

British Strike Leader Salutes Fight Of The 18

Links Churchill's Persecution of English Trotskyists With Roosevelt's Jailing of 18

William Davy, former secretary of the Tyne Apprentices Guild and an outstanding leader of the great apprentice strike in England last spring against forced labor in the mines, has addressed a letter to the American Trotskyist movement expressing his solidarity with the 18 imprisoned Trotskyists in the Minneapolis Labor Case and with the 4 British Trotskyist leaders recently railroaded to prison for supporting the struggle of the young English workers.

His letter, which we reproduce in full below, expresses the rising spirit of working-class militancy in England and describes the increasing awareness among the advanced sections of British labor of the leading role of the Trotskyists in the struggle for working-class emancipation. D a v y writes:

"Arising out of this newly created

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UAW Publicizes Pardon Demands

The September 1 issue of the United Automobile Worker, official weekly organ of the UAW-CIO, carries a front-page account of the hundreds of union resolutions supporting the pardon appeals of the 18 imprisoned Trotskyists presented on Aug. 2 to the Presidential Pardon Authority in Washington.

It describes the Smith "Gag" Act under which the 18 Socialist Workers Party and Minneapolis Truckdrivers Local 544-CIO leaders were railroaded to prison as "the first Federal statute in over 100 years to hold the mere expression of opinion a Federal crime."

"More than 50 locals of the UAW-CIO are among the organizations urging their release," states the paper. "Other unions who joined in the petitions include the Textile Workers Union of America, CIO; United Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Employees, CIO; United Transport Service Employees, CIO, and the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, AFL."

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TYNE APPRENTICES

"The most sympathetic section of the British workers is the apprentices who participated in the recent strike against the infamous 'Bevin Pit Ballot Scheme.' These apprentices, who have had bitter experiences with the role being played by the trade union bureaucracy and the treacherous Communist Party, the elements who betrayed them in their struggle, now look upon the Trotskyist movement with a trustful respect which was non-existent before the trial.

"This interest is not confined only to the British Trotskyist movement, but extends toward the movement in America and as a consequence a link has now

Armed Struggle Of French Masses Arouses Fears Of Allied Rulers

Legislators Slash Proposed Benefits To Aid Jobless

By Art Preis

A majority of pro-Roosevelt Democrats together with the Republicans in the House, having first passed an Administration-sponsored measure ensuring "disposal" of \$75 billion worth of "surplus" government property to the monopolists, last week turned their attention to pushing through legislation guaranteeing insecurity and mass hunger for the American working class in the coming period.

As a first step in adopting a Big Business program to impose starvation conditions on the unemployed, the House Ways and Means Committee proceeded to "swing the axe," as even the capitalist press described it, upon the reactionary George Bill, which had been passed by the Senate. It ruthlessly struck from that measure every one of its few provisions which had even a hint of liberality.

SLASH BILL

In secret session, the committee members slashed from the George "Post-War Starvation" Bill its clauses providing unemployment insurance for millions of government workers in arsenals and shipyards, government training to re-fit war workers for peacetime jobs, transportation expenses for discharged war workers returning to their home towns for work. In addition, the Congressional agents of Wall Street even eliminated a provision for a Department of Labor study on the proposal for an annual wage system in industry and reduced the life of the bill from two to one years.

Intent on maintaining conditions of mass insecurity and mis-

"Democratic" Tailors to His Majesty



Rumanian King Deserts Nazis, Joins Allies To Save Regime

By Ralph Graham

Pressed by the masses of war-weary Rumanian workers and peasants who have been growing more and more rebellious as the victorious Red Army plunges deeper into Rumanian territory, and anxious to end up on the winning side of the war, the monarchist-capitalist-landlord gang in this Balkan country has thrown the dictatorial regime of Gen. Ion Antonescu into the discard and set up a new government. Its first steps have been to repudiate the alliance with the Axis, accept the Allied terms of "unconditional surrender," and proclaim Rumania's adherence to the camp of Anglo-American imperialism.

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UAW Convention Faces Fight Between Ranks And Leadership

By E. Henry

The CIO United Automobile, Aircraft and Agricultural Implement Workers of America is not only the largest but the most dynamic union in the country. All major issues which have confronted American labor during the past decade have invariably found their clearest and most intense expression within the UAW-CIO. Each of its conventions has marked a milestone in the development of the labor movement as a whole.

No preceding convention, however, has aroused so much attention and interest as the forthcoming Ninth Annual Convention which is to convene on September 11 in Grand Rapids, Michigan. For this convention will have the duty to deliberate and provide solutions for the momentous problems and issues which have been raised to an acute pitch by the developments of the war and the ominous prospects facing labor in the period ahead.

The war has been the decisive factor determining the recent course of the UAW-CIO and the nature of the conflict within it. Along with the entire officialdom of the trade union movement, the leadership of the UAW-CIO was drawn ever closer to Roosevelt and the government apparatus with the approach of the war. Upon American entry into the "shooting war," the leadership capitulated to the Roosevelt war machine, abandoned labor's independent program and surrendered the weapons of labor struggle, above all, the right to strike.

THE 'EQUALITY OF SACRIFICE' PROGRAM

The disastrous consequences of the policies of the union leadership became almost immediately felt by the workers, and no more so than among UAW-CIO ranks in the key war industries. Roosevelt embarked upon a program of erasing such gains as double-time pay, enforcing compulsory arbitration through government agencies, introducing new methods for imposing the cost of the war on labor, including 10 per cent war bond deductions and pay-roll taxes. The corporations took advantage of the "no-strike pledge" to stall contract negotiations, ignore contract terms and undermine union conditions.

When the initial dissatisfaction was sharply expressed by the militiamen auto workers, it was countered by the "Equality of Sacrifice" program, projected by Roosevelt and adopted by the union leaders. Although this program met with some rank and file opposition, it was generally accepted as a necessary evil. Before very long, however, bitter experience began to teach the workers that they were doing all the sacrificing, while the employers were piling up stupendous war profits.

At the August 1942 UAW convention in Chicago, there were bitter protests against the "Equality of Sacrifice" program. But the militants who opposed it either were unable to draw the necessary

programmatic conclusions or were not strong enough to secure the scrapping of the "no-strike pledge." Further experience in life was necessary before the true implications of the phony "equality of sacrifice" program could be driven home to the auto workers.

This has occurred with the further unfoldment of the capitalist war program. Roosevelt's wage-freeze, rising taxes on low incomes, the green light given to the profiteers and price gougers aroused increasing discontent. This discontent was manifested at the last UAW convention at Buffalo in October 1943, but largely in a distorted fashion. The key issues of the convention were the question of "Incentive Pay," the introduction of speed-up piece work systems, and the struggle for domination of the union's top apparatus between the Reuther-Leonard-Thomas and the Ades-Frankenstein clique supported by the Stalinists. There ensued an unprincipled clique fight for power. Reuther fulfilled his typical role of "left cover" for the leadership by channelizing the militants into his camp through a verbal display of "militancy" in opposition to incentive pay, while he united with the whole top leadership against the militants on the decisive questions: support of the no-strike pledge, the War Labor Board, and a fourth term for Roosevelt.

GOVERNMENT AND CORPORATION ANTI-LABOR DRIVE

The most militant tendency in the convention, led by Mazey of Briggs Local 212, while formally opposing the no-strike pledge and calling for independent labor political action in speeches, clung to the Reuther caucus and failed to organize a serious struggle on these issues. Nevertheless, the pressure from the ranks compelled the top leadership to sugar-coat the bitter pills they fed the delegates. Virtually every major resolution and proposal was wrapped in "militant" phrase-mongering.

The forthcoming UAW-CIO convention will be marked by a qualitatively different alignment of forces on the major issues. On the one hand, the offensive of the corporations and the capitalist government against organized labor is proceeding with accelerated speed. On the other, the cleavage between the ranks and the top leadership has become extremely sharp, as the "labor statesmen" cuddle closer to the Roosevelt administration and its pro-corporation agencies and strike heavier bureaucratic blows against the mounting struggles of their membership.

Since the last UAW convention, the corporation and government attacks on the workers have taken on the character of a brazen and sustained offensive. Roosevelt has used the full powers of government to curb the struggles of the workers and deny them wage increases. The use of troops and plant seizures for the purposes of government strikebreaking—even in advance of threatened strikes, as in the railway case—has become standard policy. The demands

Tobin, Stalinists Combine Forces in Slander Campaign

By Harry Martell

"The Trotskyites were wrong in Russia. They were wrong in the United States. Fortunately, too many of his followers are not."

This endorsement of one of the most monstrous crimes in history, the assassination of Leon Trotsky by Stalin, and this incitement to homicidal assault against Trotsky's co-thinkers appears in the August issue of the International Teamster, under the signature of Thomas E. Flynn, Executive Assistant to Daniel J. Tobin, General President of the AFL Teamsters Union.

TOBIN AND STALINISTS

If Stalin's secret police-terror apparatus, the GPU, didn't write this statement, it most certainly approves of it. As the climax of the current Tobin-Stalinist slander campaign against the Trotskyites this lynch statement comes as no surprise to progressive elements in the labor movement.

