

# Trotskyists In Italy Organize Bolshevik Group

Exclusive Eye-Witness Account Describes Misery of Masses, Revolutionary Ferment

News from Italy of the most vital importance for the world labor movement was secured last week by The Militant. This is contained in an eye-witness account of the white-hot revolutionary situation in Italy and the abysmal misery of the Italian masses under Allied domination. Above all, this report gives direct confirmation of the organization and growth in numbers and influence of the Italian Trotskyists, adherents of the Fourth International. The writer of this first-hand report, published below, has many years standing in the socialist movement. This is the first complete account of developments in Italy to come from revolutionary socialist sources.

\* \* \*

By Arthur Robinson

A year ago, when I visited Naples after the Allied armies had entered it, "Democracy" appeared to have conquered. Everywhere slogans were raised on banners, scrawled on walls, yelled in the streets, "Welcome to the Liberators," "Long live Roosevelt," "Long live Churchill." Now these signs are weatherbeaten, aged, torn and are not replaced. New ideas, new banners, new slogans appear, and always to the left—"Long live Russia," "Long live Soviets," "Soviet Italy."

Since the arrival of the Anglo-American conquerors, the politicalization of the Italian masses has been intensified. It is clear to all, the Allied armies are the government of Italy. Italy is an occupied country. The result—not "freedom from want" and "freedom from fear," but their opposite—hunger, devastation, slaughter, suppression of democratic rights, maintenance of the old capitalist landlord-monarchist regime.

The most significant sign of the developing revolutionary situation in Italy, the greatest news I have to relate, is to confirm the existence, rapid growth and increasing influence of the official Trotskyist movement, the Bolshevik-Leninist adherents of the Fourth International.

The new organization, forged in the heat of the revolutionary flame blazing among the Italian masses, was recently formed in Naples from a fusion of the old Trotskyist cadre and sympathizers, including the writers of the Manifesto from Italy published in the April 8 Militant, a section of dissidents from the Stalinist party, leftward moving elements from the Socialist Party and a group of former Bordighists. Their forces, to begin with, are already considerable. Trotskyist groups have also grown in Rome and other cities in south Italy. From the north, the key industrial area still under the Nazi heel, I learned from unimpeachable sources of the increasing activity and influence of the Trotskyists in the traditional center of proletarian revolution, Milan.

The new Trotskyist organization has already issued one pamphlet and the first edition of its official paper, *L'Internationale*. On its first appearance, the entire edition of *L'Internationale* was completely sold out from the newsstands in less than 2 hours. Like all publications which do not sanction the policies of the Allied conquerors and their puppet Italian government, the Trotskyist paper has been banned. It must be printed and distributed under incredible handicaps, among which is the need to secure all paper from the black market at the phenomenal price of 5 cents per sheet.

## DEFEND 4th INTERNATIONAL PROGRAM

The first issue of *L'Internationale* confirms the faith of the Trotskyists everywhere that the program of the Fourth International would inevitably find its way to the revolutionary workers of Europe. The Italian Bolshevik-Leninists, through their paper, send greetings to their Trotskyist co-thinkers everywhere, proclaim their solidarity with the 18 imprisoned Trotskyists, call for the support of the Fourth International. Their paper contains articles on the situation in Italy, the nature of the war and the tasks of the Italian workers. It fully defends the program of the Fourth International; against the imperialist war, for a socialist Italy as part of a socialist United States of Europe, for the defense of the Soviet Union, against Stalinism and its policies of deceit and treachery.

The Trotskyists of Italy are mainly workers, veterans of Mussolini's prisons, tried and tested in the harsh underground struggle against fascism. I talked with one Trotskyist worker from Rome, a hardened revolutionary fighter. It was from him I learned that there is a large Trotskyist group in Rome and also in Milan.

This worker had first met Trotskyists inside Mussolini's prisons, where he had been confined for 8 years. The prisons were veritable universities for revolutionary education. They had formed a Trotskyist group inside prison. From Milanese revolutionaries in the same prison, my informant had learned that there were "hundreds" of Trotskyists in the industrial Milan area.

