taken care of, that it becomes a matter of indifference whether gold or wampum is used for exchange.

Yes, only under a Workers' Government will money begin to lose its importance. But we don't want to lose sight of the main issue right now, which isn't the money or the gold, but the bosses' private monopoly of our means of livelihood—his power of life and death over us. It is on this road our struggle lies. When we are successful there, it will be easy to adjust the system of exchange.

## Employment Of Women In Industry And What It Means For The Working Class

By Antoinette Konikow

The First World War gave American women the right to vote. Waving aside militant struggles for voting rights, politicians said suffrage was granted to woman for her sacrifices and good work during the war. There is reason also to believe that this so-called gracious gift was presented to woman so that she might become a bulwark against revolutionary tendencies. The great revolutionary movement had started in Russia in 1917, crossed over to Germany, spread in England, and rumblings were heard in our own country. The reactionary leaders hoped that women, having neither political nor industrial experience, could be counted upon to support the old way of living.

## GREAT EXPECTATIONS

Suffragists expected great changes from the woman's vote. For years suffragists in their ardent struggle for women's political rights had claimed that woman's suffrage by itself would bring a saner, better, and juster world. Man's incompetence, they claimed, was responsible for all the social evils of the day. This corrupt world is a man's world, they said, and woman will rebuild it on just, humane foundations.

Socialists even then made fun of these claims. The troubles of this world, we Socialists have always assured the workers, are not due to any conflict between the sexes — to a man's world or a woman's world. Poverty, disease, corruption, war, unemployment are due to economic causes; to the division of humanity into two classes: the boss class and the working class. Women, like men, belong to both classes, the possessing class and the dispossessed. Women of the rich class are generally satisfied with this world which gives them wealth, leisure and security.

Women of the working class, the lower middle class and the farm group know the horrors of unemployment and disease. They are craving for a change in this world. But there is something they must learn: To change this world, one has to grasp the cause of evil, which is bossism, or capitalism. Women and men workers have to fight together for a new system of living. Both must help to organize a Labor Party to combat exploitation by Big Business

on the industrial and political fields.

Woman's suffrage has been a great disappointment to these progressive elements. The twenty or more years of woman's suffrage has proved that the suffragists' interpretation of the world's evil was incorrect. Women's influence in political life has been hardly felt as a corrective — indeed, it has too often fulfilled the expectations of reactionary political leaders, instead.

In many instances, woman's suffrage has turned into a farce. Soon after suffrage was established in Texas, Governor Ferguson's corruption became so evil-smelling that even his own crew did not dare put up "Pa" Ferguson as a candidate for re-election. But they could nominate "Ma" Ferguson — and she got the job, to cover up for "Pa." This procedure became popular. Look up the records of many women in Congress and you will find that they were nominated to replace their husbands, who were either dead or politically discredited.

This use of woman's suffrage has become a boon for capitalist politicians — because it was much easier to use the same name, already well advertised.

## POLITICALLY BACKWARD

A few prominent women like Mrs. Astor in England or Claire Luce in our country, belong to the possessing classes and have proved arch-reactionary. In Europe, where the labor movement before the advent of Fascism was quite advanced, the Socialists had many brilliant women representatives. However, here in the United States, women's votes helped to defeat socialist candidates in Milwaukee; unquestionably prohibition was supported by women's votes, and recently Catholic women assisted in Massachusetts in

defeating the progressive demands of the Birth Control advocates.

Women have been more backward politically than men because until lately women's work was confined for the most part to the home. Housework chains a woman to the most discouraging, soul-and-mind-killing, long-hour day! Housework drudgery keeps her away from the great experiences of industrial life, keeps her mind centered on petty personal matters, hides from her the real causes of life's problems.

Housework is a stigma of poverty or near poverty. The poorer the family, the bigger the task of the wife and mother, since better wages for the husband gives her a chance to send out the laundry, to buy labor-saving devices, to indulge occasionally in a restaurant meal. No wonder that Hitler, who tried his best to keep women backward, proclaimed that church, kitchen and children are the woman's sphere! But under the economy of war, even Hitler could not keep women at home.

## GREAT CHANGES

War forces women into industry. For many years women had entered gainful occupations, but they had shunned industrial work. Now ten million women in the United States alone are working in industry. This means a revolution in women's lives. Factory work taught man the divergence between his own interests and the interests of the bosses; it made easier to use the same name, already well advertised.

Industrial work will awaken in woman the same understanding of her class interests. At home she thought she was working for herself, for her children, for her husband. In her narrow view, she often blamed her husband for his lack of money. It may take time until women learn that even at home they are actually work-

ing for their husband's boss, because by saving and skimping women enable men to work for less wages.

Work in the factory opens the woman's eyes. She knows now that her boss makes big profits out of her labor. She learns the lessons of the class struggle — and learns them in a shorter time than did her husband and other men workers. Woman had to go through this same industrial schooling by which men learned, in order to understand the present system of living. Suffrage alone was not enough to educate her.

The Second World War has drawn millions of women into industry and made them potential factors in the class struggle. After the war is over, women will again be told that their real place is in the home. True, many women will be glad to return to their home duties, simply because during the war, they had to combine their industrial work with housework and child-care, and thus had a double burden to carry.

However, women who have spent many years in industry will be different persons from the women who had previously worked "only for the family." The bigger aspects of the industrial world will be clearer to them.

Organized labor must do its utmost to get these women into unions while they are in industry. If the unions lose this opportunity, many industrially-trained and misled women may become strikebreakers in the future. Today, the working woman has an open mind. She may reach the right conclusions by herself, but to safeguard the future of the working class, this cannot be left to chance. The value of trade-unionism must be taught to her.

Capitalism created the working class, which is historically bound to overthrow capitalism in turn. In the Second World War, capitalism has brought forth an army of women wage earners, who previously had been far away from the battlefield of labor. Now women work side by side with men, women have joined the industrial army, women are due to become fighting members of the working class.