Tobin three years ago sought to destroy the most dangerous opposition to his union dictatorship and sell-out policies by smashing the famous Minneapolis Teamsters Union, Local 544, organized and led in historic struggles by the Trotskyites. To accomplish his traitorous aim, Tobin personally beseeched aid of Roosevelt, whose Attorney General Biddle initiated and carried through the frameup prosecution which railroaded Tobin's militant opponents to prison.

Tobin's attempts to throttle the Trotskyites did not succeed so well. His connivance in the frameup of the 18 imprisoned Trotskyites has been denounced throughout the labor movement, including important sections of the AFL, his own organization. Over two million union workers

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Workers' Independent Action Is Threat To Capitalist Rule

Anglo-American Conquerors Issue Ultimatum to DeGaulle Demanding "Order"

By William F. Warde

As the beaten forces of the Nazi Wehrmacht retreat to the Rhine, leaving more than half of France in the throes of confused and wild jubilation, the victorious Allied imperialists in their pursuit look back with the greatest anxiety at the social explosions in their rear. For the "Blitz in reverse" is not only putting to rout the armies of Hitler. The accompanying insurrectionary actions of the masses in Paris, Marseilles and elsewhere are upsetting the plans of Washington and London for the rapid subjugation of the French people.

This elemental movement of the masses, originating with workers' strikes, has so far been confined in its objectives and program to the struggle against the Nazis and their native Fascist collaborators. Either because of the absence or weakness of a conscious revolutionary leadership, it

ership of a revolutionary working class party. Under the present domination of the bourgeois nationalists and their lackeys in the ranks of labor, the aspirations of the French people can only suffer betrayal and defeat.

Already the aspirations of the masses for peace, bread, and freedom are coming into conflict with the needs of the Allied and French imperialists for restoration of "order" and the stabilization of capitalist rule. That is why they fear the people in arms.

Among its first acts after the fall of Paris, the Allied Supreme Command issued a virtual ultimatum to DeGaulle, placing upon him the responsibility for immediately disarming the Parisian masses, restoring capitalist "order," and instituting a dictatorial control over the population. Thus, from the very first, the Allied imperialists have demonstratively nationalism and under the lead-

(Continued on page 5)

Italian Masses Run Up Red Flag

The A.P. reports from Rome (Aug. 25) that "a demonstration in celebration of the liberation of Paris before the French Embassy on the Piazza Farnese today became a near riot when a demonstrator stripped an Italian monarchy flag from its staff at a nearby police station and ran up the Red Flag with the Hammer and Sickle."

A policeman ripped down the Red Flag and threw it at the crowd below. There was a rush for the building, but two Allied policemen kept the people back and ordered an Italian flag without the Savoy Cross and the Red Flag to be flown side by side."

This episode with the two flags in Rome epitomizes the situation prevailing in Italy and throughout Europe. Today history itself has posed the choice: either the black flag of reaction or the red flag of socialist liberation.

PACIFIC COAST LONGSHOREMEN SEEK NEW MASTER CONTRACT

By Oscar Nelson

SAN FRANCISCO, Aug. 24—Negotiations began August 7 between representatives of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, CIO, and the Waterfront Employers of the Pacific Coast for a master coastwise agreement governing wages and working conditions of 15,000 longshoremen and thousands of terminal men and car loaders. The union is demanding an hourly increase of the basic longshoremen's wage from \$1.10 to \$1.25 with overtime after six hours, one week annual vacation with pay, a guaranteed work week of 36 hours, etc. The six hour day was established on the Pacific Coast after the coastwise maritime and San Francisco general strike of 1934. Longshoremen on the east coast receive \$1.25 per hour for an eight hour day.

ILWU CONFERENCE

The reopening of the contract was decided upon by a conference of the longshore section of the ILWU held in San Francisco July 2-29, attended by 66 delegates from locals up and down the west coast. The conference decided to request certain "modifications and amendments" to the contract in order to force consideration of the union's demands by the War Labor Board. The expiring contract contained a provision for the periodic "review" of wages without opening the entire contract.

The WLB rigidly maintained that, inasmuch as the existing contract contained an "adequate" arbitration machinery

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TRADE UNION NOTES

By Joseph Keller

Walter Reuther, a vice-President of the CIO United Automobile Workers and Director of the union's General Motors Division, last week issued a statement protesting and refuting the "blanket indictment of General Motors Workers" which the N. Y. Times issued in smear articles citing corporation charges of "slow-down" practices by the union.

Reuther quotes a recent statement of C. E. Wilson, GM president, terming GM production "a remarkable showing...about twice our best peacetime rate" of which the workers "can justly be proud" and "feel gratified." Reuther further claims that the corporation and union fix production standards by contract, and that the company has rarely had recourse to machinery established by contract to appeal against violation of contractual standards.

The motivation for the corporation's present smear campaign, Reuther asserts, is to prejudice the union wage case before the War Labor Board and "create the atmosphere... for a post-war attack on the unions in its plants." However, Reuther points out that the attack is rising to a crescendo right now, citing the Chevrolet Gear and Axle case in Detroit as the latest example.

Reuther charges that the recent strikes in the Gear and Axle Division were "actually caused by management arbitrarily increasing the production rates without preliminary consultation with the workers or union." The second strike was due to the firing of seven union militants after the WLB ordered all strikers returned to their jobs without reprisal. Now the company provocations have been extended. "The public should know that on Wednesday of this week, after the men had returned to work, the management discharged one worker and penalized sixteen others because they refused to work a fourteen-hour day."

Why is the corporation so bold in its provocations? Reuther does not dare to state the truth openly. He indicates it, however, by complaining that the corporation has refused to accept the "fair procedure" of the WLB and has taken advantage of the fact that the UAW-CIO took every step possible to terminate the strike despite the provocation action of the corporation. Reuther "forgets" to mention that "every step" included expelling the local union officials from office, an act which was followed by their discharge.

In short Reuther and the UAW International leaders have been giving the green light to corporation provocations because of their servile adherence to the no-strike pledge and support of the pro-corporation WLB, supplemented by their bureaucratic blows at the local union militants.

Corporation provocations are on the increase everywhere. The Toledo Union Journal, representing 40,000 UAW-CIO members in northwestern Ohio, in its August 25 issue reports the complaint of Melvin Schultz, President of Toledo's powerful UAW Local 12, that "deliberate irritation of workers in Toledo plants is on the increase." The Journal states "cases are constantly coming before Local 12 and are on the increase in which industrial management seeks to provoke the workers."

After citing a number of particularly vicious company provocations

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Pacific Coast Longshoremen's Union Is Given Run-Around By WLB In Demand For Wage Raise

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longshore side of the maritime industry.

SCHMIDT'S REPORT

In a report delivered to the membership of Local 1-10 in San Francisco Wednesday, August 16, he laid bare the mechanism at the disposal of the Waterfront Employers to hopelessly prolong negotiations for a wage increase. The report explained that the decision of the recent conference of the ILWU to reopen the existing contract was brought about by the failure to achieve results through the machinery of the expiring contract.

Schmidt further emphasized that on the basis of the Little Steel Formula, the longshoremen were not entitled to a wage increase.

First, there has been a 16% increase since Jan. 1941; secondly, the longshoremen are relatively well paid as compared with other workers and therefore cannot come under the provisions for sub-standard wages which the WLB has established.

The report made crystal clear the need for scrapping the Little Steel Formula and the no-strike pledge as the main barriers to the efforts of the longshoremen to secure a wage raise.

NO-STRIKE POLICY

Schmidt stated the matter very succinctly when he contrasted the no-strike policy with the tactics of militant unionism. "In peacetime there are only four steps necessary for a wage increase, at most. The union's demands are rejected, there is a strike, the union gets the increase or else loses if it is not prepared."

"In war time, there are twelve steps involved, all of them taking a great deal of time... there certainly will be no decision by Sept. 30th (the expiration date of the present contract) and the decision will only be arrived at after an extended process as follows: negotiation, conciliation, arbitration, submission to the WLB, then to a special WLB panel, back to the WLB, and arrangement throughout for appeals on each decision resulting in a duplication of each process."

One need only add the background of the two year struggle

... to understand the

The 25-cent trial subscription offer continues to be used to good advantage in introducing the paper to new readers. The Minneapolis literature agent writes: "I am happy to enclose two more twenty-five cent subs. These were obtained by a comrade who was hitch-hiking thru Indiana. He started discussing unions etc. with one of the drivers who picked him up, and soon discovered that the driver was an old time Socialist."

They declare that the administration has fulfilled none of its promises about controlling prices and limiting executive salaries and profits while the "unions are powerless" to halt the growing anti-labor offensive. Since "their hands are tied by the no-strike pledge," the Local 42 leaders flatly demand immediate revocation of the no-strike pledge.

The labor party resolution points out the fifty-year failure of organized Labor "to advance its interests by supporting the candidates of the old parties" and the need for "a party of labor free of ties with the old parties."

It proposes the "convening of

PAC units within 30 days following the national elections" to form an independent labor or

farmer-labor party.

... to the

The Coming Struggle At The UAW Convention

(Continued from page 1)

for wage increases beyond the Little Steel formula, made by virtually every union, are being interminably stalled through the War Labor Board.

