

The Only Road To Emancipation For All Europe

By The Editors

In September, 1938, one year before the outbreak of the second imperialist war, the founding conference of the Fourth International met in Europe and set forth a program of socialist emancipation for Europe and the world.

Today, after five years of war, capitalist Europe is disintegrating and falling into ruins. Amid the chaos of a dissolving social order the suffering masses are rising in revolt against their rulers and oppressors. In Italy, Yugoslavia, Rumania, Bulgaria, Greece, France, Denmark and Poland the insurgent workers and peasants are displaying increasing determination to sweep away the rotted system which subjected them to the horrors of fascism and war. Tomorrow this movement will spread through Germany and the whole of Europe.

The Allied imperialists have appeared on the scene in the guise of "liberators." But while conducting war against their German imperialist rivals, they have already made it abundantly clear that they have another purpose in view — to prevent the masses from taking their fate into their own hands and finding a way out of the bloody morass along the only possible road, the road of the socialist revolution.

THE AIMS OF ALLIED IMPERIALISM

Both in word and deed, Roosevelt and Churchill have shown that, far from liberating Europe, they intend to subject its peoples to perpetual capitalist slavery. Germany is to be dismembered and the whole European continent Balkanized in order to assure the ascendancy of Anglo-American capital. As in Italy the peoples are to be saddled with police-military dictatorships subservient to the Allied conquerors.

Aiding and abetting these would-be enslavers of the European masses are the Stalinists, the Social-Democrats and the liberals — all of them defenders of the rotted capitalist order. The Stalinists are agents of the sinister Kremlin gang which, fearing for its own rule, has allied itself with the "democratic" imperialists and reactionary capitalist cliques of Europe in a plot to abort and destroy the coming revolution.

The only alternative to the reactionary plans of the imperialists and their European allies is the program of the socialist revolution. Only by the utter destruction of the outworn capitalist system can Europe go forward along a new road leading to lasting peace and security. The program of the Fourth International alone offers real hope to the tortured peoples of Europe and the world.

Europe's crying need is for unification. The Anglo-American imperialists on the contrary want Europe Balkanized. Against this nefarious plan the workers must strive to erase the national boundaries and unite the various countries in a free federation of peoples, into a single political and economic unit. Only in this way can the European peoples survive and the basis be laid for peaceful collaboration and economic and social advancement. But the unification of the continent is unthinkable with capitalism in the saddle. The only realistic formula for such unification is the SOCIALIST UNITED STATES OF EUROPE — the central slogan of the Fourth International.

The one force seeking a fundamental solution, the one force capable of defeating the sinister designs of the imperialists and creating a socialist Europe and a socialist world, is the working class allied with the masses of peasants and city poor.

In order to pursue a program of their own, a program which corresponds to THEIR OWN interests, a program which alone can save them from the barbarism that is inevitable unless capitalism is overthrown — in a word, to realize in life the slogan of the Socialist United States of Europe — the workers must have their hands free. They must tear themselves loose from the capitalist and imperialist enslavers and their Stalinist and social-democratic agents and organize themselves as an independent class opposed to the ruling and exploiting class.

TASKS OF TROTSKYIST VANGUARD

The indispensable instrument of this process of class differentiation is the revolutionary party. Without it all the struggles of the workers will prove vain. Without it the victory of the socialist revolution is impossible. The building of revolutionary parties upon the program of the Fourth International is thus the task of tasks of the revolutionary vanguard in all the countries of Europe today.

The workers of Europe are thinking more and more in terms of a revolutionary solution of their problems. They have already turned against the capitalist parties. As the Stalinists and Social-Democrats continue to reveal themselves in action as corrupt agencies of counter-revolution, they will turn away from them too. By advancing the Trotskyist program of socialist revolution boldly, consistently, untiringly, the revolutionary vanguard will attract its banner the leftward-moving workers and be able to build powerful revolutionary parties that will lead a victorious struggle for socialism.

The workers are already engaged in struggle against their oppressors. The more unbearable the old order becomes, the sharper will become their struggles against it. From partial actions — strikes for higher wages, protests against oppression, demonstrations against hunger rule, etc. — will develop assaults against the system of capitalism itself. The question of power, the question, "Who is to rule society?" will be and is already being posed with increasing urgency.

The revolutionary vanguard must participate in all these partial actions with slogans and battle-cries corresponding to the needs of the workers in order to build the revolutionary party and rally the broadest masses behind its program. It must propagate the need for forming Soviets as weapons of the struggle and instruments for the seizure of power by the working class. It must take the initiative in forming and strengthening these Soviets, which alone can coordinate the actions of the masses and raise them to the highest levels of revolutionary action.

In the coming great battles for socialism, the European working class will possess a great ally in the working class of the Soviet Union. Despite the degeneration of the Soviet Union under the rule of the counter-revolutionary Stalinist gang, the nationalized economy of the Soviet Union remains the most precious conquest of the world working class. For this reason it is the duty of all class-conscious workers to defend the socialist property of the Soviet Union against imperialist attack from without and the counter-revolutionary Stalin regime within.

With the coming defeat of German imperialism, the Soviet Union will confront — alone unless the European revolution comes to its aid — the colossus of Anglo-American imperialism, which always shared with Hitler the aim of destroying the workers' state which emerged from the October Revolution of 1917. The Soviet Union can make its existence secure only through an alliance with the socialist revolution in Europe.

The unfolding European revolution will encourage the Soviet workers to struggle against the counter-revolutionary Stalinist regime and regain mastery of their own destinies. Together the Soviet and European working-class will sweep away capitalism as well as the bloody Kremlin gang and proceed to build a socialist world — a world free of tyranny, hunger and war.

Forward to the Socialist United States of Europe!

Long live the Fourth International — leader and organizer of the struggle for a new socialist world!

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Allies Impose Dictatorial DeGaulle Regime To Subdue French Masses

'Liberals' Retreat Hastily in Conflict Over George Bill

By Art Preis

The handful of "liberal" Congressmen who loudly promised to make a "fight" against House adoption of the Senate's George "Post-War Starvation" Bill for unemployment compensation, are beating an ignominious retreat before the overwhelming pro-Roosevelt Democratic and Republican forces which last week shoved through a House version of the George Bill stripped even of its few minor "liberal" provisions.

Counterposing only the feeblest opposition to the supporters of the modified George Bill and then hastily "compromising" before the reactionary landslide, the "liberals" in the House and Senate have now abandoned all efforts to secure a measure which would provide even minimum subsistence relief for the unemployed. Their "fight" is narrowed down to an attempt to reintroduce into the George Bill the few mild secondary features slashed from it by the House.

Thus, in the legislative conflict over the "human side" of reconversion, the leader of the "liberal" forces has become none other than Senator George, viciously anti-labor Southern Democratic author of the big-business inspired unemployment bill which had previously been denounced as a starvation measure by all liberal and labor forces. George has announced his intention of seeking the restoration of the "liberal" version of his bill. This is all that the professed "liberals" in and out of Congress are now pleading to secure.

COVARDLY RETREAT

CIO President Philip Murray, representing the pro-Roosevelt union leadership, in a statement last week indicated that the CIO

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CRDC ISSUES NEW CIRCULAR DESCRIBING LABOR SUPPORT

In response to the wide-spread demand for more information on the Minneapolis Labor Case from labor and other progressive organizations throughout the country, the Civil Rights Defense Committee is publishing a special circular showing the hundreds of union, civil liberties and labor fraternal bodies which have already demanded pardon for the 18 Socialist Workers Party and Minneapolis Truckdrivers Local 544-CIO leaders imprisoned under the infamous Smith "Gag" Act.

The circular is headed: "Labor Organizations Representing Over 3,000,000 Members Are Supporting the Minneapolis Labor Case." It gives a summary of the case and the issues of workers democratic rights and civil liberties involved. It includes a register of the more than 300 organizations which have passed resolutions and given financial aid to the defense. These include such national bodies as the CIO Textile Workers Union; AFL International Ladies Garment Workers Union; CIO United Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Employees; CIO Transport Service Employees; National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; Workmen's Benefit Fund; Workmen's Circle.

Prominent labor and liberal leaders who support the case are also listed and their statements published. These include John Green, President of the CIO Marine and Shipbuilding Workers; R. J. Thomas, President of the CIO United Automobile Workers; Willard Townsend, President of the CIO Transport Service Employees; George Baldanzi, Executive Vice-President of the CIO Textile Workers; Irving Abramson, President of the New Jersey Industrial Union Council; James T. Farrell, noted author; Warren K. Billings, who together with



The Banner of Emancipation

Hiring Hall Rights Menaced In Longshore Negotiations

By Oscar Nelson

The reopening of the contract between the CIO International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union and the Waterfront Employers Association of the Pacific Coast brings to the forefront again the decisive question of union control of the hiring hall. Delegates to the ILWU conference held on July 27-29 in San Francisco took a firm stand against granting any concessions on this decisive point. Representatives of the Portland local went a step further in opposing the re-opening of the contract unless assurances were given that the hiring hall would not be subject to negotiations by the employers.

The justifiable anxiety of the delegates was enhanced by the knowledge that the Stalinist-Bridges leadership of the union is prepared beforehand to compromise with the employers on the hiring hall. The conference rejected a proposal submitted by Bridges and his henchmen that dispatchers no longer be democratically elected by the rank and file but appointed by the union members of the Labor Relations Committee in each port.

An examination of the role played by the hiring hall reveals that it is the very heart of the ILWU and that any attempted restrictions of union control over hiring would undermine the basis on which the union rests.

HIRING HALL
The hiring hall was established by the heroic strike struggles of 1934 and 1936-37 on the Pacific Coast. Under the terms of the government award at the conclusion of the strikes the hall is jointly operated by the union and the employers with expenses shared equally. Preference in employment is given to members of the union.

The outstanding provision of the agreement relates to the personnel of the hiring hall. All personnel is jointly selected except for the dispatcher, who is selected by the union. For the rank and file this has always meant the election of dispatchers.

Prior to the establishment of the union hiring hall west coast longshoremen were the victims of the vicious "shape-up" system which was shot through and through with corruption, favoritism and discriminatory practices against militants. (This system still prevails in the Ryan-led AFL longshoremen's union on the east coast). With the union hall and the election of dispatchers by the ranks, these corrupt methods were reduced to a minimum. If a dispatcher demonstrated any tendency towards playing favorites in sending men to jobs he could easily be removed either through immediate recall or at the next election.

Among the most recent contributors to the CRDC are: Dining Car Employees Local 370, New York City; Corset and Brassiere Local 32, ILGWU; TWU-CIO Local 630, New Brunswick, N. J.; Philadelphia Joint Board of Cloak and Suitmakers, ILGWU; Workmen's Circle 60, St. Louis, Mo. The following branches of the Workmen's Benefit Fund have also contributed: 423, Carlinville, Ill.; 211, Elmhurst, N. J.; 9, Hoboken, N. J.; 83, Carlsbad, N. J.; 19, Union City, N. J.

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With the tide of revolution steadily rising over all Europe Pope Pius XII has issued a frantic appeal to the European workers to respect the system of capitalist private property and not resort to "subversion and violence" in order to end the miseries imposed on them by their rulers and exploiters.

Pope Makes Appeal To Masses Not To Overthrow Capitalism

By Ralph Graham

With the tide of revolution steadily rising over all Europe Pope Pius XII has issued a frantic appeal to the European workers to respect the system of capitalist private property and not resort to "subversion and violence" in order to end the miseries imposed on them by their rulers and exploiters.

The Pope's speech, broadcast to the world from Vatican City last week, is the most significant admission to date by any spokesman of capitalism, that the old order, rotted to its very foundations, is tottering on the brink of collapse. In the clearest possible terms it voices the mortal fear of the criminal rulers of Europe and their imperialist allies that capitalism faces utter destruction at the hands of the insurrectionary masses.