One of the most significant indications of the growing response to Trotskyism, is the attractive power of the Bolshevik-Leninist program for the youth. Already, a sizeable youth movement, under

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## LABOR AND LIBERAL LEADERS SIGN APPEAL FOR AID TO 18

An appeal for financial aid to the Civil Rights Defense Committee signed by seven prominent trade union and liberal leaders is going out this week to several thousand local unions throughout the country. The signers are John Green, President of the CIO Industrial Union of Marine and Shipbuilding Workers; Willard S. Townsend, President of the CIO United Transport Service Employees of America; George Baldanzi, Vice-President of the CIO United Textile Workers Union; Julius Hochman, Manager of the N. Y. Joint Board of the AFL International Ladies Garment Workers Union; Warren K. Billings, famous class-war prisoner; John Dewey, eminent educator and philosopher; and James T. Farrell, noted novelist and chairman of the CRDC.

The appeal aims to obtain funds for the relief of the 18 Minneapolis Labor Case prisoners, their wives and children and for the CRDC's national campaign to free the 18 and repeal the Smith "Gag" Act. The appeal aims to obtain funds for the relief of the 18 Minneapolis Labor Case prisoners, their wives and children and for the CRDC's national campaign to free the 18 and repeal the Smith "Gag" Act.

More than 500 copies of the pamphlet: "Who Are The 18 Prisoners in the Minneapolis Labor Case?" were distributed by the New York branch of the CRDC to the delegates at the CIO United Rubber Workers convention last week. Having become acquainted with the important issues involved in the case, a number of delegates promised to work for support from their locals upon their return.

### BOSTON CONFERENCE

On Sunday, September 24 a conference to promote the national campaign of the CRDC in New England, called by the Boston CRDC and endorsed by the District Council of the Workmen's Circle, was held at the Workmen's Circle Center in Dorchester. The conference was well attended by delegates and visitors from Workmen's Circle branches and other workers' organizations in the Boston area. After hearing the address of George Novack, National CRDC Secretary, the conference unanimously adopted a resolution urging President Roosevelt to pardon the 18 and elect the Smith "Gag" Act.

a committee of 13 to visit local labor and fraternal organizations to secure support for the case.

### MILWAUKEE CRDC

The Milwaukee CRDC reports that after a thorough discussion of this important labor case, UAW-CIO Local 283 of the Wisconsin Motors Corporation voted unanimous support in the fight against the Smith "Gag" Act and for the freedom of the 18 and contributed \$25 to the CRDC.

Other recent contributors include \$150 from the N. Y. Joint Board, Cloak and Suitmakers of the ILGWU-AFL; International Office of CIO United Retail Wholesale and Department Store Employees; CIO United Steelworkers, 2431, Chelsea, Mass.; Mechanics Educational Society, Local 4, Toledo, Ohio; ILGWU Local 21, Newark, N. J.; United Construction Workers Local 312, Bessemer, Pa.; Cake Bakers Union, AFL, Local 51, N. Y. C.; Plastic Button and Novelty Local 132, ILGWU, N. Y. C.

### BRIDGES TESTIMONY

"The private shippers have more influence with the board than we do. The private shipping operators give orders to the board and those orders are obeyed. The records will show it."

The private shipping operators are at the same time the administrators in the government agency responsible for the operation of our merchant shipping. And the Deputy Administrator in charge of the Pacific Coast is at the same time president of one of our largest shipping concerns.

"The adoption of some of the Union's proposals by the Maritime Board, although it will conserve manpower and increase production, will not mean enough money for the operators and therefore this shipping operator in his capacity as the Administrator of the War Shipping Administration on the Pacific Coast ordered the board to hold such proposals in abeyance or to file them or to ditch them in some way or other."

"...the private operators worry more about their profits and their opposition to labor than about getting the job done. Of course

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## Unfurling the Trotskyist Banner



## Bridges' Program Endangers Vital Longshoremen's Gains

By Oscar Nelson

Bridges surrounds his betrayal of the interests of the west coast longshoremen with a patriotic halo. "Everything for the war effort": under this formula conditions gained by years of fighting and sacrifice on the part of rank and file longshoremen have been thrown to the winds. The giving up of union conditions on the part of Bridges and the Stalinist clique to increase "efficiency" in the loading and discharging of wartime cargoes has been a one-way street.

The shipowners are also interested in increasing efficiency but their "patriotism" is first of all a patriotism for profits and any new devices for speeding ship loadings are acceptable to them only if they can be carried out at the expense of the longshoremen. They are first of all concerned with cashing in on the tremendous wartime shipping program. Efficiency where government cargo is involved is only a secondary consideration.