## The Negro Struggle

By Charles Jackson

### The NAACP and Politics

There was much controversy at the recent N.A.A.C.P. Conference as to whether the organization should take any position on the question of the November elections. The big-wigs of the Association had previously come out with an official statement asserting a strictly non-partisan stand. At the conference, however, one or two speeches obviously attempted to direct the Negro vote toward the Democratic Party.

Heated objections were then raised by many of the delegates who stated that the organization should remain aloof from politics. What they really meant, it developed, was that they objected to being whipped into line behind an administration that has continued to permit such unjust oppression of the brown people—particularly in the army.

As far as the general question of political participation is concerned, it should be obvious to everyone that the avowed aims of the NAACP can only be attained through a political change. Every one of the wrongs daily suffered by us is the result of something being permitted, denied or ignored by those in political power. If we would remove those in power whose policies make an NAACP necessary then we must not only enter the political arena but we must also take an active part in that phase of the struggle.

The "no politics" edict was a bureaucratic one and was intended to benefit the top officials who are more interested in "keeping harmony" in the organization so as to maintain and increase the membership roll than in carrying out a fighting program. The non-participation policy will certainly hog-tie this potentially militant organization as far as the political field is concerned.

Once we enter the fight, however, we must make sure we are doing battle on the right side. For example, at the Conference many of the delegates in favor of political action were also in favor of Roosevelt and his Democratic Party. This, regardless of the fact that the brown masses are largely fed up on both major capitalist parties. It is only an illusion to see Roosevelt as "more liberal" and therefore the "lesser of the two evils." He, just like Dewey, invariably represents the ruling class. His "liberalism" is bait to further enslave the workers for capitalist exploitation. The working people need their own independent party to fight for them in the political field just as you need your union to fight for you in the shop.

The NAACP should support only labor parties and where they do not exist it should urge the labor movement to embark on independent political action, assuring this voyage the full support of the brown workers. The sooner this strategy is begun the sooner will we be on the road to genuine equality. No support to the capitalist parties!

### Sidelights

Sailors promoted to Petty Officers have reported being denied

### Pioneer Paragraphs

## THE PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION DRIVES FORWARD TO VICTORY

We don't support Stalinism, we support the workers' state. We support what remains of the greatest revolution in the history of mankind because we never abandon a conquest while it still has life in it. The worst and most despicable affliction—the characteristic malady of petty-bourgeois radicals—is this propensity to give up a battle before it is lost. Trotsky said, those who will not defend an old conquest will never be capable of fighting for new ones. The Soviet Union remains the greatest conquest of the proletariat in all its history. In spite of everything, it still stands. The Soviet workers know this. They still give the world a demonstration of heroism, of capacity for sacrifice, such as they could not even dream of in those countries where the workers do not feel that they have anything to fight for.

When we see what is done by those Soviet workers today, after all these years of strangulation by the bureaucracy, after all these years of bureaucratic degeneration, we get a glimpse of the boundless power of the proletarian revolution. We can see what miracles of energy will be released by the proletariat of Europe when it finally unites with the Russian proletariat on the revolutionary program. What could the state of the world be today if there had been just a

little more energy and capacity in the vanguard of the proletariat to lead Germany to a successful proletarian revolution! All the objective conditions for the victory were present; only the leadership was lacking.

Imagine the union of Soviet Russia and Soviet Germany as an economic and military power, with all the irresistible moral force that would be generated by such a union.

If the German revolution had not been defeated, if it had succeeded, we wouldn't be standing here today discussing the program of overthrowing American imperialism. We would more likely be discussing ways and means of finishing up the struggle against the remnants of the counter-revolution. The fact that the workers in Russia took power, the fact that they had a party able to lead the victorious struggle for power—this gives us the assurance for all time that the workers are capable of producing such a party and such a leadership in other countries and on an international scale. Even if the revolution failed once and twice, history is still pushing relentlessly in the direction of its eventual victory.

(From "The Workers and the Second World War," by James P. Cannon, pp. 16-17. Pioneer Publishers, 1942; 48 pp. 10c. Order from Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Pl., N. Y. 3, N. Y.)

The most recent in a long string of unprosecuted murders committed by southern bus drivers against northern brown soldiers who are a little tardy in moving back to the rear seats when so commanded, occurred in Durham last week. Editorialized the Afro-American, only paper of its kind to recently advocate constructive action: "Disarm Dixie Bus Drivers. . . if the War Dept. can't persuade (?) the bus companies to do this then it should permit soldiers to carry side arms with which to protect themselves. While awaiting action of bus companies and the War Department, soldiers might take matters in their own hands by disarming bus drivers themselves. . . If they must ride with potential killers."

Contrast the above with the following Conference conversation. "It is the question and answer period following Judge Hastie's militant talk. A woman delegate from Pittsburgh obtains the floor: 'What can we mothers do through this organization about our teen age boys who have been drafted to train for mass murder fighting for a democracy which they do not enjoy over here? When we hear how they are being insulted, beat and shot in the South and we know that it is not right what can we do? My son has been through this bitter experience and is overseas now risking his life for something he can't have over here. My question, I repeat, is what can I DO about this injustice?'

Judge Hastie, speaking for the NAACP, an organization composed of around 500,000 militant rank and file members: 'My dear lady, not being facetious but with all sincerity, I say to you that the only thing you can DO is to pray for your son's safe return.'

These wishful reassurances are completely false. It is the actions and attitudes of the masses above all which have produced the present Nazi crisis. The German people are utterly weary of the war and crave for peace. They can no longer endure the hunger, tortures and miseries, the wholesale destruction and millions of casualties imposed by five years of war. They have observed the lessons of the Italian events. The attempted overthrow of Hitler occurs just one year after Mussolini's downfall. The destruction of Italian fascism spreads apprehension throughout Nazidom. The German people could not fail but think: If Mussolini went, can Hitler be far behind? How easy it was to get rid of the dictator. If the Italian workers could do it, why not we?