Acknowledging that "after bitter years of want... mankind awaits at the end of the war a profound and final improvement of its conditions," the Pope warns against what he terms "a senseless hope of a millennium of universal happiness" which he finds animating "the victims of an unhealthily social and economic order."

SANCTIFIES CAPITALISM

Does His Holiness perhaps feel that the "unhealthy social and economic order" should be removed and replaced by a healthy system? By no means! That would be a sin, a violation of divine law.

He admits that the miseries of the war-weary peoples have created "a fertile ground for propaganda for a most radical program and prepares minds to an understandable but unreason-

Increasing Misery Provokes Rebellious Moods And Unrest

Coalition "Provisional Government" Unable To Solve Any of People's Urgent Problems

By Louis Bonn

The Allied conquerors, who are seeking to replace the Nazi tyrants with their own imperialist rule in France, reveal increasing alarm over the continuing revolutionary ferment among the French working masses. Anglo-American authorities are maintaining a rigorous political censorship over news from France, in an endeavor to conceal the true state of mass unrest. The Allies regard the independent action of the French masses, who were set into motion by the insurrections against the Nazis and their French capitalist collaborators, as a grave threat not merely to their military-political control over France but to the whole capitalist structure.

Despite the severe censorship, disclosed in part by the protest of the capitalist press itself following the recent expulsion of six American correspondents from France, sufficient news has filtered through to provide a fairly clear picture of the rebellious temper of the French

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The Rich Are No Problem In Rome

In Collier's Magazine for Sept. 9 Frank Gervasi cables from Rome:

"The small upper class is well off. They have sold jewels, furniture and gold at enormous prices, and they have hoarded cured hams, chocolate and small luxuries. They survived Fascism and Nazi occupation and they will weather the present difficulties somehow. They can sell their automobiles for from 120,000 to 500,000 lire each, if they can't afford to run them with gasoline at 75 lire for a pint."

"That other special aristocracy Fascism created of already rich persons who became richer under Mussolini's graftism do very well indeed. They have opened their homes to Allied officers and entertain them as lavishly as yesterday they entertained the hierarchy of the Wehrmacht and the Storm Troopers. These two classes of people present no problem."

It seems that the only "class of people" who "present problems" to the AMG is the rebellious working class who are not content to starve while the rich ex-accomplices of fascism entertain Allied officers.

(Continued on page 5)

"those effective concentrations of economic wealth... that succeed in evading their social duties" and offered pity for the "innumerable multitudes of those who, deprived of any direct or indirect security in their lives, take no further interest in the values of the spirit" and follow revolutionary doctrines. The Church "does not intend to protect in principle the rich and the plutocrat against the poor."

In principle! But in practice? In practice, the Pope shows himself to be a defender of the system of capitalist private property and all the woes and evils that spring from it, the protector of the rich against the poor.

FEAR REVOLUTION

Not for nothing did Trotsky characterize the Vatican as the "world headquarters of obscurantism and reaction." The tie-up between the Vatican and the forces of counter-revolution can be seen from the fact that in the weeks preceding the Pope's latest defense of the system of private property had been visiting the Vatican to confer with Pius. Roosevelt's personal envoy, Myron C. Taylor, hotfooted it to Rome right after the capture of the city by the Allies. Secretary of War Stimson has been another of the Pope's recent callers. He was followed by Winston Churchill.

The real purpose of the discussions cannot be in any doubt. Ob-

(Continued on page 3)

TRADE UNION NOTES

By Joseph Keller

Roosevelt last week ordered government seizure of 10 Pennsylvania coal mines whose white collar and supervisory employees, organized in the United Clerical, Technical and Supervisory Workers Union of United Mine Workers District 50, went on strike to secure collective bargaining rights.

The strikes were "legal," having been carried out in strict accord with the provisions of the Smith-Connally Act following a strike vote under NLRB auspices and a 30 day "cooling off" wait as prescribed by law.

But Roosevelt, who vetoed the Smith-Connally Act because it wasn't air-tight enough, is using the main provisions of the act to break the strikes. It is illegal to strike in war industries taken over by the government.

In the Ford case last spring, the NLRB ruled that supervisory employees can have a union, but they cannot have collective bargaining rights. The owning class is extremely disturbed by the fact that those employees it customarily uses to drive the rest of the workers are beginning to join with the workers against the employers.

Since 60 more strike votes are being taken in Pennsylvania, West Virginia and Kentucky mines, the Administration is preparing to expedite its strike-breaking procedure so that it will not be necessary for Roosevelt to sign individual papers directing the seizure of each separate group of mines.

John L. Lewis and the UMW International Board have refused to order the strikers back to work. The strikes of the supervisory employees are proving effective because state laws prohibit the operation of the mines without them on the job.

One of the major demands of the CIO United Automobile Workers in the current General Motors wage hearings before the WLB is for the establishment by the corporation of a \$150,000,000 employment fund as a "post-war shock absorber."

In presenting the union's arguments before the WLB recently, UAW Vice President Walter Reuther pointed out that the corporation "has created a post-war plant rehabilitation contingency fund of \$150,000,000. If it can create out of high wartime profits this fund for the protection of the stockholders it should provide an equal sum for workers and returning servicemen."

Reuther stated there was "too much discrimination" between the \$150 an hour paid in 1943 to GM President Charles E. Wilson and the 65 cents an hour paid Joe Wilson, one of the workers.

Reuther's very sound arguments were made before the pro-corporation WLB, which has indicated in advance that its function is to enforce the wage freeze, not give justice to the workers. Reuther might just as well have saved his breath. The only convincing arguments the employers and their government can grasp is direct militant union action—something Reuther shies away from like a child from castor oil.

While production cutbacks and unemployment are mounting, the employers are stepping up their

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New 'Militant' Readers Offered Four Pamphlets On The Minneapolis Labor Case At Half Price

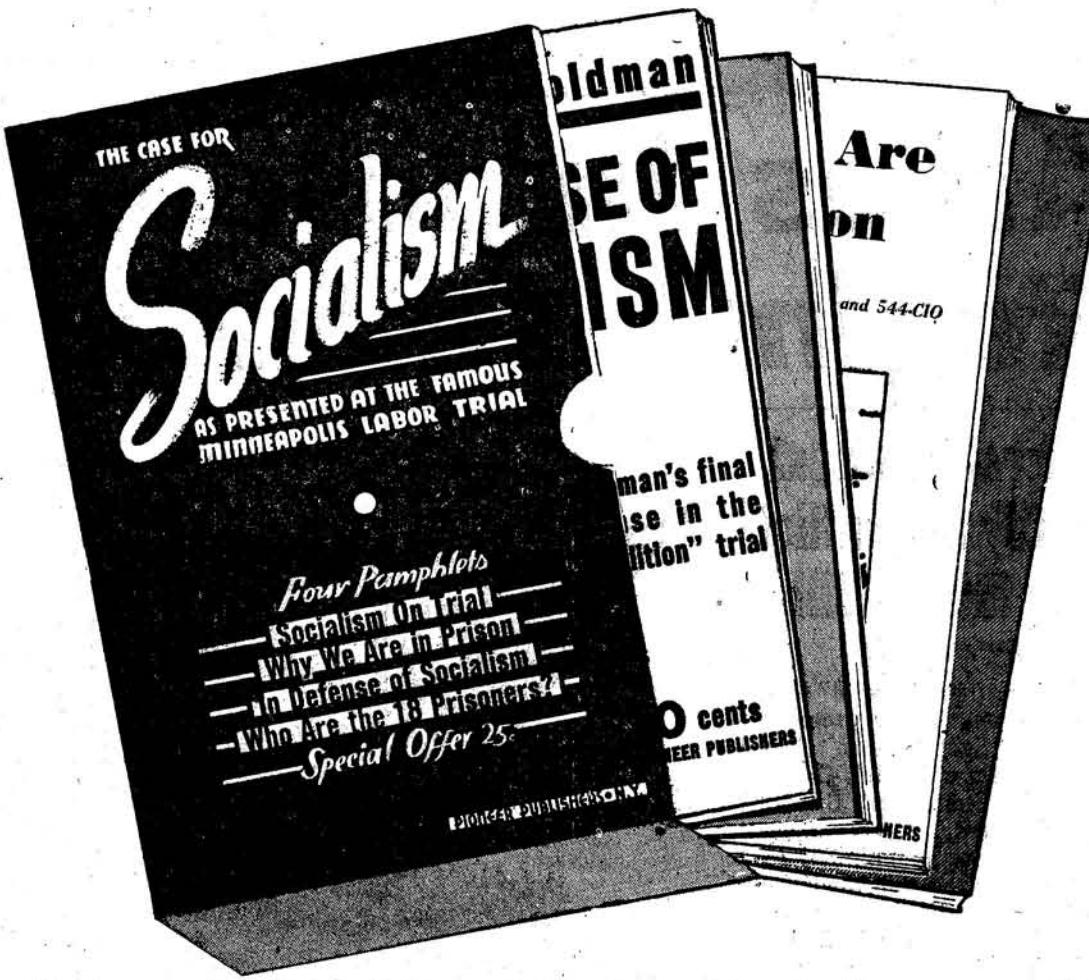
Pioneer Publishers has just announced a special offer to the 7,000 new readers of *The Militant* who are receiving 3-month trial subscriptions. A set of four important pamphlets concerning the Minneapolis Labor Case, which regularly sell for 50 cents, will be offered for only 25 cents to these new readers by agents of *The Militant* who will personally call upon the subscribers within the next few weeks.

This set of pamphlets is a splendid introduction to the basic ideas of the Trotskyist movement. It includes James P. Cannon's testimony in the Minneapolis court, "Socialism on Trial"; A. Goldman's summation to the jury, "In Defense of Socialism"; the pamphlet "Why We Are in Prison," explaining the motives behind the prosecution; and "Who Are the Defendants in the Minneapolis Labor Case?" published by the Civil Rights Defense Committee, giving the background of the imprisoned 18.

"Socialism on Trial" presents the opinions of the Socialist Workers Party, expressed by the party's National Secretary. It is a transcript of the actual court proceedings, reprinted in its original question-and-answer form. Workers who have relatively little time for study will find it easy to turn to the answer covering those problems of the socialist movement in which they are particularly interested. The form is simple, concise, and direct.

The wide sale of all four of these pamphlets at their regular prices, and the favorable comments received about them, dictated their choice by Pioneer Publishers as the best possible introduction to socialism. Not less important is the fact that this group of pamphlets supplies a thorough understanding of the Minneapolis Labor Case, first conviction under the vicious Smith "Gag" Act, which sets a dangerous precedent for persecution of all militant leaders in the labor movement.

Branches of the Socialist Workers Party will undertake the sale of the pamphlets to subscribers of *The Militant*. Quotas have been assigned on the basis of the number of new readers of *The Militant* in each area. The results obtained will be listed from week to week with a report of exper-



The four pamphlets above, packed in an attractive box, are being offered to new readers of *THE MILITANT* for only 25c, by Pioneer Publishers. The regular price is 50c.

ences and suggestions. The first reports have already come in from two branches which have done some preliminary work in preparation for the formal opening of the *Pioneer* campaign this week.

SAN FRANCISCO writes: "San Francisco has accepted the quota of 175 sets of pamphlets. Since we have already ordered 100, we will now place the order for the additional 75... To date we have disposed of 10 sets in conjunction with our regular recall work."

NEW YORK reports: "Several teams from the East Side, West Side, and Brooklyn Branches have begun work on the pamphlet campaign. About a dozen sets have been sold, and the comrades are discussing their experiences in the branches to help lay out an effective plan of work. An all-out mobilization is planned for Tuesday evening."