The shipowners intend to preserve absolute control over loading operations in order to prevent exposure of their enormous profits. That is why they have sub-

### The UAW Convention

An Editorial

The recent convention of the Auto Union is a landmark in the history of the American labor movement.

The organization of a new rank and file group, boldly fighting against the treacherous policies of the CIO leadership, boldly fighting to smash the no-strike pledge, boldly fighting for a new militant program, is an event of first class importance. It means that the fumes of "national unity" are being dispelled, that the auto unionists, standing in the front ranks of America's mass production workers, are preparing again to battle for their interests and rights. This marks a significant step forward!

The whole labor movement is a head taller as a result of the struggle at the Auto Convention.

Upon request of the convention Haas was granted a special leave

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## Republicans Use 'New Deal' Line In Plea for Votes

By R. Bell

As the political campaign unfolds it becomes increasingly difficult to discern any distinction between the programs of the two capitalist parties. The platforms adopted by the national conventions of the Republican and Democratic parties were distinguished by their evasive straddling of every important issue.

Final disposition of these appeals came only at the tail-end of the convention. The Dalrymple leadership had rigged the procedure so as to get a formal decision on union policy and have itself reelected to office for the coming year, before it went on trial for its past bureaucratic actions.

"1) In all cases of expulsion by the president and/or the general executive board in connection with violations of the no-strike pledge, the constitution or orders of the board, those effected be restored to their former status of membership in the union.

"2) All claims for back pay made by the expelled members be denied.

"3) The appeal of Goodrich local 5 (which had in turn moved to expel Dalrymple following his bureaucratic action against union members in the Akron area) be denied.

"4) 50 percent of all fines collected from members whose cases were appealed be refunded by the International."

It was only on the fourth day

that the key policy issue — the no-strike pledge — was debated by the convention. The hand-picked resolutions committee brought in a lengthy "statement of policy" which was to be "the guiding line of the union for the coming year." The statement read: "We vigorously and unreservedly reaffirm our pledge against strikes, stoppages, slowdowns, and other interruptions of work." The statement of policy was laid aside until the resolutions, of which it was a summary statement, could be acted upon separately.

SHOVED ASIDE

All attempts by the opposition to restrict the no-strike pledge by striking out the words "without qualifications or reservation" were shoved aside. L. S. Buckmaster, most articulate spokesman of the Dalrymple leadership, declared that there could be no equivocation on this question: He reiterated: "We must take a position either for or against the no-strike pledge." According to him, organized labor is a minority group and will be crushed after the war if it does not carry favor with the powers-that-be by strictly adhering to its pledge, "given to the nation." He alluded to the United Auto Workers convention as an example of what may happen when amendments and reservations are tacked onto the platform.

These charges and counter-charges and cases of expulsions and fines that were revealed at the convention had been one of the main issues facing the convention. The large delegation from the Akron area, comprising a third of the convention delegates, came instructed by its locals to fight for the restoration of democratic rights and procedure in the URW.

This question of union democracy became a crucial issue in the Akron area when International President Dalrymple summarily expelled 72 band-builders from the General Tire and Rubber local last January, for participating in an "unauthorized" strike. Ray Sullivan and Howard Haas, former presidents of General Tire local 9, took up the fight on behalf of the victimized union men and immediately they were expelled by Dalrymple, discharged from the plant and quickly drafted into the army. Dalrymple united with the corporations against his union membership.

Sherman H. Dalrymple, drawing upon his experiences after the First World War, declared that the employers can smash the unions by provoking a series of strikes. He saw hope only in the benevolent protection of Roosevelt and the War Labor Board. "This," he said, "will assure support of the returning soldiers."

Thomas Evans of local 18, a 68-year-old father, who has lost one son in the war and has two more serving at the battle front, related how the employers are

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(Continued on page 4)

## Imperialists Spread Slander To Stave Off Coming Struggle for Socialism In Germany

By A. Roland

Slander has always been a political weapon of the ruling class used against the leaders of the oppressed. The Russian bourgeoisie in its day tried desperately to discredit Lenin and Trotsky by the accusation that they were German agents. Stalin clumsily aped the capitalists when he used the Moscow trials to try to convince the world that the Bolsheviks had become agents of fascism. Now the imperialists pretend to swallow this fraud in order to utilize the weapon of slander in their struggle for socialism.