The proletarian stirrings within Germany have been repeatedly noted during the past year by The Militant, which has published numerous reports of strikes and demonstrations in the Reich. A month after Mussolini's overthrow, on August 28, we reported that "serious strikes have broken out in the Ruhr factories. The strikes which have spread throughout the entire area resulted in a series of searches in which it was hoped to find the ringleaders. As these proved fruitless, the Nazis shot 100 workers out of hand, most of them foreigners." A strike of 30,000 Berlin workers last February was reported in a Danish underground paper, issued in March, which said the strike was intended as a peace demonstration.

On March 25 the Stockholm correspondent of the N. Y. Times reported: "For the first time since pre-Nazi days, organized Communist activities are taking place in Germany." A subsequent dispatch told of "the first underground Communist convention 'somewhere in Germany.' The convention's aim was to establish a Communist trade union central body. This is reported to have been done. Communist 'cells' have

been formed in many German industrial centers. . . The German Communists are said to be internationalists, or as they would be called in Moscow, Trotskyites."

# Mortal Crisis Convulses The Hitler Regime; Revolutionary Upsurge Impends In Germany

(Continued from page 1)

of the two principal supports for his military-police dictatorship. The police apparatus of Himmler has evidently become the sole instrument for the defense of Hitler's rule.

According to the official Nazi news agency DNB, the plot against Hitler's regime centered within a part of the German High Command and emanated from the Wilhelmstrasse itself. This fact is confirmed by the announced purge of ex-Chief of Staff Beck and by the silence of such recently removed generals as Halder, von Rundstedt, von Brauchitsch and others. These Junker Generals and their co-conspirators, it is reported, attempted to seize government offices in Berlin, take over the broadcasting and communications systems, oust the Nazis and assume undisputed control of the armed forces.

### HITLERISM DOOMED

The latest Nazi reports claim that the first phase of the revolt has been crushed. But even if Hitler, by a supreme effort at bloody suppression, manages to gain a reprieve, the sentence of death on Nazi rule has been pronounced and will shortly be carried out. Hitler's days are numbered. His regime has entered upon its death agony. Nothing can now save it from annihilation.

The revolt of the German Generals means but one thing: an important section of the German ruling class is convinced that the imperialist war is lost and that desperate measures are required to save their power, property and privileges from total destruction. All around them they feel the fierce class hatred of the war-weary masses. They are in fear of proletarian revolt. They are now seeking to save their skins by dumping Hitler and making a deal with the Allied imperialists. Thus, those who helped raise Hitler to power, the possessing classes and their Junker leaders, now hope to pursue the course followed by King Victor Emmanuel and Marshal Badoglio, who abandoned Mussolini and embraced the Allies when they felt the hot breath of the Italian revolution on their necks.

Both the Nazi and the Allied propagandists picture the German situation as though the masses are playing no active and independent role in these colossal events. No less an authority than Marshal Badoglio seeks to assure the world that the Junker Generals, headed by Von Rundstedt, "had planned the revolt and that the people had no part in it." Hanson Baldwin wired from Lisbon: "There is no real evidence of any popular revolutionary movement in Germany." (N. Y. Times Magazine, July 23.)

### MASSSES ARE MOVING

These wishful reassurances are completely false. It is the actions and attitudes of the masses above all which have produced the present Nazi crisis. The German people are utterly weary of the war and crave for peace. They can no longer endure the hunger, tortures and miseries, the wholesale destruction and millions of casualties imposed by five years of war. They have observed the lessons of the Italian events. The attempted overthrow of Hitler occurs just one year after Mussolini's downfall. The destruction of Italian fascism spreads apprehension throughout Nazidom. The German people could not fail but think: If Mussolini went, can Hitler be far behind? How easy it was to get rid of the dictator. If the Italian workers could do it, why not we?

The proletarian stirrings within Germany have been repeatedly noted during the past year by The Militant, which has published numerous reports of strikes and demonstrations in the Reich. A month after Mussolini's overthrow, on August 28, we reported that "serious strikes have broken out in the Ruhr factories. The strikes which have spread throughout the entire area resulted in a series of searches in which it was hoped to find the ringleaders. As these proved fruitless, the Nazis shot 100 workers out of hand, most of them foreigners." A strike of 30,000 Berlin workers last February was reported in a Danish underground paper, issued in March, which said the strike was intended as a peace demonstration.

On March 25 the Stockholm correspondent of the N. Y. Times reported: "For the first time since pre-Nazi days, organized Communist activities are taking place in Germany." A subsequent dispatch told of "the first underground Communist convention 'somewhere in Germany.' The convention's aim was to establish a Communist trade union central body. This is reported to have been done. Communist 'cells' have

been formed in many German industrial centers. . . The German Communists are said to be internationalists, or as they would be called in Moscow, Trotskyites."

### INTERNATIONALISTS

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been formed in many German industrial centers. . . The German Communists are said to be internationalists, or as they would be called in Moscow, Trotskyites."

Coupled with these accounts have come reports of mass desertions of troops and their refusal to fight, especially on the Soviet front, where the largest number of prisoners have been captured since Stalingrad. The uninterrupted retreats and defeats, with the German army verging on complete collapse, indicate that the German soldiers no longer have heart to continue the imperialist struggle.

We have it on the authority of the Nazis themselves that the same conditions which led to the overthrow of Mussolini and precipitated the continuing revolutionary struggle of the Italian workers, today are at work in Germany. Hitler himself compared the militarist conspiracy to "that in Italy." Field Marshal Von Kluge, in his order to the troops in Normandy, openly stated: "For us there will be no repetition of the year 1918 or of the example set by Italy."

In addition to the growing revolt within Germany and its armed forces, there are other powerful blows hammering at the Nazi regime. Revolts are exploding throughout the occupied countries, which the Nazis are finding increasingly hard to subdue. The resistance in France, Belgium and Holland, the irreconcilable insurrectionary struggles of the workers in North Italy and the general strikes in Denmark have dealt telling blows to the Nazis. The general strikes in Denmark, so close to home, and the concessions wrested by the Danish and Italian workers from the Wehrmacht itself, have disclosed the increasing weakness of the Nazi power.