The demand for a general wage increase for the General Motors workers has been kicked around for months in WLB panel hearings, which finally concluded that the WLB has no power to grant wage increases beyond the Little Steel formula. The key Steel Wage case has been bogged down for over 8 months in farcical WLB hearings. Roosevelt and his WLB agents have openly supported the false claim that the cost-of-living rise has been negligible, while the CIO-AFL survey reveals at least a 45.3 percent increase in living costs since January 1941, 30 per cent above the 15 per cent rise covered by the Little Steel formula.

This tightening of the wage freeze has been accompanied by a general union-busting campaign within the plants. Intensified speed-up has followed from the curtailment of cost-plus contracts. Collective bargaining has broken down, as the corporations toss the simplest grievances into the WLB swamp. Corporation provocations, the firing of union leaders and militants on flimsy pretexts have become almost daily occurrences.

POLICIES OF INTERNATIONAL EXECUTIVE BOARD

And now, the auto workers are getting a preview of the coming period, with the increase in war contract terminations and production cutbacks. Tens of thousands of auto and aircraft workers have been laid-off, reduced to lower paying jobs, or suffered cuts in their weekly earnings through drastic reduction in working hours. Holding the club of insecurity over the workers' heads, the corporations have become bolder each passing day in their attempts to undermine the unions.

The no-strike pledge has thus become an intolerable noose around the throats of the workers. Their efforts to break out of this noose, which the top leadership seeks to tighten, have found increasing expression in a growing series of "wildcat" strikes. The ranks of the UAW have ever more clearly indicated their desire for a return to the methods of direct union action in order to defend their rights, keep their still-existing gains and preserve the very existence of their organizations.

But the International Executive Board has opposed the policy of militant resistance to the attacks of the corporations and government. Instead, it has been directing heavier and heavier fire against the militant locals and local leaders. Its course of groveling before the corporations and centering its full attack upon the ranks was clearly defined at its meeting in Los Angeles last March.

At this meeting, as a demonstrative expression of its servile policy, the Board adopted a virtual declaration of "unconditional surrender" to the corporations and established the procedure for penalizing workers forced to strike. Although acknowledging the responsibility of company provocations and contract violations for the current strike wave, the Board's resolution wound up by attacking



Joining their husbands and brothers on the picket line and bringing food to the men "sitting in," the members of the Women's Auxiliary played an important role in winning the 1937 strikes. The group pictured above carries its own placard demanding Equal Pay for Men and Women for the same work.

Pioneer Paragraphs

FOR RISING SCALE OF WAGES TO MEET THE RISING PRICES

The Fourth International declares uncompromising war on the politics of the capitalists which, to a considerable degree, like the politics of their agents, the reformists, aims to place the whole burden of militarism, the crisis, the disorganization of the monetary system and all their scourges stemming from capitalism's death agony, upon the backs of the toilers. The Fourth International demands employment and decent living conditions for all.

Neither monetary inflation nor stabilization can serve as slogans for the proletariat because these are but two ends of the same stick. Against a bounding rise in prices, with which the approach of war will assume an ever more unbridled character, one can fight only under the slogan of a sliding scale of wages. This means that collective agreements should assure an automatic rise in wages in relation to the increase in prices of consumer goods.

Under the menace of its own disintegration, the proletariat of the Fourth International cannot permit the transformation of an increasing section of the workers into chronically unemployed paupers, living off the slopes of a crumbling society. The right

to employment is the only serious right left to the worker in a society based upon exploitation.

This right today is being shorn from him at every step. Against unemployment, "structural" as well as "conjunctural," the time is ripe to advance along with the slogan of public works, the slogan of a sliding scale of working hours.

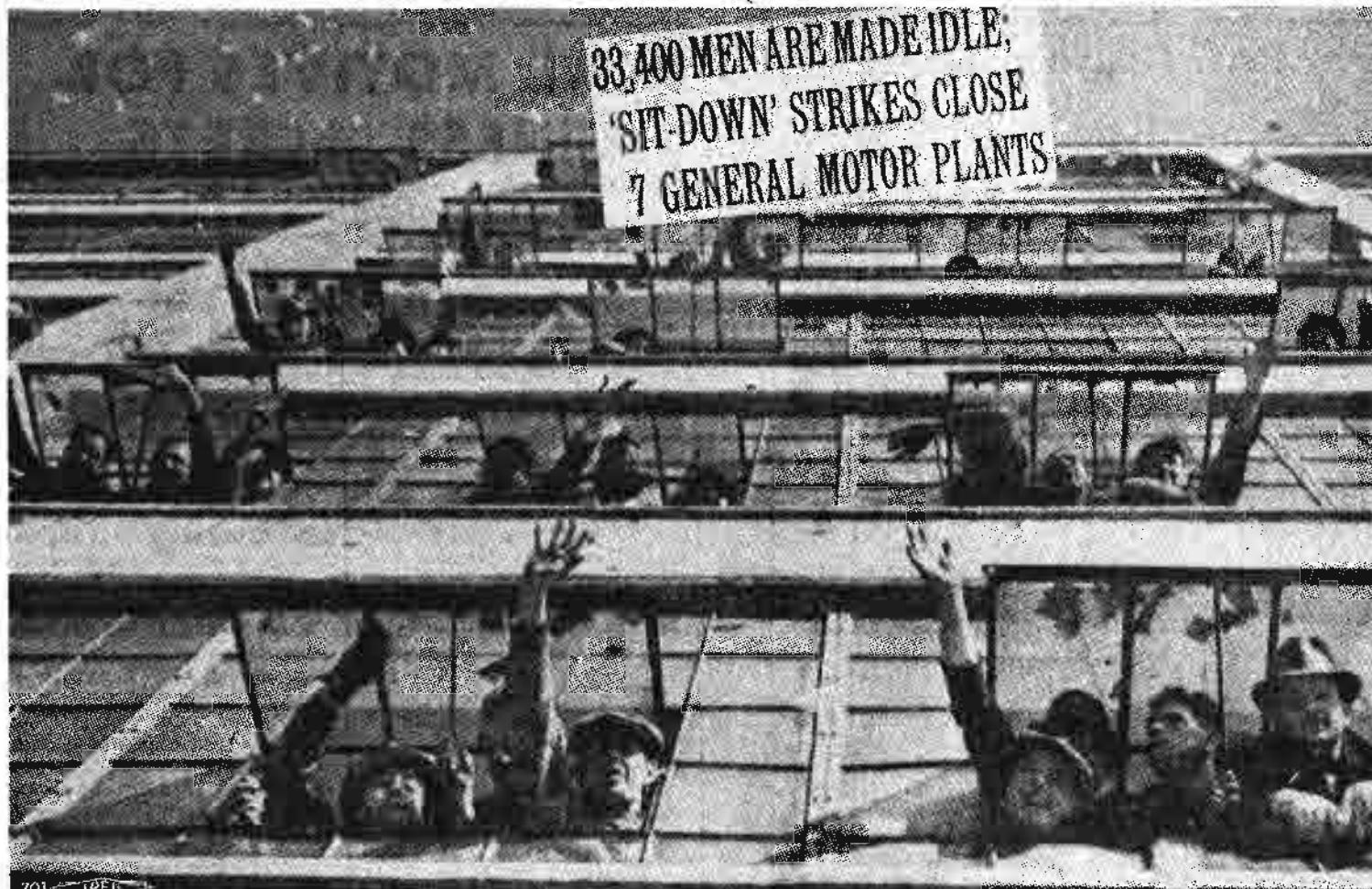
Trade unions and other mass organizations should bind the workers and the unemployed together in the solidarity of mutual responsibility. On this basis, all the work on hand would then be divided among all existing workers in accordance with the extent of the working week is defined. The average wage of every worker remains the same as it was under the old working week. Wages, under a strictly guaranteed minimum would follow the movement of prices. It is impossible to accept any other program for the present catastrophic period.

Protesting this action of the Board, the Chrysler workers again went on strike. This was called off two days later at a heated local meeting. But the workers clearly expressed their sentiments, demanding a fighting policy for the international union and reinstatement of the fired workers, fixing full responsibility for the strikes on the corporation and calling for the rescinding of the no-strike pledge.

LATEST CONFLICTS BETWEEN RANKS AND LEADERS

All the issues dividing the militant ranks from the servile leadership have been posed ever more sharply by the most recent strike struggles, the two walkouts at Detroit Chevrolet Gear and Axle and

Scene from 1937 Sitdown Strikes



Workers wave their hands from the windows of one of the huge auto plants during the sit-down strikes that built the UAW and made labor history in 1937.

the strikers and threatening reprisal against them by withholding union benefits and international support from victimized strikers. This resolution emboldened the corporations and hammered down the wedge between the cowardly leadership and the militant ranks.

COMPANIES AND THOMAS AGAINST MILITANTS

On the heels of this meeting Ford intensified its attacks upon the members of the Aircraft Division of Ford Local 600 by the "disciplinary suspension" of three workers, two of them ex-marines with medical discharges, for smoking in a lavatory. This provoked a heated demonstration of several hundred workers last March at the company's labor relations office. Management immediately fired ten workers. The International Board publicly denounced the workers involved and UAW President R. J. Thomas addressed an open letter to the Ford Local leaders demanding that they take "drastic and effective action" against the militant workers. This further encouraged management to fire or suspend 20 more workers.