The adoption of some of the Union's proposals by the Maritime Board, although it will conserve manpower and increase production, will not mean enough money for the operators and therefore this shipping operator in his capacity as the Administrator of the War Shipping Administration on the Pacific Coast ordered the board to hold such proposals in abeyance or to file them or to ditch them in some way or other."

"...the private operators worry more about their profits and their opposition to labor than about getting the job done. Of course

filled with hatred for the totalitarian regime which brought about the ruin of Italy. Churchill attempts to divert this hatred from the fascists and their capitalist masters to the revolutionary fighters who see the solution for the Italian masses only in the socialist transformation of society.

### AN AMALGAM

The English Prime Minister is concerned lest there be a survival or rerudescence of "totalitarianism" under "some form or other." He obviously tries to create an amalgam between fascism and the proletarian revolution! "Such (totalitarian) systems of government tyranny breed in the conditions of social dislocation, economic hardship and moral depression which follow in the wake of war and defeat." Churchill would be far more convincing in his solicitude for the welfare of the Italian masses if he were not on record with his fulsome praise of Mussolini. His

men. A conscious effort is made to confuse the workers by identifying the forces of reaction with the forces of revolution. The writer, Paul Ghali, contributes his mite in an article in the *N. Y. Post* from Basle, dated September 11. The Nazis, according to this story, are already preparing for secret survival after defeat. How? "They believe Russia will impose Communism on Germany after the war. The most reliable private information to this correspondent speaks of secret societies being formed by Nazis whose members are destined to infiltrate themselves into Communist groups and form a Fifth Column. Special training in Marxism is being given to chosen members of the Hitler Jugend, who will proclaim their adherence to Communism and join the German Soviets." This kind of perversion will later permit calling any revolutionist who is a

scoundrel Mussolini. His

(Continued on page 4)

# TRADE UNION NOTES

By Joseph Keller

Inner union democracy has been a key issue within the United Mine Workers for over two decades, even since John L. Lewis, as UMW President, established his dictatorial machine rule by ruthless methods. This issue has centered around the question of autonomy for the various UMW districts, the right of the membership to elect their own district officials. In 21 of the union's 31 districts, Lewis has reserved for himself the exclusive prerogative of appointing the officers over the districts.

The question of autonomy is itself a progressive issue. The rank and file miners want union democracy.

Last June, as the national presidential campaign shifted into high speed, the cry of "autonomy" was once more raised by an opposition group within the UMW. This time, however, it received support not merely from a section of the miners, but from forces which never in the past have revealed particular concern over the matter of union democracy for the miners. That support, coming from avowed enemies of the miners, including a section of the capitalist press, Administration spokesmen, pro-Roosevelt liberals, CIO bureaucrats and Stalinists, made the latest autonomy movement suspect from the start.

In addition, the main spokesman for the new opposition was Ray Edmundson of Springfield, Ill., who for the past ten years had distinguished himself as one of Lewis' chief lieutenants, a hand-picked district leader who faithfully enforced the dictates of "Big John." His sudden emergence, without explanation, as a champion of union democracy, his sudden opposition to the Lewis administration and his equally sudden pro-Roosevelt declarations seemed to indicate that Philip Murray, who heads an equally autocratic machine in the Steel Union, had a hand in the organization of the Edmundson opposition movement.

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But at the recent UMW convention in Cincinnati, Lewis did nothing to assure the miners that the charges of dictatorship were false, or that he intended to permit a relaxation of his high-handed, personal rule. On the contrary, he once more demonstrated the correctness of the charges in themselves by his totally brutal and arbitrary handling of the Edmundson opposition.

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Lewis dealt with the opposition by physically eliminating Edmundson from the convention and declaring him ineligible as a delegate and as a candidate for office, on a cooked-up technicality that has never been operative for Lewis' loyal henchmen. In addition, Lewis rammed through a couple of constitutional provisions calculated to entrench still more securely his machine rule. Amendments were adopted providing constitutional conventions and election of officers every four years instead of every two.

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At the convention, Lewis correctly scored Roosevelt and his labor policies. In true words of fire and brimstone, of which Lewis is a past master, he charged Roosevelt with the intention "to bind men to their jobs like indentured servants... to regiment and enslave labor... to put American workers in a straitjacket." From this justified appraisal of Roosevelt's anti-labor role, Lewis

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# Branches Off To Flying Start In Trial Pamphlets Sales Campaign

By Campaign Manager

The enthusiastic reports of the branches on the successful work they have already done in the call-back and literature campaign, tell most effectively how much the new readers of The Militant like our program! In Los Angeles, 80 out of 98 persons visited, renewed their subscriptions or bought the special set of the four Minneapolis Case pamphlets.