New York's experimental work on the new campaign has already brought fine results in renewals. Several branches have sent out special teams which have thus far brought in eight six-month and one one-year subscriptions. The comrades discovered when they knocked on the door of a new *Militant* reader and explained that they were from *The Militant* and would like to come in and talk about the paper and its ideas, they got a friendly invitation from the overwhelming majority to come in and sit down.

The one-year sub was secured by two comrades from an old Italian socialist. He was very enthusiastic about the paper; read it through every week; and agreed with our program. Before the comrades left they drank a toast with him to a Socialist Italy.

There were many more sympathetic comments. One young garment worker said that she didn't read the Daily News and Daily Mirror anymore, except the funnies on Sunday. Every night before she went to sleep she read the *Militant*. "I like what it says about unions and about the war," she said.

Another worker told the com-

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According to postal regulations, your address is not complete unless it shows the postal zone number. For example: The *Militant*'s zone number is New York 3, N. Y. The postal authorities are now insisting that this regulation be carried out in the mailing of *The Militant*. Check the wrapper in which *The Militant* is mailed to you and if the zone number is not included, be sure to send it to us at once, to assure delivery of your paper.

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rades, "This is a real socialist paper."

In many homes the comrades had good discussions with workers who liked the paper and were interested in many questions relating to the party and its program. Such questions were asked as, "What do you think of Lewis and the miner's strike?"; "What do you think of Roosevelt?"; "Is it right to criticize Stalin now?"; "What will happen to the small business men under socialism?"

In answering these questions the Minneapolis trial pamphlets were invaluable. For instance, in answering the last question, the comrade took out James P. Cannon's "Socialism on Trial," opened it up to the section dealing with small business men and socialism, and read it together with the worker he was visiting.

In most instances those who bought subs also bought the four trial pamphlets for 25 cents. In a number of cases where the new readers were not yet ready to take a regular sub, they bought the pamphlets, and will be revisited for a regular sub.

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Many branches continue to send in trial subs, sold to contacts. In the past week Wisconsin has sent in two, Chicago one, and San

SWP HOLDS SUCCESSFUL SUMMER CAMP SCHOOL

DETROIT, Sept. 4. — The Mid-West Vacation School of the Socialist Workers Party closed today after one of the most successful two-weeks courses in the history of American Trotskyism. Attendance at classes averaged between 50 and 60. High point of the school was a one-day trade union conference at which 120 registered. Sixteen cities, ranging from New York to Minneapolis were represented, the majority coming from the Ohio-Michigan-Illinois area.

Subjects and instructors were as follows:

First week: "The History of American Trotskyism," Charles Carsten; "Imperialism," Mark Braden; "Wage, Labor and Capital," Kenneth Hayes.

Second week: "The History of American Trotskyism," Charles Carsten; "Democratic Centralism," Mark Braden; "History of the American Labor Movement," Lydia Beidel; "Colonial Struggles," Bob Birchman.

Three classes a day were held, morning, afternoon and evening. After presentation of the subject by the instructor the floor was opened for questions and discussion.

In addition, two lectures were given by E. R. Frank, one on "The Italian Events," and the other on "The Rise of the CIO." Response to the announcement

of the school was much greater than anticipated. Because of limited facilities it was impossible to accept all the applications and many, unfortunately, had to be turned away.

OVERFLOW CROWD

Situated on a wooded slope beside a small lake in central Michigan, the camp proved ideal for sports—softball, swimming, boating, archery, fishing and hiking. When rain cancelled some of the contests, chess, checkers and ping pong proved popular. Outstanding event of the social activities was a "weenie" roast around an oak fire followed by an amateur show with V. Grey of Buffalo as master of ceremonies.

Despite the unexpectedly great number of enrollees, the camp, organized under the auspices of the Detroit Branch of the Socialist Workers Party, functioned with exceptional smoothness. Assignments in the commissary were made by rotation. To free mothers for the classes, children were placed under a supervisor in the large playground beside the beach.

COMMENTS ON SCHOOL

Typical comments indicate the success of the school:

AUTO WORKER: "You really learn fast here — the classes are so interrelated that what you don't quite grasp in one class is cleared up in another."

NEW RECRUIT: "One of the best things is the learning between classes. 'Negation,' I couldn't understand what the instructor meant by that. But here sitting under an oak tree with acorns for an example, talking with people who know all about it, the idea has become clear. It was a great education. Not only the classes but what you learn from the other comrades present."

AN INSTRUCTOR: "From this experience I can see where we can make some big improvements. It was good this year but by the time we've worked out the ideas we gained from the classes we'll have the beginning of a professional Marxist school."

OLD TIMER: "The best school I've ever attended — and I've been to a lot of camps in the radical movement in the past. This is an indication of what we're really going to have in the future."

CAMP DIRECTOR: "The remarkable response to this year's school has encouraged us to make more ambitious plans for next year. We're thinking now of a school of a month or two months duration and with a much bigger enrollment."

Off the Press!

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Many branches continue to send in trial subs, sold to contacts. In the past week Wisconsin has sent in two, Chicago one, and San

Francisco five. San Francisco writes: "Most of the comrades are deeply impressed with the necessity of continuing the getting of trial subs and that is where the five of this week come from. Especially after a forum or meeting, while people gather at the literature rack, we find a good opportunity for selling these subs. After all, where could they get a bigger bargain?"

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4th International, Founded 6 Years Ago, Grows In Influence Throughout The World

Six years ago, on September 3, 1938, the Fourth International, World Party of the Socialist Revolution, was founded. Meeting on the eve of the war "somewhere in Europe" under very difficult circumstances, delegates representing the Trotskyist movement in eleven countries adopted the program and launched the organization which has carried the banner of socialist internationalism throughout the war.

The Fourth International was

the only world organization of the working-class movement to meet on the eve of the imperialist slaughter. The Second International had already taken its stand in the camp of the "democratic" imperialists, after betraying the workers in the first world war. The Third International, rotted to the core by Stalinism, had become a venal agency of Kremlin diplomacy. Neither had any need of international con-

gresses. The Second International and its surviving sections eke out a parasitic existence as servants of capitalism. The Third International, as Trotsky predicted, has revealed to the bottom its "hollowness and impotence." The empty shell of the Comintern was dissolved by Stalin last year. Its sections have survived only as tools of the Kremlin gang and their imperialist allies.

But the Fourth International lives and grows. It continues the great work for socialism begun by the International Workingmen's Association of Marx and Engels (the First International) and follows the best revolutionary traditions of the Second and Third Internationals.

TROTSKYIST SECTIONS

Great Britain: The fusion of the Trotskyist groups this year into the Revolutionary Communist Party was the outstanding proof of the energetic participation of the Fourth Internationalists in the political life of England. Churchill's government proceeded to frame up four of their leaders and railroaded them to prison for the "crime" of aiding workers on strike.

France: Little is known, as yet, of the activities of the French section of the F. I. But prior to the complete occupation of France by the Nazis, there were reports of an active and growing Trotskyist organization, particularly in Paris where an illegal paper was issued. More recently, a journalist returning from France reported the existence of a Trotskyist paper, *Le Soviét*.

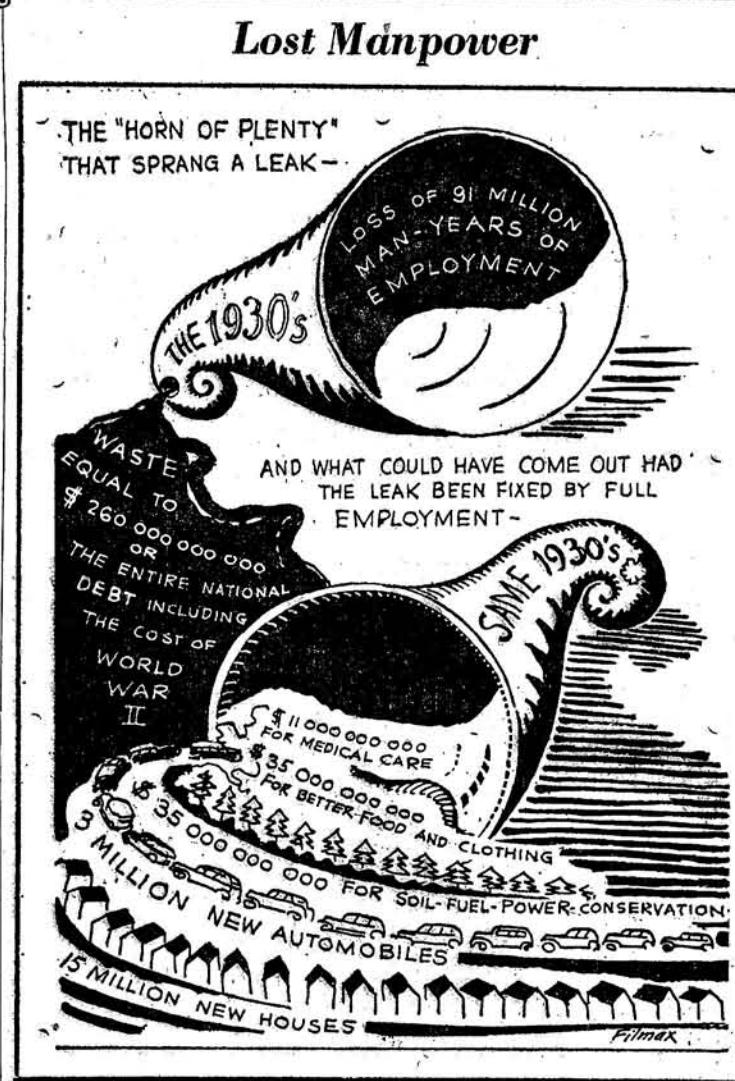
Belgium: Last year word arrived that comrades Renery, Van Belle and Lemmens, members of the Revolutionary Socialist Party, Belgian section of the F. I., were executed by a Nazi firing squad. The leader of the party, Leon Lessol, was previously reported to have died in a Nazi concentration camp. Before the war, the RSP had its greatest strength and influence in the Borinage mining district. There have been strikes of miners in this district since the Nazi occupation and we can be sure that working-class militants, trained in the Trotskyist spirit of revolutionary combat, were among the leaders of this strike movement.

Germany: In the period before Hitler came to power, the German Trotskyists strove to unite the workers, through agitation for a united front of the Communist and Social-Democratic parties, to destroy Nazism and open the road to socialism. When this effort failed, and the Nazis triumphed, our movement was driven underground. Some comrades were arrested and executed. Others placed in concentration camps. Recently there have appeared reports of continued activity by the German Trotskyists, including the formation of workers' strike committees in various parts of Germany, distribution of illegal pamphlets, etc.

Spain: The Trotskyists were among the most valiant fighters in the Spanish civil war that ended in the victory of Franco and the crushing of the Spanish revolution. They continued their activities underground and a recent report shows that they are still very active. Spanish Trotskyists who escaped abroad are

maintaining groups and publishing a paper in Mexico and other Latin American countries.

Greece: Official dispatches reported that 17 Greek Trotskyists, including Vite, were executed by German occupation authorities in Athens. Four others fell before a German firing squad in Salonika. They were charged with conducting Communist agitation and being in illegal possession of arms.



The July CIO Economic Outlook publishes the following devastating analysis of what mass unemployment during the depression cost the people of America in loss of production alone. When to this appalling picture of wasted labor is added the misery, the physical weakening, the demoralization of millions of starving unemployed, we have a sample of what the capitalist promise of "free enterprise" holds out to the workers in the coming period.

"In the 1930's 91 million man years of productive work were forever lost to the nation through unemployment. We failed to create goods valued at 260 billion dollars, or close to twice the national income produced in 1943.

"What specifically did we lose as a nation? We missed a chance to build 15 million new houses, to bring our educational system up to a truly desirable standard, as defined by the National Education Association. We could have spent the 11 billion dollars required for the health program advocated by the Technical Committee on Medical Care, and the 35 billion dollars so urgently needed for forest, soil, fuel, and power conservation.