The incensed Ford workers, then walked out and established picket lines and barricades before the plant entrances. The International leaders immediately intervened against the workers and drove them back to their jobs. By this time, the list of company-victimized workers had grown to 121.

This policy of the top union leadership did not pass unchallenged. Ford Aircraft Division of Local 600 responded with a meeting at which the workers put forth two motions: a demand for a special UAW convention to rescind the no-strike pledge; a call for a strike vote under the Smith-Connally Act and government operation of the plants. The leaders arbitrarily declared the motions out of order and adjourned the meeting. However, the workers continued the meeting with their unit Vice-President and adopted both motions overwhelmingly.

Other strikers broke forth against management union-busting provocations. In rapid order there was a two-weeks strike of Republic Aircraft workers against a wage-cut, a militant strike of Ford workers in Windsor Canada, against the abrogation of the union contract, strike at Motor Products, Briggs and other Detroit plants. The top leadership in every case drove the workers back into the plants without any settlements and with outstanding militants left out on the streets.

In addition to the relatively wide-spread strike actions at that time, one local after another adopted resolutions urging a special convention to throw out the no-strike pledge, including Briggs Local 212, Motor Products Local 208, Budd Local 306, Dodge Truck Local 140, Chrysler Local 7, Fruehauf Trailer Local 99, Flint Chevrolet Local 659.

The International Board then met in Minneapolis. It ignored these local resolutions for a special convention. Instead, it reaffirmed its "unconditional surrender" policy, once more castigated the defensive actions of the workers and dispatched emissaries to break those strikes still in progress. At this same meeting, the leadership made initial preparations for a truce in their old clique struggle in order to weld a united front against the militant ranks.

THE STRUGGLES OF CHRYSLER LOCAL 490

Shortly after its Minneapolis meeting, the International Board had a new opportunity to prove its "responsibility" to the corporations and government. This was the lockout of the Highland Park Chrysler workers. Following a whole series of provocations, the company locked out a number of workers, for allegedly preventing an AFL man during the Coca-Cola strike from entering the plant premises. The locked-out workers included union stewards and committeemen.

The Chrysler workers answered this provocation with picket lines. Immediately they were subjected to an all-out attack in the press and over the radio, not only on the part of management and the government agencies, but by the top UAW officials as well. Thomas and Addes issued an ultimatum to end the strike in 24 hours or "drastic action would be taken." Addes and Reuther personally addressed a strikers meeting with "back-to-work" pleas and threats. Thomas and Addes then used the radio and Big Business press to urge the Chrysler workers to break their own picket line.

Finally threats of establishing a dictator-administrator over Chrysler Local 490 and an order for the local leaders to stand trial before the International Board forced the local board to call off the picket line in order to prevent further victimization. At a Board hearing, which lacked even a constitutional quorum, all local officers were summarily removed and Leo LaMotte, Chrysler Director, was appointed administrator over Local 490.

Protesting this action of the Board, the Chrysler workers again went on strike. This was called off two days later at a heated local meeting. But the workers clearly expressed their sentiments, demanding a fighting policy for the international union and reinstatement of the fired workers, fixing full responsibility for the strikes on the corporation and calling for the rescinding of the no-strike pledge.

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its chief support from the militant auto workers, has already served to awaken many thousands of Michigan workers and inspire them to take the road of independent political action. Many of the leading elements in the new group have taken an active part in the MCF movement.

An initial test of the new militant grouping within the UAW was provided by the Michigan State CIO Convention in July. Here this group, still in its early and formative stages, led a fight against the no-strike pledge. Due to lack of serious organization and preparation for the floor struggle this fight lost much of its potential effectiveness. Nevertheless, against the combined opposition of the entire CIO and UAW top leadership, the bureaucratic conduct of the chair and the large concentration of delegates from Stalinist-influenced white collar unions, one third of the delegates supported a minority report to rescind the no-strike pledge. In the election of state officers, the militant group displayed a further weakness when it created confusion on the key issue of leadership by supporting certain candidates who also ran on the slates of the Addes and Reuther cliques.

THE FIGHT AGAINST THE NO-STRIKE PLEDGE

The fight on the no-strike pledge at the State CIO convention provided a preview of the temper of the auto workers and the ferment in their ranks. This points to a possible show-down fight against the no-strike pledge at the UAW convention. That the workers in the locals are determined to press this fight has been further confirmed by the action taken in a number of locals whose delegates at the State CIO convention violated the mandates of their memberships to vote against the no-strike pledge. These delegates have been virtually assured defeat in running for delegate posts to the UAW convention.

The entire International leadership is making preparations to repel the anticipated offensive against the no-strike pledge. All the heavy artillery of the CIO officials and the Roosevelt administration will be trained once more upon the UAW convention, in an effort to frustrate the clear desires of the rank and file. The union leadership again counts primarily upon acrobatic flag-waving to divert the delegates from adopting a fighting program of action against the anti-labor consequences of the capitalist war. UAW President Thomas is sight-seeing the battle-fronts of Normandy prior to the convention precisely in order to pick-up more jingo ammunition to hurl at the convention delegates.

UAW RANKS MUST CHOOSE A NEW LEADERSHIP

At the same time, as the convention nears, reports are circulating to the effect that, despite their unity against the ranks on all fundamental issues, the two top power-cliques are preparing to turn the convention into another disgraceful factional squabble for control of the union apparatus. Deals are being made, double-crosses are being prepared. These will come out in the course of the convention. As before such unprincipled faction fights will only serve to confuse the real issues and prevent adequate discussion of the decisive questions.

Reuther, it is rumored, is planning once more to play the false role of "militant" in order to gain the leadership of the progressive forces and disorient their fight against the no-strike pledge. The Reutherites are said to be adopting the strategy of proposing a referendum on the no-strike pledge as against its outright revocation by the convention. The purpose of such a proposal would be to stall off any clear-cut decision. Just as the Michigan CIO leaders violated the convention decision to hold a referendum on the labor party, so the UAW leaders, if they cannot secure a vote reaffirming the no-strike pledge, would unquestionably prefer a vote for a referendum which would permit them to shelve the fight on the no-strike pledge after the convention.

This auto workers convention can open a new and glorious chapter in the struggle of the American workers in defense of their rights and conditions. That struggle will have to be based on a fighting program, the first plank of which must be, "Scrap the No-Strike Pledge." That program must also include the demand for withdrawal of labor support from the War Labor Board and putting an end to company-unionism in politics by building an independent Labor Party.

A successful fight for this program must begin with an organized struggle of the militants against the treacherous top leadership of Thomas-Addes-Reuther-Frankenstein. This leadership will have to be repudiated and eliminated before the UAW-CIO decks can be cleared for action. The auto workers need to elect a militant leadership pledged to carry out this program of independent economic and political struggle against the corporations and their governmental agents of the Democratic and Republican parties.

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Working Class Of Paris And Its Glorious Traditions In The Revolutionary Struggle

By Ruth Johnson

The tumultuous developments of the past week have brought forth in the press many references to the revolutionary traditions of Paris. By deliberately twisted references to the "traditions of the French Revolution of 1789," the capitalist commentators seek to conceal the vital working-class traditions of the French capital.

For the workers of France, of Europe, and of the entire world, however, the glorious traditions of Paris mean precisely those events which the capitalist press so fearfully conceals: the workers' insurrection of June, 1848 against the capitalist regime; the immortal Paris Commune of 1871; the sit-down strikes of 1936, in which the greatest factories of France were occupied by the working class!

JULY 1848

The first wave of proletarian revolution in Paris, the brief insurrection of 1848, followed the conquest of power by the Republican elements of the rising capitalist class. Aided by the workers who had good reason to seek the overthrow of King Louis Philippe, the representatives of the capitalists won control of parliament. But once in power, the capitalists turned against the workers who raised the demand for a "social republic." The capitalist government broke its pledges to the workers, banished the unemployed of Paris to distant provinces, denied the workers' demands, deliberately provoked the workers to premature insurrection. In July 1848 for five days the workers battled heroically, before succumbing to the superior strength and organization of the capitalist armies.

Twenty-three years later, the workers of Paris, toward the end of the Franco-Prussian war, rose up and established the immortal Paris Commune — the first workers' state in history. For seventy-one days they maintained their Commune inside the besieged city, while they fought off the armies of the French capitalists, whose ranks had been swelled by Bismarck's "gift" of thousands of prisoners of war. In its short existence, the Commune set record of achievements which still inspire the workers of the entire world.

PARIS COMMUNE

The Commune replaced the standing army by the universal arming of the people. It proclaimed the separation of church and state, the nationalization of all church property. It issued a decree turning over to the control of the workers all factories abandoned or closed by their owners. It established a new kind of governing body, combining executive and legislative functions, elected by universal suffrage, and serving at working men's wages. This was the pattern upon which the Soviets were built in Russia during the 1905 Revolution, and perfected by the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917.

In twenty-three years, the Paris working class had gone far

Paris Commune in Action



Drawing of scene in the Paris Commune, forerunner of the Soviets. The picture shows a district committee of the Communards, men and women, workers, soldiers, and intellectuals, who were creating, in the words of Lenin, "a new type of state—the Workers' State."

one requirement was lacking, a revolutionary party capable of leading the workers to power.