Our comrades write that the new readers of The Militant follow closely all articles in our paper about the Minneapolis Labor Case, and are eager to read the Trial pamphlets now being offered to them for only 25 cents by Pioneer Publishers.

The set, including James P. Cannon's "Socialism on Trial," Albert Goldman's "In Defense of Socialism," the pamphlet "Why We Are in Prison," and the CRDC pamphlet, "Who Are the 18 Prisoners in the Minneapolis Labor Case?" do more than explain the Minneapolis trial. They also provide a simple, basic explanation of the principles of the Trotskyist movement.

## FROM THE MAIL BAG

**Los Angeles:** Our work in revisiting subscribers is almost too satisfactory to describe in a letter. This week, out of 98 subscribers visited, 80 renewed their subs or bought pamphlet sets... But that can only give you a statistically optimistic picture. When you have the experiences recounted, you begin to become really enthused. Many workers say they make it a point to read the paper or have it read to them no matter how tired they are when they come home from work; many tell us that they give The Militant to their friends, too. There were some instances in which our comrades were asked to come back to speak to a meeting arranged for them at the subscriber's home. Card after card comes in marked "the best paper I ever read," "only criticism is that it's only six pages," "notify me of all meetings," and so forth!

**St. Paul:** One comrade spoke to three workers, asking them how they like The Militant. Their simple answer was "We're Negroes. We have no other choice!"—and our comrade sold each of them a set of the four trial pamphlets. Two other subscribers told us that they pass the paper around amongst their friends.

**Chicago:** This week we sold 76 pamphlets—that's 19 sets—after securing 9 renewals.

**Buffalo:** Another 76 pamphlets were sold this week, and 10 more renewals of subscriptions to The Militant obtained. (We hope Buffalo will tell us next week something about their experiences as well as their fine totals.)

**San Francisco:** We visited a number of subscribers, securing 14 renewals and selling 96 trial pamphlets within a week. Comments on the paper are generally favorable; one particularly interesting one came from a Negro subscriber who formerly read the Stalinist "People's World." He told our comrade he thinks our Negro Struggle column is good, but he especially likes the editorials. He appreciates the paper as a whole because it is broad in its approach, and takes a political stand he likes.

**New York:** In the first three weeks of the callback and literature campaign, the New York Local has sold 64 six-month subs, four one-year subs, and 23 new trial subs, in addition to selling 360 of the Minneapolis Case pamphlets. As the campaign progresses and comrades get more experience in this type of work, our percentages of subs and pamphlets increase steadily. Comrades are having fine discussions with the workers who have read the paper for three months. The comrades look upon this campaign as a press and party builder, and therefore they are making a point of obtaining new trial subs for friends of readers who renew their own subscriptions.

Further, scorning to endorse a no-strike pledge, Lewis called on the miners, to be prepared next spring to follow their traditional policy of "no contract, no work" when the contract negotiations come up again. He indicated also that in case of revision of the Little Steel Formula, the UMW would act promptly to demand increases in accordance with existing contractual stipulations.

One clause in the proposed new contract is particularly significant with respect to Lewis's organizational aims and policies. That is a clause requiring the operators to supply miners with only union-made explosives and tools. This is intended to fortify the UMW organizing drive in the chemical industries through the District 50 set-up.

Lewis has previously engaged in numerous organizational ventures, in the fields of the dairy farmers, construction workers etc. But these efforts floundered miserably on the shoals of his bureaucratic organizational set-up and methods. The unionization of the hundreds of thousands of workers in the chemical industry is certainly a vital and progressive task. It will be successfully accomplished, however, only through the democratic participation of the chemical workers themselves.

Total 10,000



Our agent in Youngstown has succeeded in placing The Militant on newsstands there. She writes: "The newsstands here were difficult to break into. However, we have maintained two within the city and are organizing our work so as to encourage the sales at the respective stands and to establish them permanently."

"The best method of publicizing the newsstands, we believe, is to distribute, consistently, our paper in the neighborhood where the stand is located. We're in the initial stage of this trial and are, therefore, unable to say at present the exact success. However, we can say the work has possibilities and the sales at the stands are improving."