"We could have done all this and still had 85 billion dollars left over! With this, the people could have spent more than twice what they did each year on recreation. Three million more automobiles could have been produced. And there would have been 35 billion dollars left to pay for community improvements and better food for millions."

French Indo-China: In this Far Eastern colony of French imperialism, now under virtual Japanese occupation, the Trotskyist leaders were arrested and their movement driven underground at the time of the outbreak of war in Europe. There has been no contact with them since. Their largest base was in the great port city of Saigon, where they enjoyed wide influence among the masses. Prior to the repressions, several of their leaders were elected to the Saigon municipal council.

India: The Bolshevik-Leninist Party of India, Burma and Ceylon is one of the newest sections of the Fourth International. Its original Ceylon organization was the Lanka Sama Samaj Party, which enjoyed the widest popularity and support among the workers and peasants of that colonial outpost of British imperialism. Several of its leading members were arrested by the British imperialists, but they escaped and went to India with their jailor whom they converted to their ideas. The British placed a huge price on their heads and they were discovered and arrested again. Recently received publications show that the movement they represent lives and grows, both in Ceylon and India.

Australia: The activities and the program of the Australian Trotskyists are reflected in a Manifesto of the Revolutionary Workers Party which was published in *Fourth International*. The party has its own printed organ.

South Africa: A group of South African Trotskyists publish an organ called the *Workers' Voice*. Part of the contents are in English, part in Afrikaans (the two official languages) and part in Sesuto, one of the native languages. The Trotskyists place the main emphasis on work among the preponderant mass of the native population.

China: The Communist League of China, one of the oldest sections of the Fourth International, built firm bases in Shanghai and Hongkong and gathered adherents throughout China. Outlawed by the Kuomintang government, persecuted by the Japanese imperialists in occupied China and by the British imperialists in Hongkong, it nevertheless succeeded in publishing two illegal organs and carried on a diverse activity in building the revolutionary party.

LEON TROTSKY'S

LAST WRITINGS:

IN DEFENSE OF MARXISM

(Against the Petty-Bourgeois Opposition)

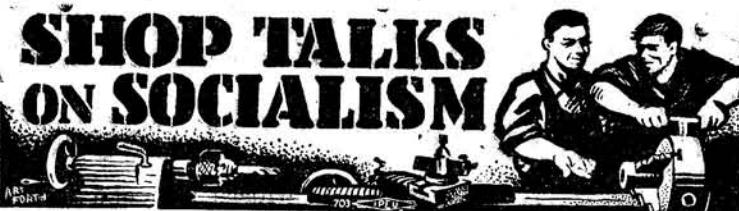
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By V. Grey

The boys were talking it over while they ate. Some of them said we'd all be on relief pretty soon. And Slim said, "How do you know there's going to be any relief?" And they were passing half dollar bets back and forth over how soon the war would end, and how many of us would get laid off the day after the armistice. Someone had the latest clipping telling about cutbacks and how a hundred thousand aircraft workers would be laid off by Christmas.

The clipping told how Ford's Willow Run plant was going to cut bomber production about fifty percent. And a whole lot of other plants would do the same. The idea being that each plant would start changing over to civilian production. This was a War Production Board "order."

"If the War Production Board wants any production," said Fred, the crane man, "Why don't they keep Willow Run going 100 per cent on bombers and change over some other plants 100 per cent to autos or something? I've been nursing that old buggy of mine for about three years too long. And I can get a new car while I still have a job if they'd produce enough of them. But how are they going to do that the way they're going at it? It doesn't make sense to me."

No — the way they're going to change over doesn't make sense to a workingman at all. Just think of every single plant under alteration, installing new machinery, changing tools while it was still 50 percent on war production. Every plant would be disorganized to some extent.

ANARCHY AND WASTE OF RECONVERSION

Suppose in our shop they were going to fabricate milk cans as well as ammunition boxes. Suppose we rigged up every large press with two sets of punches and dies — one for the ammunition boxes, one for the milk cans. We could do it. We have double set-ups now. For instance, we take a piece of sheet-metal that the brake has already made L-shaped and slide it under the left punch for two holes — then take it out and slide the other part of the L under the right punch for three holes. And we always have two in the press at the same time. You get so used to the operation it's easy to do three hundred fifty an hour.

But what if you took the side of the ammunition box out with one hand and put the top of a milk can in with the other? It wouldn't be so good.

No, any kind of management at all wouldn't be that silly. The machines making the milk cans would be in one part of the shop and those making the boxes in another. Each system of machines, belts, etc. would be a separate unit. A man would work on one thing at a time.

But look what they do in this changeover! As soon as you look at production as a whole you see that it's carried on as senselessly as a left hand making milk cans and a right hand ammunition boxes. If you figure every factory as a machine in the total production of the nation, you see they're abusing the machine and wasting both time and materials. A workingman wouldn't think of using a twenty ton press to stamp out cardboard hats for paper dolls. But the War Production Board and the capitalist class do just that when they order us into a changeover that will produce so little, considering the effort involved.

Take the auto industry. Airplanes and autos are both pretty large items, with thousands and thousands of parts big and little. Autos require not only production lines, assembly lines, conveyor belts and feeding conveyors, but whole buildings and groups of buildings for their production. It's just about the same with aircraft. So naturally, if one whole production system like Ford's Willow Run is geared to aircraft, and Chevrolet to auto, you have the best production of each. But if Ford is producing 50 percent of each and Chevrolet 50 percent of each, the total production is much less because of lost efficiency. And that is exactly what the changeover will do.

CASHING IN FROM BOTH WAR AND PEACE

Here they are, engaged in a war for the defense of capitalism, and the capitalists can't get together on a simple little thing like that. Ford couldn't stick to bombers and let Chevy go into auto on a really big scale. Ford is too worried that Chevy will beat him to the peacetime market, and Chevy is too worried about Ford. They can't get together to plan anything for peace or for war. And the W.P.B. "order" is just an expression of this planlessness.

At the same time, don't forget, they're all making so much money out of this war that they can't bear the thought of giving up war production entirely, and losing all that easy gravy. They are preparing to cash in on their old peace-time racket again because they figure their world slaughter will be wound up pretty soon. But at the same time they want to get all they can from the war while the getting is good.

Sort of like a grava robber who decides to reform when creation is taking away his business anyway. So he makes a changeover to respectable second story burglary. But it's kind of hard to give up the easy pickings he gets off dead people, so he just tapers off and moseys along half-and-half for a while.

It's reasonable enough when you look at things from his point of view, which is — "where is the most profit?" But it's not so good when you look at it from ours, which is — "who's going to give us a job? And will there be enough cars and food, and can we afford to buy them?"

WORKERS MUST SET UP THEIR OWN GOVERNMENT

The capitalist system can't make enough decent food and clothing for us while the war is on. It produces "too much" of them in peace time, and they are stored up in warehouses for rust and rats to eat. That's the system for you. And that's another reason why each capitalist is so anxious to get in under the wire on peace-time production, even while he looks back lovingly on his war profits. He wants to get the civilian goods sold before everyone's out of work after the war and can't buy them anymore. And he gets his War Production Board to make it all nice and legal. The government which the capitalists own, lock, stock and barrel, helps them to get as much profits as possible, and like them, doesn't worry much about jobs for the working people after the war.

That's why we workers won't just take over the shops and production system of the country. We will have to set up our own workers' government as well. This government will fully utilize the production system of the nation, so that everyone will work. No one will worry about post-war depression or "over production." Because neither one will exist. The workers' government will see to it that everyone has a job. It will keep an eye on production, and if there are too many coats and not enough hats, it will request some of the coat workers to make hats, so we will all have enough. Not in the phony way the W.P.B. does, whose main worry is the bosses' profits — but honestly, and with the authority good committee men have when you have confidence in them.

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Labor Fakers Vie With Each Other In Backing Roosevelt

By Harry Martell

AFL and CIO labor skates are at each other's throats, scrapping for a place at Roosevelt's coattails. For every dollar of the worker's money spent by the Political Action Committee of the CIO, the AFL politicians now propose to double or triple the ante from the treasuries of their international unions to elect Roosevelt for a fourth term.

Victor Reisel of the New York Post (Aug. 23rd) says that the "Federation will make the CIO's still-to-be-collected \$5,000,000 campaign fund look like a Sunday school charity collection." Teamster's President Tobin, to cite only one case, "has already spent nearly \$1,000,000 for Pres. Roosevelt's re-election."

AFL AND PAC

William Green "has ordered the establishment of almost thousand state and local non-partisan political committees... Each of the 900 city central labor unions affiliated with the AFL and State Federations of Labor in every state, as well as in Alaska and Puerto Rico, was directed by Mr. Green to set up committees to get out the vote." — AFL News Service, Aug. 22.

The atmosphere is full of mutual recriminations. The reactionary Philip Pearl, AFL writer, denounces the PAC as "the strongest anti-labor force in America today." He lays at its door responsibility for the Senate killing "vital legislation for the protection of workers in the post-war period." He accuses the PAC of driving congressmen "responsive to labor's point of view" into the camp of "the southern Democratic reactionaries and the Tory Republicans."

The only grain of truth in what Pearl says is that the organization of the PAC was a signal to the flunkies of Big Business on Capitol Hill and in the White House that the CIO leaders were surrendering the independent power of the workers on the political field in the same manner they had already done by the no-strike pledge and by submission to the WLB on the economic field. Just as the no-strike pledge helped to spur anti-labor measures in the past, so the craven program of the PAC has emboldened Congress to kill labor-supported bills today.

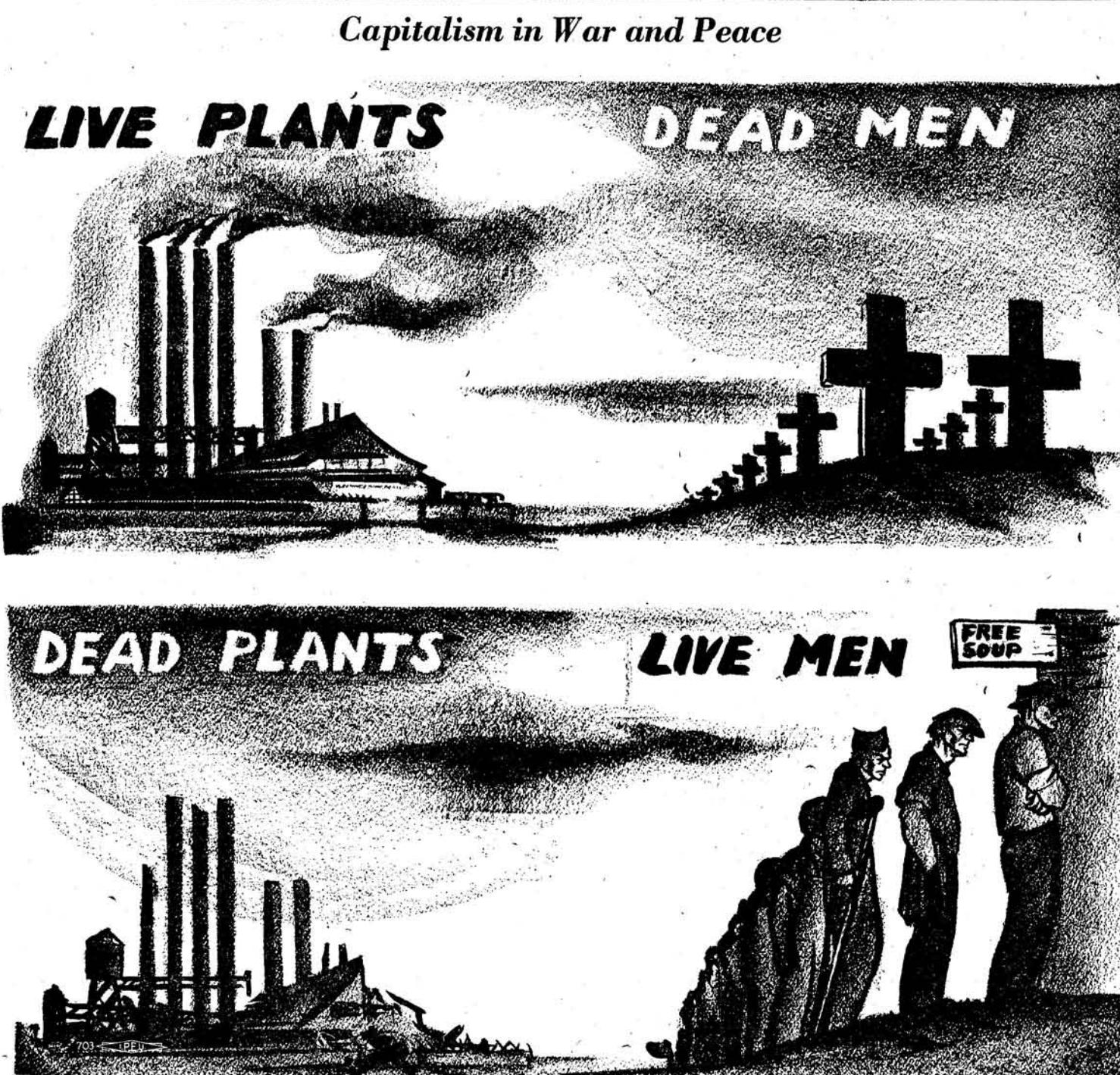
Without their own party based on the unions, American workers are powerless to defend themselves against the blows of reaction. Pearl asks: Who is the PAC going to convert politically? If the answer to this question is a dismal negative, it is not because the PAC is the political arm of the CIO, as Pearl would have us believe. It is because it offers no independent and fighting program to the American workers. The PAC is a pawn of the Roosevelt Administration.