This final condition, however, proved decisive. The mass of the workers were tied to the Communist Party and the Socialist Party. Stalin was willing to sell out the working class of France to maintain his military alliance with French imperialism. The timorous Socialist Party feared revolution above all else. Both parties urged the workers to go back to trust the pro-capitalist Popular Front government, to wait for reforms. French capitalism bought, by a few paltry wage concessions, a breathing spell which prepared for the regressions of Daladier and the war in which millions of French workers have been slain.

COMING REVOLUTION

Today, as the workers of Paris once more raise their heads, it is well to recall the words of Engels, written in 1891. "Thanks to the economic and political development of France since 1789," Engels said in his introduction to Marx's Civil War in France, "Paris has for fifty years been placed in the position that no revolution

could break out there without assuming a proletarian character." How true and important are those words today, in considering events to come!

Although reports in the capitalist press on recent occurrences are sparse and censored, they indicate that the workers of Paris took the initiative through strikes and armed resistance in the uprising against the Nazis and against the French capitalist collaborators. These workers of Paris fought, not in order to defend the historically outlived ideas and aims of the bourgeoisie revolution of 1789, as the capitalist press wishes the world to believe, but to pave the way for the realization of the program of socialism.

There is every reason to expect that in the revolutionary struggles ahead the French workers will remember and apply the lessons they have learned in their hundred-year struggle against native capitalist rule and foreign domination.

The Commune, in the form of workers' Soviets, will be reborn and make Paris once again a stronghold of the proletarian revolution.

REAL MOTIVES FOR BUSINESS SECRETS

Last week WPB Chairman Donald Nelson urged Congress to enact a law providing severe penalties for any government employee who divulges "in any manner any information which was committed in confidence to the War Production Board."

REAL AIMS

As Nelson explained it, the ostensible purpose of this measure would be to prevent "trade secrets" of one firm from getting into the possession of its competitors through government sources. Actually, such a measure could be employed for suppressing disclosures of fraudulent practices, wasteful production methods, cost-padding and profiteering—all of which are covered by the term "business secrets."

Under the system of monopoly capitalism the primary objective of "business secrets" is to conceal the criminal practices and

Puerto Rican Rebel Leader Faces New Threat of Prison

NEW YORK, Sept. 1 — A public campaign to secure a full Presidential pardon for Dr. Pedro Albizu Campos, leader of the Puerto Rican Nationalist (Independence) party, and to prevent his being returned to prison was announced today by Morris Milgram, national secretary of the Workers Defense League.

Dr. Albizu Campos was convicted in 1936 on the charge of conspiring to overthrow the United States government by force though his movement has a record of non-violent action surpassing that of the India Congress Party," said Mr. Milgram. "In his first trial the jury disagreed, six Americans voting guilty and six Puerto Ricans voting not guilty. He was convicted in the second trial by a jury consisting of ten Americans and two Puerto Ricans, employees of the big American sugar interests."

"Mr. Elmer Ellsworth, a member of the convicting jury, who repudiated his vote for conviction, charges that the jury was packed by important officials of the big American corporations which were annoyed by Dr. Albizu Campos' labor activities and his agitation for independence, which might have seriously affected their financial interests. Among the corporations represented on the jury were: The Nat. City Bank, The Chase Nat. Bank, The Armour Fertilizer Co., The Radio Corporation of America, International Telephone and Telegraph, The Puerto Rican Coal Company, The Puerto Rican Steel Company, The United States Rubber Company and The Caterpillar Tractor Company.

"Though he was sentenced to six years in prison and four years suspended sentence, Dr. Albizu Campos actually served over seven years, as the time he spent in jail in Puerto Rico during his appeal was not counted. Since being released on parole in 1943, Dr. Albizu Campos has been in Columbus hospital in New York recovering from illnesses contracted in prison.

"The original trial judge, a former governor of South Carolina named Cooper, is now attempting to return Albizu Campos to prison on the grounds that he has not complied with parole regulations. Albizu Campos has refused to report to the parole agents because of his almost religious conviction that Puerto Rico is rightfully independent and that he cannot recognize any legal right of the United States government over him.

"It is extremely important that all right thinking Americans write at once to President Roosevelt and Attorney General Francis Biddle, Department of Justice, Washington, D. C., requesting a full pardon for Dr. Pedro Albizu Campos."

The true working class militants to fail utterly of its purpose of severing all bonds between the revolutionists and the workers. The same thing holds true in Mexico as everywhere else, that the victory of the oppressed people of Mexico can be achieved only with the eradication of the poison of Stalinism from the body of the working class. It can be accomplished only through the wise guidance of a truly devoted leadership, that of the Trotskyists who are opposed to the war.

How Mexican Stalinists Betrayed The Masses To Their Exploiters

By A. Roland

The presidential elections of 1940 in Mexico were interpreted by the Stalinists as a decisive struggle between democracy and fascism. The "official" candidate, Camacho, was touted as the champion of democracy. The reactionary General Almazan was, it seemed, asking for the votes of the Mexicans in order to introduce a totalitarian regime. The support given Avila Camacho by the government in power—by the armed forces—made it a foregone conclusion that Almazan would be defeated. The formality of voting did not at all mean, under the regime of "Mexican democracy," that the votes of opponents would be counted.

The workers were far from enthused during the campaign or after the "choice" of Camacho. Even those who had been misled by the empty phrases of Toledoano, were soon angered by the attacks on working class rights of the new regime. They were especially incensed by the attempt to erase Article 123—the so-called Bill of Rights of Mexican Labor—from the Constitution. Toledoano found it increasingly necessary to explain why the Stalinists had been so insistent in their support of General Camacho. It seems they had been misunderstood. It was not that Camacho was himself a great democrat, but rather that he was the lesser evil.

TOLEDANO'S BETRAYAL

Vicente Toledoano made this revealing speech in July 1942: "It is necessary to recognize the conditions existing in Mexico today. There are comrades who thought that when the new government came in, it would continue the advantage of an armed, trained working class militia.

Yet here was a leadership asking these conscious workers, at a moment when they felt stronger than ever before in Mexican history, to permit the bourgeoisie to wipe out all these gains. And without a struggle, since that could only bring on fascism! One can conceive of no greater betrayal. It is not the workers who are ignorant; it is Toledoano who wishes to foist ignorance on the working class. The entire history of our epoch, the lessons of every fascist victory, show that once the struggle reaches a critical stage the working class will undergo defeat and the hellish yoke of fascism if it retreats instead of advancing. The Toledoanos hope to smother the bourgeoisie into friendliness by their carelessness. Theirs is the Stalinist line of preventing the proletarian revolution at all costs, including the yanking up of all gains without a fight in order to placate the capitalist ruling class.

It is not only the present ruling clique in Mexico that desired the war in order to drown out all opposition under the guise of prosecuting the war. The Stalinists also welcomed the declaration of war—indeed, they clamored for it—since this would serve to cover their policy of betrayal as well. They feel that they can better carry out their vicious attack against honest revolutionary working class leaders under the aegis of war than during time of peace. All who advocate militant action on the part of the toilers can then be labelled as being opposed to the war. The Trotskyists who are opposed to the war can be subjected—and are—to

a whipped-up campaign of terror. The Mexican Stalinists have been well-trained also in the use of the one unfailing weapon in the arsenal of the Kremlin—slander and calumny. The Toledoanos try to create the usual amalgam between the vanguard of the working class and the most reactionary element among the bourgeoisie—in Mexico the Stalinists.

RESULTS OF WAR

The war may serve to postpone the show-down in Mexico. That is indeed partly the function of every imperialist war: the capitalists aim to shut off the class struggle at home that is tending to result in civil war. They invert the formula of Lenin. They want to turn the civil war into imperialist war. But war has never yet solved the problem. Not only does it clamp the lid on a pot ready to boil, but it serves also to build up pressure all the more. In Mexico the war is creating sharper cleavages because of economic inflation which robs both workers and middle class. The struggle against the conditions created by the war can hardly be long postponed. The workers will learn in this fight also that the Stalinists have nothing to propose but a program of defeatism and betrayal.

The Mexican proletariat will learn the real meaning of Stalinism not only in their immediate experiences at home, but from the more and more openly reactionary conduct of Stalinism in the world arena. It is this more than anything else that will cause the campaign of the perfidious Stalinists of Mexico against



By V. Grey

"Huh!" snorts Scissorbill Sam, the bosses' man, "So everyone will have \$10,000 under socialism? That don't mean a thing. Why, Morgan and the smart guys will get it back from you jerk in a month and you'll all be back where you started from."

Scissorbill is mistaken. First, socialism isn't going to just give everyone \$10,000 with a bang. There isn't that much money. Second, the money that the fellows do have, no one is going to steal away from them, because the workers' government we are going to establish will prevent that sort of thing.

Socialism may very likely give us all an income in the neighborhood of \$10,000 a year after a short time of planned production. By cutting out all waste and foolishness, increasing production, by organizing it on a national and international scale, cutting out the bosses' blood-and-sweat money, \$10,000 a year is a realizable income for every worker.

But that's only \$200 a week. If a workingman chose to gamble that away every week instead of buying a house and car and things for the family, why he'd still have his income the next week because he'd own a share in production. Just like in our day millionaire Tommy Manville can buy one wife after another, pay them all alimony, and still have money the next week because he had an income of several thousand a week from his share in production. The only difference is that the worker would have the share he's entitled to by working for it, whereas Manville, a capitalist, has the much bigger share that the capitalist system gives him without working for it.