"I'm enclosing two different stickers which we made up for distributing to two different localities. We print these, with slight variation, every week and paste them onto The Militant, which is outstanding and quite noticeable."

Our agent in Reading has also succeeded in placing The Militant on a newsstand there: Herman's Newsstand, 131 Buttonwood St.

In addition to getting renewals of the 3 month introductory subscriptions sold during the campaign, the branches continue to sell 25c subs in quantity.

Minneapolis sold out and has ordered 25 more sub cards. One of our Seattle agents sent us money for which he asked us to "send 15 of the prepaid 25c sub-blanks" to a friend in Portland. "He is a subscriber of The Militant and is very enthusiastic about it; he feels that he can get a number of subs."

Our San Francisco agent writes: "Please send us another 800 sub cards. From what I have been able to determine of the literature sets sold we can expect to sell to about 40 percent or at best 50 percent of the subscribers. Since we have only about 1000 left to contact we have to go out after another bunch of

"I like 'Struggle for Negro Equality' best."

"Swell. It's a real workingman's paper."

"The paper is like a letter from home."

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## HISTORY OF TROTSKYISM BY CANNON ISSUED BY PIONEER

By Charles Carsten

An ever-increasing number of people are anxious to know what Trotskyism is. In the opening pages of his book, the History of American Trotskyism, Cannon makes it clear that "Trotskyism is not a new movement, a new doctrine, but the restoration, the revival of genuine Marxism as it was expounded and practiced in the Russian Revolution and in the early days of the Communist International."

In his book, Cannon shows how the obstacles in the path of the Revolutionary movement were overcome, how the Trotskyists broke out of the isolation that followed their expulsion from the Communist Party, how the sectarians were defeated, and how new strata of workers were recruited to the party. He demonstrates how a cadre of experienced Marxists, steeled in the class struggle, disciplined and trained in the program, methods and tradition of Bolshevism, was formed.

He then shows how deeply the Trotskyists movement is rooted in the past. As a member of the Left Wing of the Socialist Party which later formed the Communist Party, Cannon was a delegate to the founding conference of the Communist Party in 1919 and for nine years was one of its leading figures.

## FACTIONALISM

The ranks of the Communist Party, in its early days, were wracked with factionalism and faced terrific persecution. "After the masters finished the war to 'make the world safe for democracy,'" Cannon explains, "they decided to write a supplementary chapter to make the U. S. safe for the open shop." The young party was driven underground by the unbridled reaction of 1919.

In spite of ultra-leftist diseases, the Communist Party of the 1920's made some great contributions to American working class politics. For the first time in this country a political party was built, based on Bolshevik doctrine, with a disciplined membership and a professional leadership.

The Trotskyists in this country began to discuss the question of fusion with the American Workers Party (Musteites). The AWP had within its ranks many militant workers and the organization was moving to the left—toward a revolutionary program. The AWP had demonstrated its ability to lead workers in militant struggle in numerous unemployed demonstrations and in the famous 1934 Auto-Lite strike in Toledo.

Cannon remarks that prior to the fusion which was achieved at the end of 1934, "Toledo and Minneapolis became twin symbols of the two highest points of proletarian militancy and conscious leadership."

The attention of the newly formed Workers Party was soon drawn to developments within the Socialist Party. A left wing group was organized and was moving towards a revolutionary program. The Trotskyists understood that without proper leadership it would either stop half way, remain a centrist tendency in the labor movement, or be swallowed up by the Stalinists. The Trotskyists decided that they must fuse with this new left wing tendency. To this end, the Trotskyists finally decided to join the Socialist Party and fight inside for its own program.

## FRUITFUL YEAR

Cannon declares, "... no one could have ground to believe that we were joining as capitulators, as renegades from Communism. We said: 'We enter the Socialist Party as we are, with our ideas.' ... And there was a fruitful year of work ahead of us in the Socialist Party."

Norman Thomas, who as Trotsky aptly remarked, "calls himself a socialist as the result of a misunderstanding," found that the Trotskyists were serious revolutionary socialists. He became embarrassed by their presence in his hitherto respectable party. His solution was the imposition of "Gag Law" which made it impossible to discuss political issues, and then wholesale expulsions. The youth and militant workers went with the Trotskyists.

On New Year's Day, 1938, the expelled Trotskyists met in convention, formed the Socialist Workers Party and adopted the program of the Fourth International—the program of uncompromising struggle against world capitalism.