AFL POLICY

The AFL skates intend to go their colleagues in the CIO one better. Aside from supporting Roosevelt and Truman, they will oppose candidates endorsed by the PAC. So for example, they switched their support in California from a Democrat to a Republican congressional candidate in order to oppose the PAC. The AFL skates, as is to be expected, have no other program than to jump from the Democratic frying pan into the Republican fire. The object of these political shenanigans is to prove to the boss in the White House that they have as much or more command over the so-called "labor vote" as the CIO. What they are really demonstrating is their treachery to the real interests of labor.

Pearl correctly points out that "John L. Lewis tried to buy an election in 1936 for the CIO but the bargain didn't stick." But what else is the AFL — and PAC — trying to do in this election? They are once again trying to corral the great strength of the organized labor movement behind the capitalist parties. "We do not believe," says Pearl, "that President Roosevelt can be bought." Yes, it is true. Roosevelt cannot be "bought" by the labor movement and he need not be bought by the capitalist class because he was and is the representative of the great banks and monopolies in the White House.

The AFL and PAC misleaders are squandering the hard-earned money of the American workers by trying to "buy" Roosevelt. They won't "buy" even small concessions from him. The millions of unionists will continue to be sold by the Murays and the Greys to capitalist parties and politicians until they organize their own great power in an independent Labor Party.



Hiring Hall Rights Threatened In Longshoremen's Negotiations

(Continued from page 1)

The role of the dispatcher has lost none of its importance now under wartime conditions with jobs plentiful. A reactionary dispatcher can invoke all kinds of penalties initiated since the beginning of the war for regressing the longshoremen. The election of dispatchers gives the workers the opportunity of selecting men more responsive to its demands. Appointed dispatchers would be in a position to callously disregard the ranks.

IMPARTIAL CHAIRMAN

The proposal for the appointment of dispatchers serves the employers as a bridge for encroachment on the independence of the hiring hall. Under the terms of the proposed contract, the "impartial" coastwise chairman of the Labor Relations Committee appoints agents in each port to serve in similar capacity. Since experience has amply proven that these so-called "impartial" chairmen usually side with the employers, the bosses have here a mechanism for controlling the selection of dispatchers. Pressure would be brought to bear on the union members of the Labor Relations Committee and the employers, reinforced by the chairman, would certainly demand concessions on the question of the hiring hall. Since the policy of the Bridges clique has been to grant any concessions in the name of increasing efficiency, the employers would be able to make serious inroads into the hiring hall.

The decision of the longshore conference against the undemocratic proposal of the Bridges clique reflects the hostility of the rank and file against encroachment on the independence of the hiring hall. In the meantime the employers are undoubtedly preparing to demand concessions during negotiations. The rank and file must watch vigilantly against betrayal by the Bridges-led negotiating committee.

Since American imperialism plans the revival of world trade by cutbacks at home, it must cut down the cost of production. In the longshore industry this can best be accomplished by increasing shiftloads, abolishing safety provisions and cutting wages. The destruction of union conditions will lead ultimately to the destruction of the hiring hall.

BRIDGES POLICY

The employers have not yet succeeded in completely regimenting the longshoremen and in undermining their union. But they are laying the foundation in many ways. At present their chief weapon is the Maritime Industry Board (MIB). (For a history of its origin see the article by C. Thomas: "West Coast Longshoremen and the Bridges Plan," *Fourth International*, Dec. 1942.)

ROLE OF MIB

The employers, quick to see the advantages of the MIB, have fully exploited the willingness of the Bridges clique to sacrifice the cause of difficulty of getting

longshoremen's conditions. The right to discipline union members was turned over to the MIB. Walking bosses were given authority to arbitrarily fire workers from the job. Actions of solidarity were penalized. A minimum average work week of fifty hours was established in San Francisco. Most important of all, administrative assistants were assigned to supervise dispatching in the hiring halls in the major ports with power to suspend dispatchers for laxity in execution of MIB orders.

All this was accepted by the Bridges clique to prove their willingness to cooperate with the shipowners. In addition, the union undertook a campaign for the removal of Eliel as chairman of the MIB charging him with sole responsibility for the union-busting role of the board. At its conference in March 1944 at Portland the union rescinded its acceptance of Admiral Land's arbitrary order empowering the MIB to supersede the contract. But Eliel still remains chairman of the board and the MIB is still the unquestioned tool of the shipowners. What is needed is a condemnation of the MIB itself and the refusal of the union to accept it as anything but a union-busting agency.

Bridges still lies about the MIB and peddles its doubtful virtues to the rank and file. He thereby protects this shipowners' weapon for the destruction of the union. The rank and file must guard vigilantly during the present negotiations against any further inroads into the hiring hall and against the betrayals of the Bridges Stalinist clique. Only such vigilance enforced by the fighting spirit of 1934 and 1936 can defend the union hiring hall against all its open and concealed enemies.

"It was learned this week that Chairman Paul Eliel of the Pacific Coast MIB has conferred with Joseph P. Ryan, exponent of the vicious shape-up system with a view to transferring east coast longshoremen to Pacific Ports. After conferring with Ryan in Tacoma, Wash., Eliel announced that he and his staff were 'taking full control' of longshore recruiting. Then he launched into a bitter attack upon the ILWU and President Bridges."

The employers took up the cue a few months later. The Dispatcher (Nov. 19, 1943) relates: "In the most flagrant attempt made to use the MIB as a union smashing instrument, Frank P. Foisie, President of the Waterfront employers Ass'n, has proposed that the board outlaw the payment of initiations and dues by new men coming into the industry."

UNION MOVES

In a futile effort to encompass the 30,000 civil service workers held in army and navy pools up and down the coast, union representatives on the MIB proposed the establishment of a single labor pool, on the basis of the union hiring hall, in order to increase efficiency. This suggestion was contemptuously rejected by the employers and Eliel who recognize the value of a huge reservoir of unorganized longshoremen in the coming struggles.

An arbitrary order by Admiral Land, setting aside the arbitration machinery of the contract and empowering the MIB to make decisions on disputed issues, was accepted by the Bridges clique to demonstrate its willingness to make concessions to the bosses. Bridges has earned high praise from brass hats responsible for army and navy cargoes on the west coast for his efforts to sacrifice union conditions in order to speed up the movement of cargo.

ROLE OF MIB

The employers, quick to see the advantages of the MIB, have fully exploited the willingness of the Bridges clique to sacrifice the cause of difficulty of getting

Uruguay Trotskyists Fight Gov't. Attack

The Militant of July 8, 1944 reported that the Uruguay government has accompanied the introduction of anti-strike legislation in that country with a violent campaign against Trotskyism. Citing the jailing of the eighteen Trotskyist leaders and the attempt to suppress *The Militant* in the United States, as well as the arrest of the four British Trotskyists, the Minister of the Interior attacked the Fourth International as a movement "inciting to strikes and violence" and implied that similar repressive measures should be taken against the Uruguayan Trotskyists, the Revolutionary Workers League.

Replying to the socialist deputy, Dr. Jose Pedro Cardozo, on the matter of making strikes a criminal offense in the Swift packing-plant National Frigorifico, the Minister attacked the Revolutionary Workers League in a long speech in the Chamber of Deputies. In the course of this speech, he completely distorted the aims and ideals of Trotskyism. The R. W. L. addressed an open letter to Dr. Cardozo in answer to this attack.

The open letter begins by charging that the "Minister tries to utilize our revolutionary movement in order to dictate restrictive measures against trade union liberties. Denouncing our official organ *Contra La Corriente*, distorting our principles, he wishes to show that all conflicts that have recently taken place between capital and labor are the results of our provocation."

ANSWERS LIES

"During all of historical development," the letter continues, "we observe how the attempt is made to disfigure ideas of social progress, covering them up with the mask of provocation. The idea itself, its real content, is not attacked, but rather those who propagate it are attacked as professional agitators, as provocateurs of artificial conflict in order to distract the public order."

The Uruguayan Trotskyists then take up the Minister's lies and slanders, one by one. The latter had charged them in his speech with advocating strikes as "revolutionary exercise." To this ridiculous charge, our co-thinkers reply:

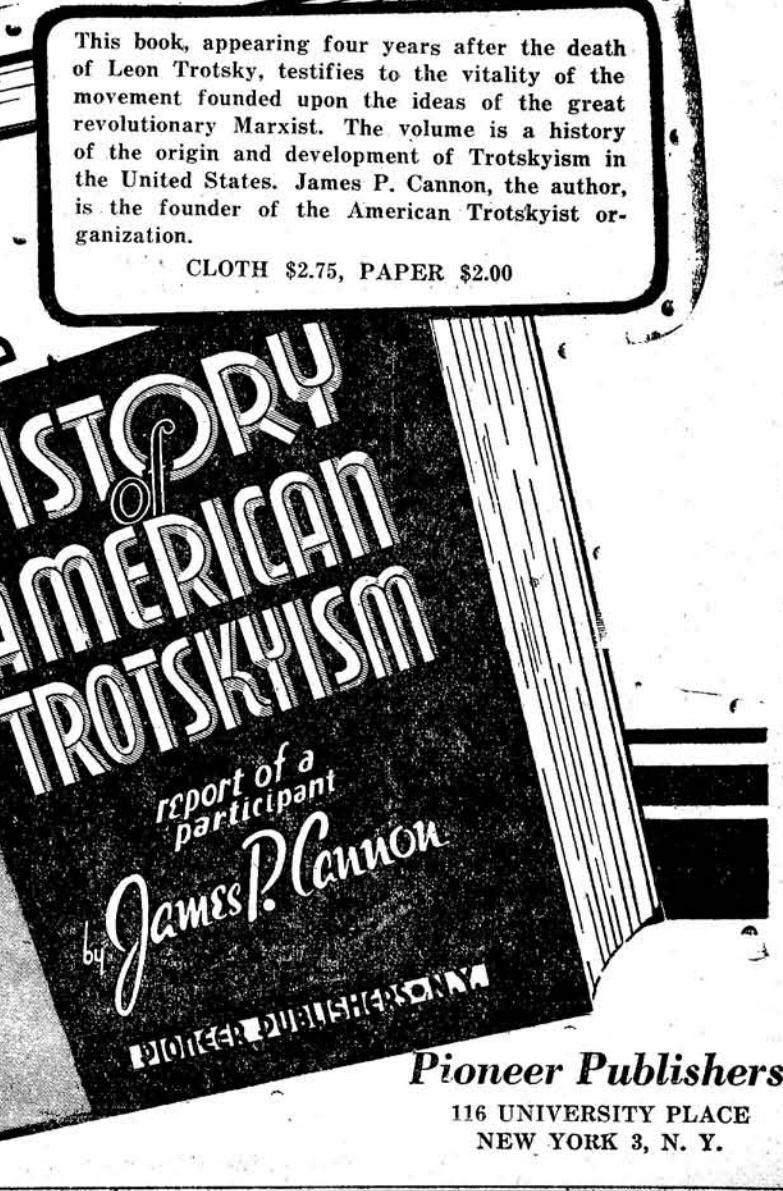
"We never preach the strike as 'revolutionary exercise,' as the Minister of the Interior says. We consider the strike as the only weapon that the workers possess to obtain their transitional demands and consequently we advise them to defend this fundamental right by all possible means. . . . As revolutionists, we understand perfectly well that any conflict between capital and labor which is artificially provoked leads only to the demoralization of the workers and the destruction of their trade union organizations. Are we the ones that provoked the recent strikes? Or are the economic conditions the cause, the low wages and the high cost of living that drove the workers to action? We call attention to the fact that the recent conflicts were directed not by us, but by the regular trade union organization, the U.G.T."

ATTITUDE TOWARD VOTE

The capitalist Minister further accused the R.W.L. of opposing the use of the ballot, of renouncing participation in parliamentary elections. The Trotskyists counter this lie with the following exposition of their real stand:

"As Marxists we know perfectly well that all class struggles are

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The Negro Struggle

By Charles Jackson

The Bright Light Uncle Toms

With the season for Negro stage shows here again it is time we lifted our foot to stamp out once and for all that reptilian menace of the bright light Uncle Toms. These actors and actresses perform a great service to the ruling class by helping to maintain the false stereotype that flashes on many a white worker's mind as soon as the word 'Negro' is mentioned.

We usually see one or two such actors on every billing that plays at a Negro theatre or night club. They use the antiquated "die and dat" jargon, thus inferring that the average Negro talks that way. By their actions and words they indirectly condemn the whole race as being composed of moronic buffoons, lethargic no-goods and chronic rapists. They frequently wind up their pantomime by producing an elongated switchblade or razor the size of a meat cleaver. What is worse, they ridicule and slander the integrity of the brown worker with greater abandon when they are playing before a mixed audience which is usually the case above the Mason-Dixon line. They paint a distorted picture of the Negro of today.

TYPICAL REACTION

This letter to the editor of PM by H. P. Goldstein of Brooklyn reveals the characteristic reaction of the average white observer: "Recently I visited the Apollo theatre in Harlem, where in the stage show, was a comedy routine featuring Butterbeans and Suzy, both Negroes. When the former began cooing about the stage, attired in a very picturesque zoot suit, Suzy asked: 'Who do you think you are?'

"Frank Sinatra," came the reply. "Who?" she asked incredulously.

"I'm Frank Sinatra," repeated Butterbeans, "cept that I'm in technical color."

The audience, which was predominantly Negro, reacted very favorably, but somehow I, a white person, found the line objectionable. Perhaps I'm being very picayune, but I've heard similar material on the Apollo stage before (I visit the theatre because I'm addicted to jazz and like to hear some of the bands featured there) and I can't help but wonder how Negroes can object to 'Uncle Tom' caricatures and material with an objectionable connotation, when they burlesque themselves so crudely."

Although some of the things Mr. Goldstein is "wondering" about are certainly quite clear, yet we are forced to agree that the use of this type of material by our outstanding stage stars has a most unhealthy effect (from a working class point of view) on the mind of the average white. To further poison the mind of the white worker and to attempt to demoralize from within the conscientiously forward-looking Negro masses is playing right into the hands of the ruling class which from a practical point of view is the only major factor that stands to profit from racial prejudice. Therefore these bright light Uncle Toms, regardless of whether they realize it or not, are operating against the interests of the working people and especially those of the darker

OUR PROBLEM

Although it is true that the trade union movement is our only dependable ally in the economic and political fields, yet there are some problems it is easier for us to solve ourselves through our own organizations. The elimination of Uncle Tomism especially on the stage is surely one of them. Our tactic, like those successfully used by the unions, must revolve around mass action.

Also this should be right down the ally of our civic leaders and the brown "400." They have no balm for the "socially undesirable" among us. So maybe they will also pick up a stick against such politically undesirable as the bright light Uncle Toms.

Pioneer Paragraphs

THE ROLE OF SOVIETS IN THE FIGHT FOR WORKERS' POWER

Factory committees, as already stated, are elements of dual power inside the factory. Consequently, their existence is possible only under condition of increasing pressure by the masses. This is likewise true of special mass groupings for the struggle against war, of the committee on prices, and all other new centers of the movement, the very appearance of which bears witness to the fact that the class struggle has overflowed the limits of the traditional organizations of the proletariat.

These new organs and centers, however, will soon begin to feel their lack of cohesion and their insufficiency. Not one of the transitional demands can be fully met under the conditions of preserving the bourgeois regime. At the same time, the deepening of the social crisis will increase not only the sufferings of the masses but also their impatience, persistence, and pressure. Ever new layers of the oppressed will raise up their heads and come forward with demands. Millions of toil-worn "little men," to whom the reformist leaders never gave a thought, will begin to pound insistently on the doors of workers' organizations. The unemployed

will join the movement. The agricultural workers, the ruined and semi-ruined farmers, the oppressed of the cities, the women workers, housewives, proletarian layers of the intelligentsia—all of these will seek unity and leadership.

How are the different demands and forms of struggle to be harmonized, even if only within the limits of one city? History has already answered this question: through soviets. These will unite the representatives of all the fighting groups. For this purpose, no one has yet proposed a different form of organization; indeed, it would hardly be possible to think up a better one. Soviets are not limited to an a priori party program. They throw open their doors to all the exploited.

Through these doors pass representatives of all strata, drawn into the general current of the struggle. The organization, broadening out together with the movement, is renewed again and again in its womb. All political currents of the proletariat can struggle for leadership of the soviets on the basis of the widest democracy. The slogan of soviets, therefore, crowns the program of

"Labor with a white skin cannot emancipate itself where labor with a black skin is branded" — KARL MARX.

Allied Powers Impose Dictatorial DeGaulle Rule On French Masses As Hunger And Misery Grow

(Continued from page 1)

mond Daniell wired from Paris on September 2 to the N. Y. Times. "If Paris is any sample, the people of France, having thrown off the Nazi yoke, do not intend to bow their necks to any native regime which does not have as its primary aim a completely new deal for France." In another dispatch, filed on August 31 but delayed, Daniell describes Paris as "in no mood to bow its head again... violence and change and even revolutionary action are in the air."

The confused jubilation of the Parisian masses after the lifting of the Nazi boot did not survive 24 hours after the entry of the DeGaulle forces backed by the military might of the new foreign conquerors. "The first great burst of emotion has spent itself," wrote Harold Denny from Paris on August 29. "People are tired. They are hungry, too, for they are not getting enough to eat. They face again the hard realities of life in a great city deprived of many of its simplest amenities."

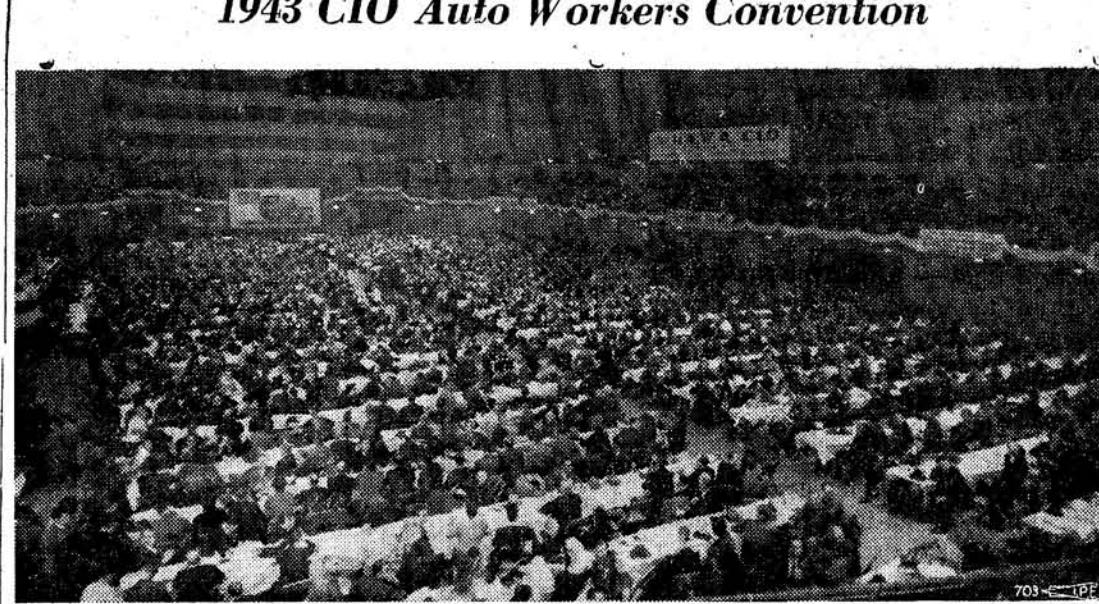
ACUTE DISTRESS

Latest reports tell of an acute bread shortage, lack of electricity, gas, fuel and transportation. One correspondent reports in the N. Y. Times, September 3, that the black market has "attained phenomenal proportions" with butter selling at \$8 a pound, eggs as high as 50 cents a piece, meat at \$4 a pound. "Often there is nothing to buy and poor families who have no friends or relatives in the country eat one meal a day composed of bread soaked in sugared water or a vegetable cooked in water without the nourishing addition of fats."

Only the scantiest food supplies are being shipped into Paris, with its 5,000,000 population, by the Allies, who have converted the country's transport system almost entirely to the uses of the military machine. The Allied invasion of France, following on four years of brutal Nazi occupation, has resulted in "the almost total collapse of whole sections of French industrial and economic life," states a United Press dispatch from Paris on August 30.

As in Italy the Anglo-American rulers aim to harness the French masses to the Allied war machine once more, prop up the bankrupt capitalist ruling class that worked hand in glove with the Nazis, and impose upon the French people a puppet police-military dictatorship, backed by Allied bayonets.

Strutting forth under the protecting muzzles of Allied guns, General DeGaulle last week pronounced the establishment of a "provisional government" com-



1943 CIO Auto Workers Convention

During September conventions will be held by the United Auto Workers, CIO, at Grand Rapids; the United Rubber Workers, CIO, at New York City; United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers, CIO, at New York City; Gas, Coke and Chemical Workers, CIO, at Cleveland; Marine and Shipbuilding Workers, CIO, at Atlantic City; and the United Mine Workers, at Cincinnati. The largest and most significant of these conventions will be that of the UAW, which begins on September 11. Some indication of its size can be seen in the photograph above of the delegates at the last UAW convention in Buffalo in 1943.

posed in the main of his hand-picked regime imported from Algiers, plus a few selected "safe" representatives from the former French underground, including several Stalinists. This regime, which proclaims its intentions to rule "in the name of the French people" has neither asked nor received any mandate from the masses.