HOW THE RICH MAKE THEIR MONEY

Of course, it isn't so likely that a man in his senses is going to throw away 200 dollars a week. Everybody we know in the shop today who's getting a lot of overtime in, or working that lousy piecework at the other end, is either trying to buy a house, or saving few bucks for after the war. There are a couple of tough cases that twenty-five and thirty years work for this wonderful company have made punch drunk. They throw away the little they have because they've been through too much and they've lost all hope. But in the main a few drinks on pay day seem to be the extent of any extravagance you might notice around here.

But suppose everyone did have 10,000 in cash. Scissorbill's idea is that they'd all lose it playing crap or push it over the bar. Or else someone would fleece them with worthless oil stock or sell them the Brooklyn Bridge. The idea being that's the way people get rich today, so why wouldn't they do it under socialism?

If you stop to think of it, though, you'll see that the really rich people didn't get that way by playing a few hands of poker. In fact, they often drop thousands of dollars in the games at Monte Carlo, Reno, Tia Juana, New York, etc. To them it's just like pitching pennies. The rich get their money directly out of production—out of the things we produce for them—out of their ownership of the factories and productive system of the country. That's where money is really made. No wealth is made at all without production.

Once this handful of bloodsuckers no longer owned the factories they would be helpless. Do you think they're going to be able to get the factories back from our powerful workers' government?

Some capitalist who might happen to know anything about the factory at all we might possibly make an administrator of some kind, but he will just be an employee, a worker, like anyone else. And he'll get a workingman's income. No dividend checks or bond coupons for ten thousand dollar night club parties, six-day alimony and 30 day toots. The dividends, if you want to call them that, will be ours. What we produce will belong to us.

The workers' government we will establish will see to it that things stay that way. The biggest crime will be for some individual to try to restore the old dirty and crazy way of doing things by attempting to take over a plant for himself.

HOW CAN THE BOSS COME BACK?

True, the former capitalist might not want to work for us. He might not want to use his "great brain" and his "wonderful talents" in the service of the people who gave him their blood and muscles for generations. He may figure on getting all us people back to work for him again instead of for ourselves. But how's he going to do it? He can't save up enough dough to buy a factory. Not at 200 per.

Well, he sees the boys playing crap in the wash room. Suppose he throws in a pair of loaded dice and wins the whole plant from them during lunch hour. In that case he will be the one who's bought the Brooklyn Bridge—because the shop will belong to the workers' government, and it cannot be sold.

He'll have to work for his 200 the same as everyone else. Everybody will be on the lookout for him. It won't be just a case of his obeying the socialist law. But all the fellows and girls will help to enforce the law by seeing that this particular customer doesn't get anything without working for it.

But let's assume that we're dumb enough to be sorry for this guy. We see how pushing a pen in the office for a lousy 200 dollars a week in just wearing him out. Let's assume we're dumb enough to let him stop work and start robbing people again. For the sake of argument with Scissorbill let's assume all this.

All right. So he sets up a book in the back of a barber shop. There's enough guys that follow the ponies. They will kick in a part of their wages every week, he thinks. But he'd be wrong.

When the fellows have 200 coming in every week, why should they try to run it up to 1000 one week when the chances are twenty to one against them? It's when a fellow's hard up that he wastes a lot of time painting his house, remodelling it, or thinking about a new one or something like that.

Or say this former Morgan or Rockefeller is such a very sharp operator that he sells shares in a perpetual motion machine or an oil well that gushes gasoline. First it will be against the law for anyone to own shares in a company apart from the rest of the people. We will all own the "companies" together, and any individual stock would be confiscated. With people knowing this, who would buy a gold brick, genuine or otherwise?

But suppose by superhuman, or subhuman, cheating and thievery one of these seven day wonders picked up a hundred thousand dollars in cash. What is he going to do with it? He couldn't buy back his 47 room mansion, because we'd be using that as one of our summer homes for old people. He couldn't build a new one because we wouldn't allow any more than ten rooms or so for one person. It wastes too much building material. Of course, he might try to drink up a few thousand gallons of liquor, and get a few fools to help him. This would make him look and act like a capitalist again. But he wouldn't be one though. He wouldn't get that big dividend check next month—he wouldn't have thousands of people continuously working for him in "his" factory, making him and his children wealthy forever.

How would he get hold of a factory so he could do this? How would he buy a mine or a big plantation? He wouldn't. He couldn't. Because it would be against our law. And if he somehow got around the law and managed to start out on a small scale, finding four or five zombies to work for him (no sane, live people he'd soon have to go out of business anyway, because he could never stand up against the competition of our mighty socialist industries. We'd crush his cockroach corporations as easily as the big corporations crush their smaller competitors today.

YOUR STANDARD OF LIVING...



by C. Charles
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The "LABOR WITH A WHITE SKIN CAN NOT EMANCIPATE ITSELF WHERE LABOR WITH A BLACK SKIN IS BRANDED" — KARL MARX.

Negro Struggle

By Charles Jackson

No Middle Ground

As a result of this present artificial wartime boom there are many of us who have been temporarily able to rise above our previous economic stations in life. This has caused quite a few of the short-sighted brothers to thumb their noses at the future and to sneer at the coming acceleration of the class struggle. They refuse to help point out the role the Negro must play if we are to survive and progress.

You may have heard one or more of them. Their cocky palaver goes like this: "Yes, I know the Negro workers are going to catch hell as soon as the lay-offs and depression come but that won't affect me. I'll be able to get along on the money I've got tucked away, so why should I worry? I am an educated, respectable Negro; a tax payer who is better off financially than the average working man. Because of my position in life I can avoid any persecution of the masses which may come."

WIDE-SWEEPING

Almost every day, however, some incident occurs that indicates that "middle-class" Negroes will inevitably be swept up and carried in the wake of anti-Negroism just the same as those who work for wages. Racial prejudice knows no economic distinctions and a brown man is brown for life. Strange as it may seem, the skin color does not change in accordance with the bank balance. In their attempts to maintain economic oppression over all the working people the ruling class will resort to igniting on a nation-wide scale the well-laid tinders of anti-Negroism. There will be no compassion on "better class" Negroes; there will be no escape for the "talented tenth"; there will be no middle ground.

New Iberia, La. this year we saw Negro professionals banished from the town because they were active in trying to set up a branch of the NAACP and to obtain some economic concessions for the Negroes. In Memphis, Tenn. we saw wealthy Dr. J. B. Martin physically run out of town because he dared speak out against the Crump machine. It was also here that a prominent preacher was threatened with violence because he allowed A. Philip Randolph to speak in his church to union members.

Reported this week from Cameron, Texas was the savage beating administered to Cecil Poole, a Newton County Agricultural Extension Agent, and his being run out to town minus his belongings and his job because he committed the "crime" of voting in the July elections and urged others to do so. Although Newton County is 50% colored and although Poole hails from an outstanding and well-to-do Negro family, yet he cannot return home if he values his life.

LYNCH MOB

By far the best, (or rather, worst), example of the non-immunity of "better-class" Negroes to the vicious poisons of anti-Negroism was revealed in the recent exposure of the barbaric lynching of the prominent Rev. Isaac Simmons of Amite County, Miss. This 66 year old farmer-minister was the owner of a 220 acre tract of land, completely debt-free (which is extremely uncommon in those parts) and rich in timber. Furthermore, the land

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Allies Fear Independent Armed Struggle Of French Masses As Threat To Capitalist Rule

(Continued from page 1)

indicated that they do not intend to permit the French people to determine their own destiny. Instead, as in Italy, they propose to subjugate the French masses and impose upon them a subservient puppet-regime.

The independent rising of the working masses, evidently, took the Allied and DeGaulle leaders by complete surprise. It broke out upon the initiative of the workers themselves without directives from the official leaders of the resistance movement. This has now been confirmed by belated reports which are filtering through the censorship.

STRIKE ACTIONS

The most informative and authoritative account of the Paris events is contained in an eye-witness report of a United Press correspondent on August 29. Jean DeGaulle, the correspondent, relates that: "The first effective blow of the French patriots was a railroad strike on August 13. Four French railroad men were shot without trial, but the Germans suffered a severe blow.

The following day the Germans, suspecting disaffection, disarmed the French police in the suburban towns of Asnières and Gennevilliers. Within twelve hours the police struck all over Paris and released 1,000 political prisoners. The postal workers then went on strike.

The next night the Nazis machine-gunned several hundred demonstrators gathered outside the Luftwaffe headquarters, in the former meeting place of the French Senate. Scores were killed and wounded. Instead of intimidating the workers, this atrocity roused the entire working populace into action.

"The seething city," reports DeGaulle, "reacted with a general strike of the French General Confederation of Labor and the Confederation of Christian Workers on the 18th." By the next day, the Paris proletariat poured out into the streets in overwhelming numbers and engaged the Nazi and Vichy forces in armed clashes throughout the city. It was not until five days later that the first Allied tanks rolled into Paris.

Dispatches from official sources have since made it clear that the

Speeding Them On Their Way



NEWS ITEM: Six high-ranking officials of the CIO and AFL are guests of the Army this month touring England and France.