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# Killing Of Fascist Police Chief Is Sign Of Revolutionary Mood Of Italian Masses

By James Cowan

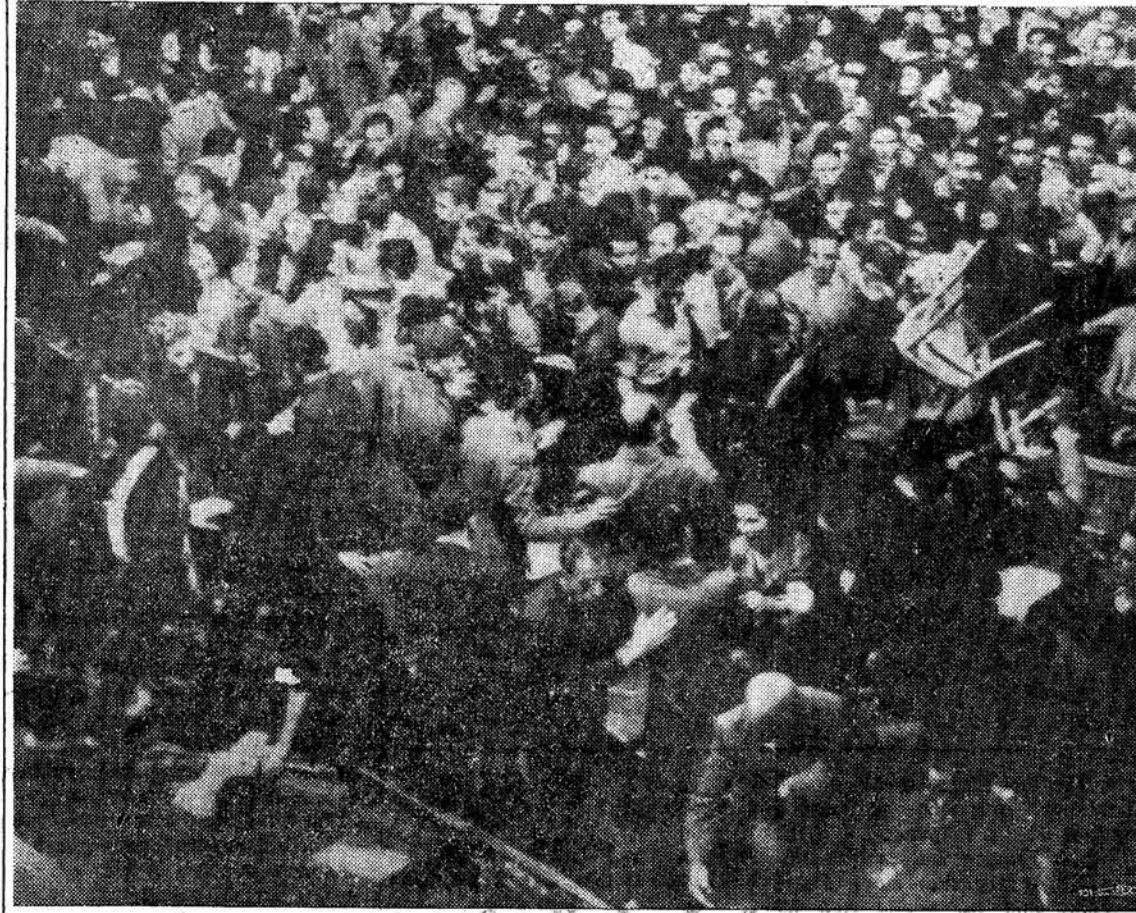
The white-hot revolutionary temper of the Italian masses, who are seeking not only to avenge the abominations to which they were subjected under the Fascist regime, but also to overcome all present obstacles to a better social future, was evidenced last week in a single dramatic incident in "liberated" Rome where an angered crowd of 7,000 joined in the killing of Donato Carretta, former vice-director of the Regina Coeli prison.

This one incident revealed with crystal clarity some of the most important elements in the Italian situation: the hatred of the masses for the Fascists and for the Allied imperialists who are endeavoring to shield them from the popular anger; the impotence of the Bonomi "coalition" government and its complete dependence on foreign bayonets; the refusal of the masses to be "disciplined" by either the old or new oppressors.

It was Herbert Matthews, N.Y. Times correspondent in Rome, who wrote the most complete eyewitness account of this act of retribution. Carretta had been brought to court as a prosecution witness against Pietro Caruso, Roman police chief under the Germans, who was to be tried on a charge of turning over 50 Italian hostages to the Nazis for execution.