DEGAULLE'S PROGRAM

Raymond Daniell in his previously quoted dispatch points out that DeGaulle's "political future is by no means certain. There has been one attempt on his life... but what has significance is the apparent apathy of the great mass of people toward him and the deep-seated feeling among many of the leaders of the underground that there is a cleavage between them and those who fought for France beyond her frontiers."

DeGaulle has come forward as the representative of French imperialist interests. His aim is to defend French capitalist rule and salvage the rotten French colonial empire. One of his first formal utterances upon entering Paris was a statement of intention to drag the hungry and war-weary French people into the war against Japan for the restoration of Indo-China to the French Empire. DeGaulle has called for an army of 2,000,000 men, the cost of which will impose another staggering burden on the French masses. Unable to provide bread, jobs, security, his "provisional government" has postponed

to an indefinite future the general election which was promised before Allied "liberation" began.

How DeGaulle is handling the urgent problem of prices and wages, over which he has expressed deep concern, is graphically illustrated in the case of the Paris subway workers, who are receiving wages based on the 1937 scale, which was set before prices soared by several hundred percent. CBS correspondent Charles Collingwood reported August 31 that the DeGaulle government first promised them a 20 percent raise. But "that was yesterday. Now it appears that there was a law passed by the refugee government when it was in Algiers which makes this impossible."

DeGaulle's "provisional government" is a coalition of leaders of the political groups which had a long record of betrayal of the French masses before the war, including the Radical Socialist (bourgeois-democratic), Socialist and Stalinist parties. It is merely a front for a military-police dictatorship; Allied military might upholds DeGaulle and dictates his policies. Thus, a dispatch from Supreme Headquarters, Allied Expeditionary Forces, reports that Gen. Eisenhower explained the march of American troops through Paris as "more a matter of necessity than ceremony." Gen. Eisenhower, "after reviewing the political situation," ordered the diversion of two American divisions in order "to quiet the nervous population, awe collaborators and, as Gen. Eisenhower said,

strengthen the position of Gen. Charles DeGaulle and help in the solution of his particular problems."

STALINIST DANGER

The most dangerous and treacherous force within the working class of France is the Stalinist party which has entered the DeGaulle government and is reported to be the strongest in France. The Stalinist leaders have no other objects than to divert the revolutionary sentiments and struggles of the French masses into the utterly reactionary channels of bourgeois nationalism and class collaboration and to yoke them once again to the war chariot of Allied imperialism. The three-point program issued by the French Communist (Stalinist) Party in its first meeting at Paris contains not a single reference to the pressing needs of the French workers and peasants.

In following the Communist Party an important section of French workers seeks to express, not their allegiance to the reactionary aims of Stalinism, but their desire for revolutionary action such as Lenin and Trotsky's Bolshevik Party of Russia carried through in October 1917. The working masses must not place the slightest confidence in the Stalinist and Social-Democratic flunkies of Anglo-American and French imperialism. They can assure the future of France and achieve their demands for economic security and social emancipation only by irreconcilable opposition and unremitting independent class struggle against the imperialist conquerors and all their aides and accomplices.

To win peace, bread, work and freedom, a real people's government is needed in France — a workers and peasants government which will proceed uncompromisingly to solve the basic problems through the overthrow of the rotten capitalist system and the establishment of socialism.

Such a government will be built and based upon the Workers Councils (Soviets), the indispensable instrument for organizing and rallying the masses for the revolutionary conquest of power. The victory of the French workers will be secured only if their revolution sweeps over national boundaries and merges with the liberating struggles of all the European masses, united under the central rallying slogan of the Trotskyist Fourth International: "For the Socialist United States of Europe."

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Diary Of A Steel Worker

By Theodore Kovalesky

I saw a pathetic thing happen today. A young colored fellow lost his entire check in a crap game in the locker room. That means that he will have to work plenty of overtime this week to make up for it... if he can manage to do it in this hot weather. A couple of months ago one of the white boys did the same thing and swore off the game for life. But I noticed that he was back there in today's crap game.

Why do they do it? And why do they play horses and numbers? It might seem strange to some people that these workers in one of the world's toughest, most grueling industries should risk their pay this way, when they have to go through such a hell of sweaty fatigue to earn it, and when they earn so little at that.

Well, that question answers itself. They shoot crap because they earn so little. Put yourself in the position of these fellows. You've worked forty-eight hours in the heat of mid-summer.

You've felt the piercing heat radiated from the molten metal and slag and seen the steam rising from your clothing.

Each day when you've gone to work, your clothes have been still wet and sour with yesterday's sweat.

And each day when you've left the plant, you've gone past stores

and seen the high prices in the windows, you've gone home and eaten the inferior trash that passes

for food these days.

You have noticed the fringe on the cuffs of your pants, the frayed

collar of your shirt, the threadbare coat that your wife may

have to wear next winter, and you've heard the knocks in the motor of your car. Well, what are you going to do about it? Look at your paycheck — thirty-five or forty-five dollars after deductions. Pay off the loan shark, the butcher and grocer, spend a dollar lavishly for the luxury of a show... and then hope that next payday will hurry along before you have to pay out any more money.

But wait! Here's a chance to make some money, a lot of money without killing yourself in the heat to do it. When you get your check, you cash it and put aside a couple of dollars for a crap game, but no more than that. If you win, fine. If not, you don't want to lose a lot. Okay, shoot a half. You're faded. Six... and then seven. Well, you can't win every throw. Shoot another half. Then a quarter. Maybe you win a couple times, but then the two dollars is gone. That's kind of hard to take on YOUR wages. But then there's always the law of averages. You lost the two, but as you say, you can't win all the time.

You win a couple more throws and then lose a couple. Why can't you have some luck? Just yesterday one of the fellows was telling you how he picked up thirty-three dollars in an hour and a half. You roll the dice again. Snake eyes! All right. You won't keep on playing all night. You'll just try to win back what you lost, break even and you'll quit.

What lousy luck! Five dollars left out of all your pay! You can't go home with five dollars. Shoot a half. Bet a half you make it. You don't. You take a breath, but don't let the other guys see how miserable and scared you feel. Shoot the whole thing. What's the difference? You can't lose much now, and maybe...

You make a couple of wisecracks about how there's not much difference between what you're taking home this week from the amount you take home any other week, and then you go out, trying to figure out what you'll say when you get home.

You go along the street wondering miserably where you're going to borrow the money to live on this week, knowing that you'll feel this loss for a couple of months. You think again about the clothes you need, about your wife's coat, about the repairs on your car. It's a hot day and you suddenly realize that you're sweating and thirsty, but you go right by Emil's place, because you can't even afford a beer. Damn it, you wish you could get a raise. You think angrily, "If we could get that 17c or part of it... if I had a halfway decent check, I never would have got in that damn crap game!"

10 Years Ago In The Militant

SEPTEMBER 8, 1934

NEW YORK — Half a million textile workers were out on strike from Maine to Mississippi in a powerful demonstration of labor solidarity and militancy.

"Pressed by a militant rank and file, ready to brave tear gas and bayonets, prepared to fight to the finish," The Militant reported, "even the daffidid top leadership (of the Textile Workers' Union-AFL) has been forced to issue bold statements." The account quoted Francis J. Gorman, head of the strike committee, who said, "We shall agree to arbitration only after we have closed all mills in all divisions of the industry."

Gorman's pronouncement, however, was immediately revealed as a cover for the leadership's retreat. A late bulletin announced that Gorman was accepting proposals of the Federal Mediation Board to participate in an early "peace conference."

MOSCOW — A new Soviet film, "Soviets Greet the New Turkey," was released with official endorsement and fanfare. Describing the picture as a tribute to the dictatorship of the reactionary Kemal Pasha, The Militant declared, "The degeneration of Stalinism in the direction of class collaboration proceeds rapidly... The Soviet film... paints in glowing colors, the differences between the old and new Turkey... (In actuality) the (Turkish) Communist Party and all other workers' groups have been suppressed... trade unions... are prohibited... The rights of minority nationalities... are not recognized by the Turkish government."

BELGIUM — Learning a bitter lesson from Hitler's assumption of power in Germany, the anti-fascist youth groups of Belgium took the first steps toward a united front of working class organizations. The Militant published the text of a pact signed in Brussels on August 18, by representatives of the Young Socialist Guard, Young Communist League, and Leninist Youth League (Trotskyist). Set forth were fundamental aims of the united front, including: "Common action of solidarity for all victims of capitalist reaction... Against all steps tending towards dictatorial measures... Against all decrees that may have their origin in these dictatorial measures... Against the dissolution of labor defense organizations... For the active defense of all liberties and reforms won by the working class... Active organization of the defense of the USSR, without thereby meaning elimination of the freedom of criticism."

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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.

Unemployment

"Cutbacks" and "contract terminations" are expressions now appearing with growing frequency in the daily press. Their inevitable consequence—MASS UNEMPLOYMENT—is rarely ever mentioned. Yet this fearful menace to the welfare and the lives of the millions of the country's wealth producers is becoming a grim reality.

This menace was highlighted back in June by the Brewster UAW Local 365 "sit-in" when upwards of 8,000 workers lost their jobs due to termination of Navy contracts in plants of the Brewster Aeronautical Corporation in Long Island City, N. Y. and Johnsville, Pa.

The process which the capitalist press itself terms "disemployment"—permanent loss of jobs and livelihood—has taken on an accelerated pace. Today, with Wall Street's war against its German rivals drawing to a close, the pace grows faster, FASTER!

Total Army Air Force contracts already cancelled total \$3,600,000,000, the *N. Y. Post* reported Aug. 28. The same paper predicts that \$10,000,000,000 in war orders will be cancelled "overnight" when the war in Europe ends.

In plain language: MASS UNEMPLOYMENT IS JUST AROUND THE CORNER; the beginnings of it are HERE NOW!

The Roosevelt Administration, through Congress, is taking care of the profit-bloated corporations. Roosevelt's post-war reconversion plans call for:

1. Handing over to the corporations plants, materials, equipment, stores and land acquired or built by the government for war purposes, and paid for out of public funds, to a value of between \$75 and \$100 billions.

2. Post-war gifts to the corporations through tax rebates and other hand-outs to the tune of additional billions.

3. Guaranteed profits to the corporations, equal AT LEAST to their highest pre-war profits.

This is Roosevelt's program of aid to the capitalists. What is promised to the workers?

For them, or the producers of the nation's wealth, for the class whose sons are pouring out their

blood on the battlefields, there is left—THE SCRAPHEAP OF UNEMPLOYMENT AND STARVATION DOLES BY THE STATE GOVERNMENTS. Roosevelt's henchmen in Congress have just rushed through the House a mutilated version of the infamous George Bill, which, after other measures were passed taking good care of the exploiters of labor by a piratical pilfering of the public purse, leaves the working-class victims of capitalism to take care of themselves.

Roosevelt takes care of the big corporations whose interests he serves. Labor, he says in effect, must take care of itself. That's right! That's just what labor must do!

It means a fight—a fight by labor against the post-war hunger plans of Roosevelt and Big Business.

This is a political fight—a fight by the whole working class against the whole capitalist class and its executive committee which sits in Washington. For this fight, labor needs, and must have, a political weapon—a strong, reliable weapon with which to defeat the hunger plans of the capitalists and their government.

That weapon cannot be anything less than labor's own political party—an independent Labor Party based on the trade unions and armed with a fighting program—a party of the workers, built by the workers, for the workers.

Such a labor party would fight for a universal 30-hour week, without any reduction in weekly earnings, as a means of absorbing workers displaced from war industry and for a nation-wide program of home-building and public works to provide still more jobs.