Allied command and DeGaulle were opposed to any such independent intervention on the part of the masses. Harold Callendar cabled from Algiers to the N. Y. Times, August 26: "Local leaders precipitated the uprising and battle in the capital without awaiting the approval of either Gen. Charles DeGaulle or the Allies, who had hoped to avoid that battle." The correspondent further points out that DeGaulle "has long urged against mass uprising anywhere in France."

Although DeGaulle opposes insurrectionary uprising, that does not prevent him from exploiting the heroic actions of the masses for his own reactionary political purposes as a servant of the Allied conquerors and as representative of French imperialism.

As the DeGaulists have already demonstrated in Algiers, they aim to co-opt the mass resistance movement in France to regain for French imperialism its former share in the exploitation of the world and to keep intact the power and privileges of Big Business in France.

Thus, in his first speech upon

entering Paris, DeGaulle made his imperialist purpose clear. "We will not rest," he said, "until we march, as we must, into enemy territory as conquerors. France has rights abroad. France is a great nation and has a right that she will know how to make heard." In this brazen imperialist declaration, DeGaulle said nothing about the social and economic demands of the masses.

He held out as bait for mass support only the vague promise of a "universal and free vote" at some indeterminate date.

THE REAL POWER

But the real rulers in France today are the Anglo-American forces of occupation. Any share in the spoils of conquest they may grant to DeGaulle's regime has been made explicitly contingent on its ability to restore "law and order," that is, to subdue and disarm the masses and suppress any manifestations of proletarian class struggle which might imperil capitalist rule.

United Press correspondent Howard Cowan, reporting his personal interview with General Eis-

enhower, cabled from Paris on Aug. 28 that the Allies want "disorderly elements of the Maquis and the French Forces of the Interior kept in check. The Allies are determined that Gen. Charles DeGaulle must solve that problem."

This reporter for the combined American press then sardonically observed: "Gen. DeGaulle probably does not view the assignment as the best way to make friends and influence people. The Allies are shying away from the use of the military, which would expose them to the accusation of using Nazi methods... It is known that he (DeGaulle) asked Gen. Eisenhower to send two divisions of British and American troops on parade through the city, and it is not unlikely that Paris will see a demonstration of Allied might sooner or later."

Thus, from the very moment of his entrance into Paris, DeGaulle feels obliged to call upon Anglo-American military aid against the French people whom he claims to represent.

ALLIED PLAN

To keep DeGaulle on their leash, the Allied powers have recognized his "government" only de facto, not de jure. They thereby hold in reserve the possible use of Vichyites or other native reactionary elements if DeGaulle does not satisfactorily fulfill the role they have assigned him.

The Anglo-American imperialists started out with a plan to impose upon France a dictatorship on the Badoglio model, using Darlan, Giraud, and possibly Petain himself. However, even before the invasion of Normandy, the mood of the masses resisting the Nazi occupation and opposing the Vichyites upset the Allies' plans and forced them to switch to DeGaulle for a native agency of control. Despite the frenzy of anti-German chauvinism which the imperialists and their Stalinist helpers are stirring up, the main hatred is directed against the native fascists.

Herbert L. Mathews, N. Y. Times correspondent, cabled from Marseilles on August 27 that:

"The French... are after the collaborationists. We saw dozen of clashes between patriots in the streets and PPF's (Doriot's Fascist Party) barricaded in apartments. The hatred between Frenchman and Frenchman is infinitely greater than that between the French and the Germans."

Despite their sacrifices and struggles, the French people have not achieved national liberation. They have thrown off the yoke of one imperialist power only to feel immediately the weight of another. The detested Vichy government of collaboration with the Nazis is now being replaced by a regime of collaboration with the Allied invaders. The very capitalist ruling class which in 1940 delivered the French masses into bondage under the Nazis is being protected by the Allied "liberators" in 1944.

The French people want peace, bread, jobs, security and freedom. The Allies and DeGaulle offer them instead a continuation of the imperialist slaughter, more intense hunger, unemployment and economic insecurity under the old oppressive capitalist system.

Only on the road of the socialist revolution can the tortured people of France reach the peace, freedom and security they crave. Only the proletariat, waging irreconcilable battle against all imperialists and their native capitalist, Stalinist and reformist agents, can lead the masses in successful liberating struggle.

The French masses have already exhibited an inspiring resurgence of revolutionary ardor and vitality. They still have arms

Diary Of A Steel Worker

By Theodore Kovalesky

The boy's home! I just came away from his room, where he was sleeping exactly the way he used to as a youngster, his head turned a little to one side and his forearm resting over his eyes. In fact, he looked like a youngster, although he's twenty-five years old and a veteran of the most horrible war in history.

He's home just as his mother and I have been wishing and hoping for such a long time, and I can't sleep for excitement, even though I'm dead tired from working on the furnace in this heat. My heart is so full of happiness at seeing Joey again and so full of sorrow and worry at the thought that he will be going back into that hell of death and devastation in a little while, that sleep won't come. I sit here in the dead of night writing these words, alone.

WILL HE COME HOME AGAIN?

I wonder... will he come back again when he leaves us this time? Will he come back whole to marry his Helen? Or will he be a staggering wreck, a legless pencil peddler, blind, or disfigured? I have known of men who were shipped back from the last war, lumps of flesh alive only in the sense that their hearts beat and there was blood in their veins, alive only in that they didn't die—couldn't die—for a long time afterwards. I keep thinking of Joey up there in his room, asleep like a little kid. I keep wondering if they'll send him home like that.

It's hard not to go out and make a damn fool out of myself, when I think of my son—My son!—going out to fight and maybe die or be ruined for life for the merchants and bankers and industrialists, so that they may have profits, so that they may have colonies and spheres of influence to get them more profits! It makes me want to run out into the streets and call all the people, all the oppressed to rise up and put a stop to this fiendish slaughter and to the system that causes it, so that we'd have no more wars, no more profits, brown with the dried blood of death and black with agony and heartbreak.

Then there'd be no more kids marching away like Joey, perhaps to return crippled or crazed... or never to return at all. And there'd be no more parents like us waiting each day for that telegram from the War Department.

WORKERS WILL END TYRANNY

Oh it's hard to hold back, to wait for an opening before I start throwing punches, hard to take my time and fight sensibly, when I think of that sleeping kid up there with a bullet scar on his shoulder. But I've learned how to fight, and I'll go about it methodically... and, by god, I'll hasten the day when all the other fathers and mothers, all the brothers, friends, and sweethearts, and comrades of those kids will rise up, when the working class will end the tyranny that lies so heavily and suffocatingly on top of the world.

Joey, son, I'd be in this fight anyway, but when a man's a father, and when he sees his only remaining son fighting against his will for the capitalists, I guess it's bound to make him fight even harder yet.

10 Years Ago
In The Militant

SEPTEMBER 1, 1934

NEW YORK—750,000 textile workers prepared to leave the factories in the first nation-wide strike since the inception of the NRA (National Recovery Act). "Despite the statements of the timid, treacherous Gorman, chairman of the strike committee, that the strike is not against the government, the fact remains that it hits directly at the NRA," The Militant explained.

"The first of the slave codes to be adopted in the country was the textile code... The code did not abolish the stretchout, nor did it raise wages, nor did it grant union recognition... Not only did the code and the code authorities grant the workers nothing, but through a plan of 25 percent production curtailment, thousands were forced out of jobs and into the unemployed army."

"If the strike depends on militancy and a will to fight, then there can be no doubt of the outcome of the strike. Terror, intimidation, deputy thugs and all the other trimmings of democratic America will not stop the textile workers... If the strike is crushed or sold out we can say in advance it will be due to the Gormans... and the rest of that treacherous crew."

WASHINGTON — Harry Hopkins, Relief Administrator under Roosevelt's direction, hastened to assure the textile bosses that the government would not feed striking workers. He pointed to the record of relief agencies during the great West Coast longshoremen's strike: "During the California strike, no additional funds were given by the Federal Relief Administration to California for relief needs, nor was the cost of relief appreciably increased."

Hopkins' statement was made in direct reply to the demand of John E. Edgerton, President of the National Association of Manufacturers, who shouted that the threatened textile strike would not last a week "if the government would revoke its unfortunate comment that no one shall go hungry in this country."

PITTSBURGH—"As first fruits of Mike Tighe's (president of the AFL Iron and Steel Workers Union) betrayal of the steel strike in July, a drastic cut in the salaries of white collar employees has been announced by virtually all members of the American Steel and Iron Institute," The Militant reported.

"Prices, as the NRA intended, will leap rocket high this winter—are already mounting... Prices will go up, and wages will come down. Unemployment is increasing, and will increase. That is the prospect facing the worker this winter, under the smiling regime of President Roosevelt and his coterie of social workers."

hand and are refusing to surrender them. The workers remember the glorious days of the 1936 sit-down strikes, when they raised the Red Flag in one occupied factory after another. The cry of that time, "Les Soviets Partout!" (For the Soviets Everywhere) must and will again become the central rallying slogan of the revolutionaries.

In its new revolutionary offensive, the French working class will find powerful allies among the rising masses of all Europe. With the battle-cry of "The Socialist United States of Europe", they will unite forces to expel all the imperialists, purge the continent of capitalist rule, abolish national divisions, and reorganize Europe on socialist foundations.