The European revolution is spreading to the very heart of the continent. Following the revolutionary developments in Italy, the imperialist war is bound to be transformed into a civil war of the classes, centering in Germany. All the necessary political conditions are being prepared for the uprising of the mighty German proletariat. The Junker attempt to oust the Nazis and the terroristic counter-measures have exposed the sharp cleavages within Germany's ruling circles and the enfeeblement of the Nazi regime. It can never recover from such blows.

These events cannot but serve as a signal to the German working masses that their opportunity to smash the whole oppressive, murderous capitalist - Junker system has come. These events will embolden the workers and

## Imperialist Bandits Scheming To Destroy German Revolution

(Continued from page 1)

lin D. Roosevelt, who likes to think of himself as having fallen heir to the mantle of Wilson.

The counter-revolutionary machinations of Churchill-Roosevelt are embraced in the formula of "unconditional surrender" of Germany—and Japan—which came out of the Casablanca conference. What does this formula mean?

### SUPER-VERSAILLES

It embraces plans for a super-Versailles treaty, in other words a "peace" more monstrous than the robber "peace" imposed on Germany after the last war. It means reparations, inflation, economic ruin more terrible than that which the Germans have already experienced once at the hands of the "democratic" imperialists. It means the dismemberment of Germany (already East Prussia has been marked down as a prize for the Polish capitalists). It means the Balkanization of the whole European continent where the crying need is for economic and political unity.

Above all it embraces plans for preventing the German and European workers from taking their destinies into their own hands, driving out the criminal capitalists, and establishing their own socialist rule. This is confessed by United States News, authoritative mouthpiece of Big Business, which in its latest issue says that the "first U. S.-British objective will be to prevent violent revolution after a German defeat, to prevent loss of political power by business-financial groups"—the very same class that nourished Nazism and brought it to power!

Long ago Churchill declared that the Atlantic Charter, with its promise of self-determination, did not apply to Germany. And in the House of Commons on July 18 he made clear the counter-revolutionary meaning of the "un-

conditional surrender" formula. Labor Member Rhys Davies asked Churchill whether the Allies had considered the possibility that "the workers of Germany might overthrow the present regime and replace it by a Communist one as an alternative to unconditional surrender."

Churchill replied that he was aware of the possibility, but added that "he would rather not be drawn into a discussion of the treatment that would be accorded to such a regime."

Rhys Davies then asked Churchill: "May we take it that the British Government will not do with a Communist Germany what Mr. Churchill and his government did when the Bolsheviks emerged in Russia at the end of the last war?"

Churchill answered: "I would not like to go into this matter, but I am quite sure the German criminals have no right to escape merely by embracing the Communist faith."

This scoundrelly identification of the Nazi regime with the German workers is the device by means of which Churchill-Roosevelt intend to justify their coming intervention against the socialist revolution in Germany.

The real German criminals—Hitler and his Nazi gang, the Prussian Junkers who up till now have supported the Nazi regime, the German capitalists who nurtured Nazism and brought it to power—are certainly not going to embrace the "Communist faith." The bestial, totalitarian rule of the Nazis was precisely their alternative to Communism.

Stalin and the Soviet bureaucracy, for their own reasons, are parties to the schemings of the imperialists to dismember Germany and render the country prostrate. In a violent, chauvinistic diatribe directed not against Hitler and his bloody gang, not against the Junker generals, not against the German capitalists, but against the German nation as a whole, including its great working-class, Ilya Ehrenburg, one of Stalin's leading journalistic prostitutes, wrote this week:

"Hitlerite Germany will be driven to her knees not by insurgent officers, but by ourselves and our Allies. We don't trust the Germans neither the intelligentsia nor the silly ones, neither the blind nor those who have recovered their sight. We trust our tanks and bullets. Our troops move faster than the consciences

ever is in position to effect it and is prepared to carry it out." Churchill has made it clear that "whomever" does not include a revolutionary workers government.

spur them forward to more vigorous and extensive actions against Hitler and his gangsters. The uprising of the German toilers is inevitable.

### JUNKER AIMS

It is in the hope of forestalling or crushing this uprising and salvaging their own powers and privileges, that the Junker militarists, the bankers and big business men now seek to discard their outworn tool, Hitler, set up a Badoglio type regime and make a counter-revolutionary deal with the Allied imperialists. As PM, the New York daily, points out: "Diplomatic sources in Ankara told the United Press the Junkers had tried to stage a 'conservative revolution' to curry favor with the U.S.A. and Britain and guard against a Communist outbreak inside Germany."

The Allies, of course, welcome these manifestations of disintegrating German military power. But they, too, dread the independent revolutionary action of the German masses. Stalin shares these fears of the Anglo-American imperialists. Roosevelt and Churchill seek the establishment of another reactionary regime following the elimination of Hitler. This was indicated by the official Allied statement on the revolt radiated by the British Broadcasting Company, which endorsed "the judgment of the generals if not their motives" and offered to "accept capitulation from whom-

### Hitler and His Chief of Staff



Adolf Hitler and his personal chief of staff, Col. Gen. Alfred Jodl, reported injured in the attempted assassination of Hitler.

## Letter From A Steelworker To His Son In The Service

By Theodore Kovalesky

Dear Joey:

Only part of this letter is written to you, because you are only one of my kids. I guess that sounds queer to you, and I don't mean poor little Dick either, when I say that you're only one of them. You'll find, I think, that when a man gets to be a father, he becomes somewhat of a father to ALL kids if he's any kind of a father at all.

I'll tell you what brought this on. When I came home from work yesterday, Gus Miller's little kid came running out to meet me and wanted to know if there was anything in my lunch pail for him. Well, by luck there were a couple of Mom's cookies that I hadn't eaten, and I gave them to him. But it gave me a little shock. I thought of the way you used to come running out to see what I had left for you, and I remembered the way I used to meet my old man when he was coming home dead tired after a twelve hour shift. And that is what started me thinking about kids in general.