Such a labor party would fight against Roosevelt's plan to turn over government plants to private ownership and would strive for the nationalization of all industry, with workers' control of production, in order to insure jobs at decent pay for all.

Neither of the two capitalist parties, neither the Democrats nor the Republicans, can or will concern themselves with the welfare of the workers. Only Labor's own party can or will do so.

U. S. And India

Ten years ago, in a thesis entitled "War and the Fourth International," Leon Trotsky, outlined the aims of American imperialism in the light of preparations for the second world war. The American imperialists, declared the thesis, "are in reality preparing to establish for themselves a territorial base in China, so as to raise at the following stage, in case of conflict with Great Britain, the question of the 'liberation' of India."

This prophetic statement received remarkable confirmation last Sunday with the publication of a letter written by President Roosevelt on May 14, 1943 by Ambassador William Phillips, the President's personal envoy to India. The letter has been kept secret for more than a year. Its contents leaked out only when Phillips was declared *persona non grata* by the British authorities because "his views are not what we are entitled to expect from a professionally friendly envoy."

The anger of the British colonial slave-drivers is understandable, for the Phillips letter draws a picture of conditions in India which they are only too anxious to conceal. Moreover, it calls bluntly for American intervention in the affairs of India. Here are some of the points of the Phillips letter:

1. The Indian people are at war "only in a legal sense, as for various reasons the British Government declared India in the conflict without the formality of consulting Indian leaders or even the Indian Legislature. Indians feel that they have no voice in the government and therefore no responsibility in the conduct of the war. They feel that they have nothing to fight for, as they are convinced that the professed war aims of the United Nations do not apply to them."

2. India's army is "purely mercenary" and the morale of the Indian officers is "poor."

3. The attitude of the general public toward the war is even worse. "Lassitude and indifference and bitterness have increased as a result of famine conditions, the growing high cost of living and continued political deadlock."

4. "While India is broken politically into various parties and groups, all have one object in common—eventual freedom and independence from British domination."

5. Phillips went on to say "it is high time that they (the British imperialists) should make an effort to improve conditions and reestablish confidence among the Indian people that their future independence is to be granted. Words are of no avail. They only aggravate the present situation."

6. If the British imperialists cannot or will not act by means of a solemn declaration from the King-Emperor that India will achieve her independence at a specific date after the war," then, said Phillips, the United States should intervene.

"If we do nothing and merely accept the British point of view that conditions in India are none of our business, then we must be prepared for various serious consequences in the internal situation in India which may develop as a result of the despair and misery and anti-white sentiments of hundreds of millions of subject people."

Phillips, and Roosevelt, are not concerned with the true liberation of India. The American imperialists have done, in Puerto Rico, for example, just what the British have done in India. And they are still doing it. Phillips and Roosevelt (Phillips admits this with unusual candor) merely fear that the "despair and misery" of the Indian people will make India a precarious base of operations against Japan. Eventually, they want to oust the British imperialists from India, not in order to liberate the Indian people, but in order to subject them to the exploitation of Wall Street.

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.

Sacco-Vanzetti

Editor:

In my article on Sacco and Vanzetti in the August 26 issue of *The Militant*, I neglected to say that both men were anarchists. Would you publish this to rectify this oversight?

Ruth Johnson

"Merit Review"

Editor:

A scintillating brochure issued a few weeks ago by the Douglas Aircraft Company in Southern California entitled "YOUR Merit Review" begins with the question, "How am I doing?"

The response of the workers in my department at first was "with a heh heh tweh tweh tweh tweh . . ." But upon reading this intimate message we discovered that this was no ordinary question demanding an answer. Instead, "How am I doing?" explains how the group leaders, the assistant foreman, the foreman, the assistant supervisor, the supervisor and a gang of analysts put their heads together to determine the increase to which the quality of their work titles them.

If you would like me to, I will let you know how I am doing next week—that is, if I am still doing. What with all the lay-offs. That's a problem in itself. Like the little woman who wasn't there. You know—you are laid off—but there are no lay-offs. Well, next time I'll tell you about that.

A. T.
Los Angeles

Labor Party

Editor:

I would like to give an example of how this game, which I call "You can't win," works.

Take "Job Interest." Say you are filing or drilling or grinding or buffing or sweeping. Do you demonstrate an intense interest in your job? Hell no. Especially after two years of it at 90c. an hour. See what I mean?

Then the one about your loyalty to your department and the Company. These come above all else. What? You are tired? Well my little woman, go straight home.

Labor is a long way off from

such an accomplishment. What with the leaders of the AFL, CIO, and UMW scrapping and baring their teeth at each other, there's no wonder that the capitalists sit back so smugly and defy labor on every issue.

The post-war period will bear out my statement, there will be grave issues to be met later on, and the need for political solidarity in the ranks of labor will be keenly felt.

The Democrats and Republicans have no interest in labor, other than to profit by the system and the nefarious practices that make exploitation possible.

After all is said and done, Labor contributes the votes that elect presidents, be they Republican or Democratic. Labor pays the heavier part of the cost of running the government. Labor is called upon to supply the material necessary to build up and maintain this terrible war. Why then don't we have an American Labor Party?

R. R.
Brooklyn

(EDITOR'S NOTE: While we agree upon Labor's need for a strong party of its own, we cannot agree that this party must be "divorced from all foreignisms." The important thing is not the national origin of ideas and programs, but their scientific correctness and correspondence to the actual needs of the workers in their struggle for emancipation. The only method that meets these requirements is the Marxist method of scientific socialism. Marxism is based upon the experiences and needs of the working masses in all countries, and its ideas are the product of great working class thinkers and leaders of various nationalities. Readers interested in this question should read that section of Leon Trotsky's introduction to "The Living Thoughts of Karl Marx," entitled "Marxism in the United States".)

INTERNATIONAL NOTES

AUSTRALIA

The pattern of Allied "liberation" of Europe is gradually being revealed in the case of Austria, whose "independence" is to be restored as part of the Roosevelt-Churchill-Stalin plan for Balkanizing Europe.

According to the London Daily Telegraph, "the first tangible step towards the liberation of Austria was achieved today (June 8, 1944) when Baron von Berger-Waldenberg, Minister to Italy before the (Nazi) invasion of Austria, took possession of the Austrian Legation (in Rome) with the approval of the Allies. The red and white-barred Austrian flag was flown."

Who is Baron Berger-Waldenberg? He was one of the leaders of the Heiminsen, fascist organization in Austria which was subsidized by and directed under orders from—Muhammad! When the parliamentary regime was overthrown, the Baron became Minister for Home Security in the fascist government which succeeded it and was the author of many of the decrees which wiped out all democratic liberties and paved the way for the absorption of Austria by Hitler's Third Reich.

This, then, is the "democrat" chosen by Roosevelt-Churchill to occupy the Austrian Legation in Rome on the eve of Austria's "liberation." It is not difficult to see that the regime the Allies will attempt to impose upon "liberated" Austria will be of a kind with the "democratic" regime of Badoglio in Italy.

MEETINGS such as these are vain, for they do not go to the root factors which are causing the empty facade of Chinese "national unity" to crumble. Those factors reside within the Kuomintang regime itself, which is reactionary to the core and incapable either of defending China against the Japanese imperialists or of mitigating the economic crisis which holds millions in the grip of poverty and hunger.

CHINA

Under conditions of continuing economic decline and military failure the Kuomintang regime of Chiang Kai-shek has for some time been showing symptoms of disintegration. Foreign correspondents reported months ago that Chiang's regional commanders were disregarding operational orders from the High Command and assuming more and more an attitude of independence from the government.

THE PROVINCIAL PARTICULARISM which marked the warlord period in China after the overthrow of the dynasty in 1911 is being revived as the internal chaos deepens. Powerless to mitigate, much less solve the crisis—which is of its own making—Chiang humbly supplicates the American imperialists for financial and economic aid. Roosevelt has dispatched Donald M. Nelson and Major-General Patrick J. Hurley to Chungking to help bolster up Chiang's bloody rule.

Latest symptoms of the disintegration of the Kuomintang regime are reported in dispatches from Chungking by Time magazine and Associated Press. According to Time, Chiang has decreed "separation of political and military powers" in the provinces and has ordered "war-zone commanders to be barred

from functioning as provincial governors." In this way, Chiang hopes to retain his political control of the provinces, which is threatened by the growing independence of the war-zone commanders.

Another move of the same kind was reported in an AP dispatch of Aug. 29 which said that Chiang had removed Gen. Sheng Shih-tsai from the governorship of Sinkiang (Chinese Turkestan) in far northwest China and replaced him by one of his own close subordinates, Gen. Wu Chung-hsin, chairman of the Mongolian and Tibetan Affairs Commission of the Kuomintang government. Gen. Wu's position, said AP, "will be that of a loyal Kuomintang official taking orders from Chungking."

MEETINGS such as these are vain, for they do not go to the root factors which are causing the empty facade of Chinese "national unity" to crumble. Those factors reside within the Kuomintang regime itself, which is reactionary to the core and incapable either of defending China against the Japanese imperialists or of mitigating the economic crisis which holds millions in the grip of poverty and hunger.

CUBA

President-elect Dr. Ramon Grau San Martin of Cuba arrived in the United States last week to do obeisance to the Wall Street masters of his island homeland—his first notable act since his recent election. By this demonstrative visit the new President intimates that he will, like his martinet predecessor, Col. Fulgencio Batista, do his level best to keep the Cuban people subservient to American imperialism which enslaves and exploits them.

Back in 1933, Grau San Martin was elected President by the masses of Cuba on a program which promised a struggle against the Wall Street imperialists. Roosevelt refused to recognize him or his government on recommendation of Sumner Welles, who was then U. S. Ambassador to Havana, and encouraged his overthrow by the bloody Batista.

LET US TURN the pages—perhaps Roosevelt will shine more brightly on the international field? Alas no, for we learn that "the Atlantic Charter has lost, under the impact of bitter realities, so much of its lustre that instead of being the cornerstone of a saner future it might become an insurmountable obstacle to durable reconstruction."

THE LIBERALS are like the dog chasing his own tail—the more he bites the harder it is for him to leave go. Three guesses whom the Nation declares must be elected for President. It may help if we hint that his initials are F.D.R.

Huge War Profits Jackpot Hit By the Corporations

Wall Street's "post-war" crop of stomach ulcers due to financial worries is not expected to increase materially, even if millions of workers are thrown out on the streets and forced to subsist on starvation "relief."

This assurance comes from no less an authority than the Securities and Exchange Commission which recently issued a comprehensive report on the financial strength of American corporations based on their vitamin-rich diet of war profits and their prospects for government "relief" considerably higher than the best social service standards for the unemployed.

Corporate industry, the SEC reports, has hit the jackpot for a net working capital of \$43,000,000,000, highest in all history. This represents an increase since 1939 of \$19,000,000,000. "As of Mar. 31, 1944, American corporations had net working capital which was almost \$11,000,000,000 in excess of their working capital at the end of 1941, at the time of the highest peace-time production of goods in our history. This overall working capital is currently being augmented at the rate of about \$5,500,000,000 per year."

In addition, the corporations have tax rebate and "carry-back, carry-over" provisions which guarantee them for two years a continuation of "normal" profits even if they operate at a loss.

This phenomenal aggregate of working capital, says the SEC, "re-emphasizes the ability of American industry as a whole to reconvert to peace time production and also to undertake considerable expansion without recourse to outside sources of funds."

But working capital, in the opinion of the capitalists, doesn't necessarily mean capital to put men to work. On the contrary, Wall Street's government agents are thinking up new schemes to put the public treasury through the wringer for the benefit of the big business plunder-bund, while laying the basis for mass unemployment and misery that will make 1929-39 seem like "Paradise Lost."