King Michael who, in this role of puppet to the Nazis, went to Odessa after the Soviet Black Sea port was captured by Germans and Rumanian troops — there to congratulate the despots of Soviet territory on their handiwork. He proclaimed Odessa "forever Rumanian," the center of that conquered Russian territory which his government in Bucharest named "Transnistria."

MEMBERS OF COALITION

In order to give this patently reactionary outfit a semblance of popular color, and to deceive the masses into believing that the government represents a real change, the so-called "opposition" parties have been called in and have accepted with alacrity posts as Ministers of State without portfolio in this nest of reaction.

The "Communist" (Stalinist) party is represented by Lucretiu Patrascu, the Socialist party by Constantin Petrescu, the Liberal party by Dinu Bratianu, and the Peasant party by Iuliu Maniu.

These traitors to the cause of the Rumanian masses thus duplicate the role which their conferees in Italy played when they entered the phony "coalition" cabinet of Badoglio at time when the Italian workers were ready to hurl it into the garbage can. Instead of leading the Rumanian masses in a struggle for liberation, they have allied themselves with the Rumanian reaction and the Allied imperialists.

It is significant of the revolutionary temper of the Rumanian masses that the Stalinists, Social Democrats and Liberals did not wait a whole year, as they did in Italy, before coming into the open as props and defenders of capitalist reaction and its police-military dictatorship. They find it necessary from the very beginning to identify themselves with this regime.

Despite their traitorous support, the redecorated regime will gain no more popular approval and will display no more durability than its Badoglio-Bonomi counterparts in Italy. The mass resurgence which forced Antonescu from the political stage is a promise of the further development of the revolutionary crisis in the Balkans which can only end with a clean sweep of all the monarchist - capitalist - landlord scum.

The new premier is Gen. Constantine Sanatescu, master of the King's military household and himself a member of the brutal and reactionary military clique which produced Antonescu. To members of the same military clique, all generals and admirals, scum.

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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.

Strike Weapon

In their frantic attempts to stem the increasing rank and file movement to scrap the no-strike pledge, the union bureaucrats are peddling the promise that if the workers will only remain submissive "for the duration," then "after the war" the union tops themselves will lead a "show-down fight" against the anti-labor offensive of the employing class and the government.

This is a lie. Because the union officialdom are just as opposed to militant action in peacetime as during war. Their song-and-dance about leading the workers in fighting union action at any time is belied by their whole peacetime record. The union leaders opposed openly or covertly every independent struggle of the workers during the great upsurge of labor in the last decade. They "supported" strikes only when they were forced to do so by the pressure of the ranks and took over the leadership of struggles to behead them.

The reformist union leaders are opposed in principle to militant struggle. Theirs is, and has always been, the philosophy of class-collaboration between exploited and exploiters. Their method of "struggle" is to "play ball" with the employers and to curb militant labor, in return for the crumbs of prestige and privilege with which the capitalists reward their labor agents.

The present claim of the hard-pressed bureaucrats that they are opposed only to "wartime" strikes is a fraud. The capitalist war has merely provided them with new and more convenient pretexts for enforcing the service policies they always pursue.

Labor has already paid a heavy price for surrendering the strike weapon. It has given up gains which were won through decades of bitter struggle. It has received in return wage-freezing, job-freezing, forced labor, compulsory arbitration, repressive legislation.

To beat back the bosses' program of wage-slashing and mass unemployment, to prevent the unions from being further weakened, to regain freedom of action in the fight against the anti-labor drive, the organized workers need to grasp once more their most powerful economic weapon of struggle.

The time for the union ranks to scrap the no-strike pledge is now.

Army Jim Crow

Negroes in the uniform of the U. S. Army are henceforth to be treated as equals in Army post exchanges, and Army buses and motion picture houses, if an order of the War Department issued August 23 is carried into effect.

It does not require great perspicuity to see that this order is a special election year feature, designed to mollify the righteous anger of the Negroes over the Army's outrageous Jim Crow segregation policy. The Negroes correctly identify this policy with Roosevelt and the Democratic Party, which is in power. By making this slight concession to outraged Negro opinion, Roosevelt hopes to retain at least some of the Negro votes that otherwise would go to his Republican opponents or not be cast at all.

The Army order is a hypocritical gesture and nothing more. While ending certain superficial and incidental aspects of the Army's Jim Crow system, it leaves the system itself intact. Negro soldiers, conscripted in this "war for democracy," are segregated into Jim Crow regiments and divisions. Few of these formations are organized for combat duty. Most of them are assigned to the most menial tasks in the Army organization. Scarce-ly a week passes without reports of brutal and humiliating treatment accorded Negroes in the armed forces by their white officers or by white bullies of the Military Police.

None of this has been changed. All that the War Department order does is to remove some of the minor manifestations of the Jim Crow system. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People asserted, quite correctly, that "the basic problem of segregation still remains and is untouched by the order."

Even these very mild concessions which the order makes have aroused the fury of the "white supremacy" hounds who are the backbone of Roosevelt's party. Speaking for this reactionary element, Governor Chuncey Sparks of Alabama protested to Roosevelt against the order, which, he declared, "breaks down the essential principle of race relationship in the South" and "grievously handicaps efforts to bring about better race relationships."

One could scarcely imagine anything more ludicrous than this suggestion that "better race relationships" are helped by maintaining the system of Jim Crow whereby millions of people are stamped as inferiors and pariahs in the land of their birth. Governor Sparks is opposed to the slightest modifications of Jim Crow because he fears they may encourage the Negroes to fight more vigorously to end the entire system. Sparks and his kind want to keep the Negroes in a state of semi-slavery, so that they may continue to subject them to unlimited exploitation and tyranny.

In and out of the Army the Negroes, for their part, will continue to fight the hateful race discrimination of which they are the victims. The War Department order, far from solving the problem of Jim Crow, serves to bring it to the fore. The entire labor movement must back the Negro fight for full race equality, for Jim Crow is a powerful weapon in the hands of the boss class for keeping labor degraded and divided.

Five Years Of War

On September 3, 1939 the second imperialist world slaughter began. Five years of "blood, sweat, agony and tears" have passed. The number of victims already far exceeds the number in the first world war. Europe has been converted into a charnel house of the dead, a torture chamber for the living. Cities and towns by the hundreds lie in ruins. Fields and pastures have been converted into waste-lands by the juggernaut of war. Millions of people have been rendered homeless.

Early this week American soldiers raced into Chateau Thierry. They strode over the moldering bones of a generation of American youth who preceded them to the imperialist shambles in World War I. Fresh corpses are now being laid alongside the old. Will another generation of living youth have to tread the same road in a third imperialist war?

The first world war arose out of the irreconcilable antagonisms of the big capitalist powers, their lust for markets, colonies, profits. When, except in the Soviet Union, the working-class failed to destroy capitalism in the revolutionary upsurge of the post-war years, the second world war became inevitable, for the imperialist antagonisms and appetites remained.

Today, as the war enters its sixth year, the tide of socialist revolution is rising in Europe again. The workers in all countries will have new opportunities to deal mortal blows to capitalism.

According to Roosevelt and Churchill, the only road to peace lies through imperialist war. The preceding generation were likewise told that the war in which they fought and died was a "war to end wars."

The lie is as palpable today as it was then. There can be no peace as long as capitalism continues to live. Roosevelt and Churchill, in reality, call upon the workers to shed their blood, not to insure peace, but to establish the world domination of the Wall Street bandits and their British allies. The longer capitalism lives, the more terrible and devastating its wars become. For the workers being sent to the shambles, for the tortured, war-weary peoples of all lands, there is only one true rallying cry for peace:

Forward to the socialist revolution! Forward to a workers' world!

FREE THE 18!

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.

Beef—And "Beefs"

Editor:

Some Detroit "labor leaders," as they call themselves, are very busy these days, skipping out of the shops to hobnob with the bosses. On Wednesday night August 23, officials of West Side Local 174 of the UAW gave "the first annual industry-union dinner" at Webster hall.

The Communist Party is supporting the Liberals, headed by the Right Honorable MacKenzie King. Therefore Tim Buck (Stalini) supports King against the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation. Buck claims to be supporting the principles and tactics laid down at Teheran.

The Stalinists have always been experts at rope work, although there are few sailors among them! They are great on the line, sometimes using a sheep-shank knot to shorten it, the next time a Boland so it won't slip; but they have now cut the Boland and the bite. They don't use that knot any more, since Hitler utilized the Stalinist "bite" as a stirrup to raise himself into the saddle. But right now they are using a new knot on their Party Line, which Mr. Ellis the British hangman, became famous for using — the Hangman's Noose.

J. R.
Canada

I. R.
Detroit

Stalinist Knots

Editor:

The government of Canada has cut out one way in each of the four shipyards in Vancouver. This means about a twenty percent layoff in all yards. Meanwhile the election guns are commencing to boom in preparation!

R. G.
Oakland

J. R.
Chicago

Talks His Language

Editor:

I recently subscribed to The Militant and have received several copies. I am delighted with the paper. It is the only paper I have ever read that talks my language 100 percent. The articles in The Militant are written in excellent style and diction, so that it is a pleasure to read them.

I. R.
Detroit

J. R.
Canada

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