You see, kids don't have much of a chance in the world today, and they don't have much fun, not the kind of fun they should have. Look back, Joey. How much sunshine do you remember? How old were you when you knew, really KNEW what a forest or a mountain or a cow looked like? If you dig up some old Bureau of Agriculture Bulletins, you'll find that little pigs need plenty of sunshine and green grass and playing around in the fresh air if they're going to grow up healthy. How much sunshine and fresh air and green grass do children have today? How much did you have?

### DANGERS TO KIDS

Every day when I am going to work or coming home, I see the streets filled with kids playing, skinny little white kids and little colored kids with their great bright eyes and beautiful smiles. I see the dirt in the streets, the broken bottles and trash, and I see the automobiles that are a constant danger to kids.

It makes me think of little Dick and of the time they carried his poor broken little body into the house that hot July day back in 1936, after he had run out into the street in front of a car. I couldn't forgive myself then when Dick died. I kept thinking, "What kind of a father am I that I can't give my kids a decent place where they can grow up?" . . . but all the time, I guess I really knew that I was doing all I could like hundreds of thousands of other factory workers whose pay envelopes just weren't big enough to buy their kids an even chance in life. But sometimes a man feels so hemmed in that he almost goes crazy, when he's GOT to have money for his family, and he CAN'T get it!

I almost always think back to the depression, when I see the kids. I remember Christmas time in 1931 . . . a few cheap five and ten cent store toys for you and Dick. You were twelve then, of the Fritzies. It is to be expected that the Germans will understand everything when we reach the gates of Berlin."

### SLANDERS WORKERS

Denying that the attempted coup against the Nazi regime showed any indication of a "people's" movement in Germany, Ehrenburg declared: "People are needed for a people's movement, but nobody is left in Germany but Fritzies and Grechens—a cowardly greedy mass that can neither think nor feel."

This vile slander of the great German working-class, which gave evidence of its courage, class-consciousness and will to struggle in two postwar uprisings, which battled with high courage against the Nazis, and which now shows signs of resuming the revolutionary battle for socialism, gives a measure of the infamy to which the Stalinist gang has sunk and plainly indicates the counter-revolutionary program of Stalinism on the European continent.

And then there was the time that big, sneering cop came around to the house and told us that you were down at the police station for stealing a bike. You scared me then, Joey. The bottom dropped right out of the world. I wasn't sore at you, I just got that helpless, crazy feeling again, because I knew that the only reason that you stole was that you WANTED a bike and couldn't get it any other way, because your dad couldn't afford to get you one.

But I was scared stiff. I didn't know where it would end, because that's the way it generally starts, a stolen bike, then something bigger, and finally a whole life shot to hell. That's how Angie DiRosa got started, and he ended up with his blood pouring down an east side gutter two weeks before your induction.

ANGIE DIROSA

And Angie was one of the finest kids in the neighborhood, smart and a born leader. People don't talk much about him any more, and old man DiRosa has never been the same since the cops killed Angie, but who was to blame? Was Angie just no good, too lazy to get an honest job like the newspapers tried to make out? Angie never had a chance; neither did you, Joey, but you were lucky. Some of these other kids I see running around the streets every day are going to be lucky too, — but some won't.

I've always been able to talk to you, Joey, so I can say what I'd like to tell all the other kids in the world. All of us here in the factories and mills who are fighting as hard as we can for better conditions are fighting for the kids. We're struggling as hard as we can to keep that sick, disappointed look off the faces of our kids. We're fighting to bring them the strong, healthy bodies that only good food, sunshine, and fresh air will give them.

FOR ALL KIDS

We're fighting to keep them out of the filth and dangers of the streets, to keep them out of the jails and reform schools. We fight, not each merely for his own kids, but for all kids — those hollering and scampering around the streets today and those not yet born, that they may have a world fit for them to grow up in. Take care of yourself, Joey. We need you back here in the union.

Love from Mom,  
Your pal,  
Dad

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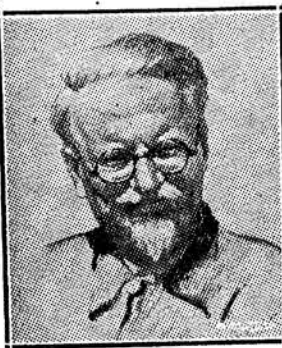
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To defend the USSR as the main fortress of the world proletariat, against all assaults of world imperialism and of internal counter-revolution, is the most important duty of every class-conscious worker.

— LEON TROTSKY

## JOIN US IN FIGHTING FOR:

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

## MCF Policy

When the Michigan Committee for the Promotion of a Farmer-Labor Party issued its call for a conference to establish a "new political party," it was addressed primarily to groups standing outside of the labor movement who, by their composition and social position in the community, could only play a subsidiary role. In commenting on the conference call *The Militant*, February 19, expressed the opinion "that some union militants were being enticed by the prospects of a short cut to the formation of a labor party by skipping over the head of the Michigan CIO." We pointed out the "danger that in their impatience to get on with the formal organization of a labor party, the militants will be led into taking precipitate and premature action." Today advanced workers in Michigan realize that without the firm support of significant sections of the union movement it is impossible to establish a genuine labor party.

Writing in *The Call*, (March 17), Kenneth Rogers giggled over the fact that "the revolutionary followers of Leon Trotsky... warn the progressives, who are now organizing in the hope of building a real farmer-labor party in the midwest state, they must proceed slowly," and attempt to win the ranks of the Michigan CIO over to their support. These people, whose funny-bone is tickled by the idea that the primary requisite for building a labor party is the support of labor, hope to gather together a motley group of professors, preachers, YMCA secretaries, women's clubs, students, co-ops, etc., give this outfit a "labor" facade, and pass it off as a "real farmer-labor party." In reality, such an approach can lead only to the formation of pale carbon copies of Norman Thomas' anemic "all-inclusive" Socialist Party.

In contradistinction to these political adventurers and their "experimental" politics, *The Militant* takes a serious attitude toward the movement for independent working class political action. We attempt to gauge the sentiment of the workers, to analyze the movement, to point the direction of its development. We are no sideline critics. We support every advance of the progressive workers toward independent political action. When the Michigan Commonwealth Federation was launched, we greeted the new party as a step in the right direction.

We said then: "Any new movement organized to break the political monopoly of the American

capitalist class, must be prepared to cope with the furious onslaught that will be launched against it from all sides. . . The new political movement can only grow, however, and come to fruition, it can achieve its high promise, only if it sets forth an unambiguous fighting program that answers the needs of the workers and poor farmers and then steadfastly adheres to this program regardless of the opposition."

Those leaders of the MCF who under cover of a fake militancy refused to conduct a real struggle for the support of the union ranks during the formation of the MCF, revealed at the Michigan CIO convention the true source of their hesitancy and false policy. They fear to clash with the top CIO bureaucrats. They neglected to organize their forces. They failed to appeal to the convention for endorsement, failed to present their own program, and even failed to put up a fight against the perfidious program of the Hillman-Thomas Political Action Committee. Hammond, chairman of the MCF, was concerned with independent political action only AFTER the coming election campaign.

The militants who have devoted so much energy to the creation of the Michigan Commonwealth Federation do not, we are sure, agree with Hammond's methods. They know that the MCF can function as an organizing center to carry the struggle for labor's independent political action into every local CIO union in the state of Michigan.

They know that the sentiment for the formation of an Independent Labor Party is bound to grow as the perfidy of the "friends of labor" in the camp of Democrats and Republicans becomes more flagrant in the critical period ahead. This sentiment must be organized to win a majority of the Michigan labor movement to the support of labor's own political party. Only upon the foundation of the trade union movement can an Independent Labor Party be built which is worthy of the name. That is the task of the coming MCF convention.

## Empty Promises

According to a report appearing in the July 15 issue of the *United Automobile Worker*, out of 13,000 workers formerly employed at the two plants of the Brewster Aeronautical Corporation, only 500 remain. Of the thousands "disemployed" by the Brewster shut-down, a majority have been compelled to take jobs at sharp reductions in pay, while some are still out of work. Of the many promises made the Brewster workers during their dramatic "sit-in" demonstration not one has been fulfilled. Administration spokesmen promised to rush legislation through Congress before its adjournment providing for severance pay, unemployment compensation, etc. Congress adjourned for the election campaign sidetracking all "reconversion" legislation with the exception of the George-Murray Contract Termination Bill which provides generous cash payment to war contractors.

Spokesmen for Roosevelt promised to overhaul the government's contract termination policies. The WPB promised to investigate the possibility of new contracts for Brewster. The Navy Department promised to see what could be done about another Navy contract. It was these promises which finally "convinced" Frankenstein, head of the UAW-CIO Aircraft Division, to call 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 Stabilization, a Senate subcommittee and other Federal Officials would bring early re-employment to the 13,500 employees facing dismissal." Frankenstein, being a Democratic politician, is a great believer in "promises," especially when they are made by the leaders of his own party.

The Navy Department, however, dominated by Wall Street "admirals," is unconcerned with the fulfillment of such promises. Following the pattern established in the Brewster shutdown the Navy Department recently cancelled the contract of the Burchell Products Corporation, "disemploying" 900 workers on three hours notice. This was followed by a Navy Department "cutback" at the Worthington Pump and Machinery Corporation which "disemployed" 1,500 workers at Holyoke, Massachusetts. While the Burchell workers staged a protest meeting in front of the plant, the Worthington Pump workers followed the example of Brewster and staged a "sit-in" appealing to Roosevelt for a restoration of their jobs.

Experience has already shown that while the "sit-in" demonstrations dramatize the plight of workers thrown out of jobs, by themselves they are insufficient to combat the growing unemployment. Sit-ins are only one weapon in the program of economic and political action labor needs to achieve its aims.

To win the demands put forward by the Brewster and Worthington Pump workers in their demonstrations, the entire labor movement must undertake a coordinated economic and political struggle on a national scale against Wall Street's projected program of unemployment and hunger. This counter-campaign must be guided by the slogans of a sliding scale of wages and hours, the expropriation of all key industries, and their operation under workers' control of production.

## IN DEFENSE OF THE SOVIET UNION

By LEON TROTSKY

(A Compilation — 1927-1937)

10 CENTS

PIONEER PUBLISHERS

116 UNIVERSITY PLACE NEW YORK

# 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.

## Killed in Action

Editor:

As my son, who received your papers, has been killed in action in Europe, will you please not send your papers.

I thank you very much for the pleasure your papers gave my boy, before and after he was called to the colors.

G. P.  
Birmingham, England

## Winning Grievances

Editor:

For almost three years the management of the Buick Motor Division of Melrose Park, Illinois have been pushing the workers around. Grievances have been piling higher and higher without ever being settled. It wasn't until about two months ago that the workers found out how to win their grievances without the blessings of the War Labor Board, the Impartial Umpire, and all the other agencies of the bosses.

About two months ago the workers on the night shift in the tool room decided to take matters into their own hands. A gage grinder was arbitrarily fired by the superintendent of the department for scrapping a tool, after working in the plant for two years with a perfect work record. On behalf of the dismissed worker, the men in the department, with the exception of one Stalinist fink, shut down their machines. In two hours the worker who had been fired was reinstated with an apology by the superintendent.

Three weeks later — this time on the day shift — in the tool room, another worker was arbitrarily released for refusing to obey the whim of a foreman. The workers, learning a lesson from the work stoppage of the night shift, followed suit — with two differences in this stoppage. 1. The department was completely shut down because there were no Stalinist stooges to fink on the workers. 2. The men presented two demands to the company, the reinstatement of the dismissed worker and immediate dismissal of the foreman involved in the case. In fifteen minutes the worker was reinstated and in ten days the foreman was forced to quit under the pressure of the workers.

About a month after the last work stoppage occurred, the management gave the workers a two-day holiday (or layoff) July 3 and July 4. When the men came back to work on July 5, they were told they would have to work Sunday, July 9, that is, about 2300 of them. They were willing to work providing they would receive double time for that Sunday work. They were assured by management that they would receive double time for that work day.

On returning to work Monday,

July 10, the workers were told by the management that they were receiving only time and one half for Sunday, July 9, as it was not the seventh consecutive working day of the calendar week. This was a direct violation of our contract which states that a worker loses double time in one calendar week only when he takes time off for personal reasons and not when he is told by the company to stay home. The workers, learning the lessons of the two stoppages in the tool room, stopped work all over the plant at different intervals. There was a spontaneous mass meeting after work at the union hall, with a demand that the shop committee that the whole plant be shut down on Wednesday, July 12, until this issue was settled. Under pressure of a plant walkout threat, management agreed to pay double time for Sunday, July 9.

For almost three years the shop committee and the grievance committee of the Buick Local 6, UAW-CIO, have been trying to settle grievances without the strike weapon. They have appealed their grievances to Umpires, War Labor Boards, etc. without getting to first base. In a period of about two months the workers through the use of the strike weapon have been able to win most of their major grievances.

It has been clearly demonstrated by the two toolroom shutdowns and the threatened walkout on the double-time issue, that the only effective weapon labor has is the strike weapon. UAW-CIO members of Local 6, UAW-CIO — the way to win your grievances NOW, and not a year or two from now, is to send your delegates to the United Auto Workers Convention in September instructed to vote to rescind the no-strike pledge.

B. J.  
Chicago, Ill.

## Lively Forum

Editor:

This was the reaction of one worker who attended the open forum at the San Francisco School of Social Science on "The No-Strike Pledge and Post-War Planning".

"You know, it did me good to sit there and hear working people — just like me — explain and discuss all these deep subjects in such an intelligent way. I guess that I, like many many other working people, thought that you had to go to the educated professors and politicians to hear these things discussed. Well, I see that I was wrong, because you people know what you're talking about, all right, and I like what you say. I'll be back next time and I'll bring a fellow that works with me."

The forum which is held Sun-

day evenings at 305 Grant Avenue was very well attended. The audience included 7 Negro workers. The worker quoted above took an active part in the discussion, also.

E. H.  
San Francisco

## Likes Kovalesky

Editor:

I have just finished reading the July 15 issue of *The Militant* and wanted to tell you what a corking good issue it is. I think the "Shop Talks on Socialism" by Grey are great. I particularly got a kick out of that swell article on "What Capitalism Means to Toil-Worn Workers" by Theodore Kovalesky. Where has he been keeping himself?

I edit a small mimeographed paper for my union, and Kovalesky's article made me think and look around a bit at the immediate surroundings of our working place. It reminded me of the indignity of my work place. When we want to rest a bit we have to go to the toilet and take our pants down, otherwise we are loitering. How many times have the men gripped about it! I decided to write an article about it somewhat in Kovalesky's vein. Again I say *The Militant* is tops.

J. F.  
Newark

## Canada

Editor:

Each week *The Militant* is about the best paper that is printed; it gives news from England and other countries which is not printed in any other paper and it has improved wonderfully since 1940. It's up to all thinking people to increase its circulation as much as possible. The copies I have are threadbare, so many people have read them; and I'm still getting them back and passing them out.

I never got a copy of the magazine as yet, but that's all right so long as I get *The Militant*. As Robert G. Ingersoll used to say, "We must snatch from the throat of treason the tongue of slander." There are an awful lot of toilers in this country who have got to unlearn what they have already learned.

They are like a crewless vessel without a rudder, ready to go drifting into shoals and breakers; no need for me to tell you! They are orphaned completely like leaves blowing in the autumn breeze; they have no conception of the evolutionary movement continually going on within society. The damage that has been done by political backwardness in the last fifteen years is terrible.

E. D.  
Canada

## 66 Who Died in Mine Fire Were Murdered for Profit

66 miners at Powhatan Point, Ohio, were burned to death on July 5 in one of those coal mine disasters which are so frequent they rarely rate more than a few paragraphs near the bottom of an inside page in the boss dailies. They were just a tiny fraction of the tens of thousands of mine workers who have been injured, maimed and killed in mine accidents during the past year alone.

Under the best conditions, mining is dangerous work. Not many of those labor-haters who called for shooting the striking miners last summer would venture down into the depths of the average coal mine, even for a visit. But those 66 miners who died in the bowels of the earth from the smoke and flame of the Powhatan Point mine fire didn't die by any "Act of God." They were murdered — murdered for profit!

That is what the United Mine Workers Journal revealed last week when it charged the mine company with responsibility for the death of these 66 workers because of its refusal to observe the minimum safety measures prescribed by government inspectors.

The fire was touched off because of improperly placed electrical equipment after the federal inspectors had twice unsuccessfully urged the company to take corrective steps concerning the placement of insulation, switches, fuses, spray equipment, trolley hangers, grounders and "many other devices for isolating electrical current underground." Even after the fire broke out, in order not to "lose a single ton of coal," the UMW Journal charges, the company kept the miners at work for more than two hours before the first of them were ordered up.

Let the workers remember this the next time the corporation agents start yelling "treason" when union men are forced to strike.

## Corporation War Profits Reach New High Levels

There's not much cheerful news in the papers these days for most people. Casualties mounting. Wages frozen tight. Unemployment mounting with new production cut-backs. Cost-of-living soaring faster, with the new price-control bill, signed by Roosevelt, giving the green light to the war profiteering price-gougers. Not much the working man can get the old Pollyanna spirit from.

But there's been one cheerful note — for a few favored people — in the papers recently. Maybe you saw it in last week's financial sections. "Profits Stay High for Corporations" or, "Corporate Profits Hold High Level."

Big Business is getting richer than ever. Over a million workers laid off since last November. Prices shooting skyward. But there's no freeze on war profits. Wall Street isn't in this war for fun. It's got ideas, billions and billions of dollars worth of ideas.

The Department of Commerce's July "Survey of Current Business" reports that corporate net profits for the first three months of this year hit a new high. \$2,213,000,000 as compared with \$2,200,000,000 during the same period of 1943. And the plutocrats didn't do so badly in '43. The net take last year was \$8,533,000,000, five per cent more than in 1942, "despite a considerable rise in taxes."

In case you're worried about the plusherbottom boys suffering in the "post-war" period, just ease your mind. It seems there are "indications that corporations were holding a larger proportion of net income in reserve to take care of post-war contingencies."

Make you mad? What's the matter, don't you believe in "equal sacrifice"? You must be one of those Trotskyists — keep saying this is a war for the rich.

## Capitalists Figure Out A New Way to Chisel

Corporation officials have figured out another way to raise their income without submitting them to the Treasury Department for approval, and lower their income taxes at the same time. Business Week, that gloss-paper guide to the profit-hungry, gives the tip-off to the money-bags on how it's done, in the July 22 issue.

Suppose income taxes leave the corporation bosses in a pauper's state with only \$40,000, \$50,000 or \$60,000 a year in "take-home" salaries, or the Treasury Department decides a corporation executive isn't due for another \$25,000 raise until next year. The thing to do — and more and more companies are doing it — is to grant the big-shot executives "long term options to buy — at attractive prices — stock held in the treasury of their companies."

Now, there's no law says a man can't take a lucky plunge in the stock market. If he buys real low and sells real high, that's just "good business." Or if he decides to "risk" his "hard-earned" salary and other income in cheap stocks that pay regular handsome dividends, what capitalist government agency can say he's just trying to evade Treasury limitation of his salary? And if tax rates on "capital gains," which is how the Wall Streeters list profits from stock sales, are lower than on income taxes — an honest, hard-working capitalist has to have some compensation for his "risk." Doesn't he?

The classic case cited by Business Week is that of Charles E. Sorenson, president of Willys-Overland Motors, Inc., who a few weeks ago was voted "the right to purchase at \$3 a share — 100,000 Willys-Overland common, which recently sold at a price above \$20 on the New York Stock Exchange."

Business Week further notes that "Wall Street has shown particular interest in the favorable Willys-Overland stock option granted Sorenson" which "didn't make its appearance until after the Treasury Dept. had refused, under existing salary stabilization rules, to permit the company to pay its new president an annual salary of \$100,000."

Well, there's the old saying, "Who deals the cards, stacks the deck." As long as the capitalists control the deal, they'll always slip themselves aces.

## FREE THE 18!

## INTERNATIONAL NOTES

### AUSTRALIA

Manpower edicts by the state government of New South Wales, whereby workers were forced to take jobs in canneries and other factory establishments, were declared void by a state court ruling handed down in Sydney May 25.

Chief Justice Jordon, delivering the court's unanimous decision, said: "The regulation as it stands could, if valid, reduce Australians to a serfdom more abject than any obtaining in the Middle Ages," adding that there was nothing in the constitution of the New South Wales commonwealth "which authorizes the executive government to impose on the people a status of villenage."

Yet this is precisely what the government, acting for the Australian capitalist class, sought to do. Its forced labor edicts are on a par with War Manpower Commissioner McNutt's order which "froze" workers in this country to their jobs as of July 1. It is in line, too, with the action of the British Minister of Labor, Ernest Bevin, in forcing workers to labor in England's coal mines under the Pit Ballot Scheme, which caused the apprentices' strikes last March.

In all the capitalist "democracies" the same vicious anti-labor drive is on — a drive to regiment the workers, deprive them of their liberties, convert them into serfs. And this, be it noted, takes place in the very midst of a war, which, the capitalist rulers would have us

believe, is being fought for "freedom and democracy!"

### SOUTH AFRICA

Still more evidence of the reactionary policies of the "democratic" ruling class comes from the Union of South Africa, one of the great Dominions of the so-called British Commonwealth of Nations. There the all-white government which enslaves and oppresses eight million natives recently passed a law known as the "Pegging Act" which deprives Indians of the right to purchase or occupy property except by special permission of the government and "freezes" the Indian population in certain specified areas.

There are about a quarter of a million Indians in South Africa and ninety percent of them were born in the country. The first Indians were brought to South Africa in 1860 as indentured laborers, to work in the sugar fields of Natal. Some "free" laborers followed. The present Indian population are their descendants. In 1897 and again in 1913 laws were passed to restrict further immigration. To make it still harder for the Indians, a law was passed in 1893 depriving them of the right to vote for parliament. And in 1924, in order to stamp upon them more plainly their inferior status, a law was passed taking away the municipal vote.

The "Pegging Act" is the culmination of all this oppressive legislation which has reduced

250,000 people to the level of pariahs in the land of their birth.

### SPAIN

The regime of butcher Franco, which Winston Churchill praised so fulsomely in a recent House of Commons speech, is sitting on top of a volcano.

Testimony to the mounting insurrectionary mood of the masses comes from no less an authority than Jose Maria Gil Robles, leader of the extreme reactionary Catholic faction of the Spanish ruling class, who is now in Lisbon. Gil Robles, as minister of war in 1935, took charge of the bloody suppression of the revolt of the Asturias miners which preceded the Spanish civil war.

In a private letter to General Asensio, present war minister in Franco's cabinet, quoted in the July issue of *The Nation*, Gil Robles writes: "But let us be sincere. In many provinces we are living practically under anarchy: attacks on farms, robberies, banditry, owners unable to visit their properties, travelers being kidnapped. It is my absolute conviction that in this case the victor (Franco) will never have peace, especially since the vanquished are convinced that they will become victors themselves through the help of the entire world. The authorities may multiply the formation of armed forces; they may shoot people by the hundreds. Nothing will be achieved."

From the ashes of defeat in the great battles of the civil war only a few years ago, the Spanish revolution is rising again.