Rome had been occupied by the Allies three and a half months previously, and during those months, wrote Matthews, relatives of the victims of Carretta's police, who formed the spearhead of the demonstrating crowd, "saw Caruso and his secretary... and others live in the safety of the prison" where they were sheltered and protected by the Bonomi regime and the Allied Military Government.

"Hatred and passion smoldered week after week and today broke into burning flame. They did not



A scene in the Roman Palace of Justice, with excited Romans milling through the court room during the first day of the trial of Pietro Caruso.

## A LETTER FROM ITALY

Editor:  
Enclosed you will find a letter which I have translated from a letter that I received from my father who is in Italy. It may be interesting to some of the readers of The Militant, so I thought I would send it on to you.

A Reader  
California

Dearest Son,  
In seeing your letter, it was like seeing you once again. You cannot imagine the consolation that it gave me to know that my sons are safe and sound and in good health. "We are well also for the present, but on paper I can't ever be able to tell you of my past life, of the suffering which we have gone through, and of the hunger and the lack of clothing we are experiencing.

"We have been getting 150 grams of bread a day, and now they have increased it to 200 grams a day; you can wonder how it is possible to live, but we eat in the country have been able to help ourselves a little by supplementing this small amount of food with greens, beans and vegetables.

"It is worse in regards to clothing, and shoes are not obtainable at all, except secretly, that is on the black market. To get a pair of work shoes you have to pay 3500 to 4000 lire; whoever has the price gets them, and who hasn't, goes without. Now it is warm and all the farmers go barefooted; there have been many that have been compelled to go barefoot in the cold snow, and that is how everything is in general. Socks just don't exist at all. In regards to the lack of clothing I could never be able to tell you all. You can imagine for yourself, an ordinary work shirt which previously was priced at 7 or 8 lire, now costs 600 to 700 lire. A good dress shirt costs from 1000 to 1400 lire, so you can see the clothing problem is in a terrible condition, and as for other objects that have to be bought, consider you have to pay from 45 to 50 lire for a box of matches and for an ordinary handkerchief you have to pay 100 lire. I will stop telling you about this and I will try to tell you a little about the life we are living.

"On September 8 an agreement was arrived at with America, and on the same day I was bombed by an American airplane. The bomb landed about 50 yards away from my home, so you can imagine the damage it caused. It destroyed the house and left it in a perilous condition, but I have fixed it temporarily and it has to be rebuilt; right now there isn't any cement, so that will have to wait.

"It was also on September 8, at nine in the evening, that an American airplane was shot down by the Germans, and the pilot saved himself by parachute. He landed about five miles away and was immediately taken by the farmers in that district, in good condition, and he said he had to release his bombs in order to save himself. He dropped four bombs one after another without killing anyone, but we were all covered with dirt; from then on we slept more than a month in a cave which we built on the side of a river bank.

"The Germans stole all our livestock, chickens, animals, cheese, sausages, bed sheets, etc., and then they would take this plunder and sell it for whatever they could get for it.

"I was in the direct line of fire and action of a large part of the troops and all the highway and railway bridges were bombed away and all the locomotives were shot up by the Germans, and we were left stranded without any means of transportation to be evacuated. It is practically a year and no train has passed our way as yet. I will stop talking about this.

"I would like to tell you about the harvests. They have been terrible and miserable. This year it looks a little better but we can't tell as yet.

"You said that you already know that conditions here are in a bad way and that you would like to help me out in some way. I thank you ever so much for the good heart that you have toward me. In regards to money, I do not desire any, because if you should send thousands of lire they couldn't do me much good, as I would not be able to buy anything much with them; first, everything costs so much, and then, you can't even get it. If you like and if you can, send me clothing, and not anything luxurious, but regular clothing and a pair of good shoes. If you cannot send clothing, send me what you can in money, but I can hardly buy anything. I repeat, if you can, please send some clothes, such as used clothes, work clothes, work shirts, underclothing.

"I would like to tell you much more but I don't even know whether you will ever receive this letter or not."

## Carretta Executed

Pietro Caruso, hated Fascist police chief of Rome during the Nazi occupation, was tried September 20, the day following the killing of Donato Carretta, the Fascist jailer, and sentenced to death on the charge of having handed over 50 Italian hostages for execution by the Nazis.

The police sought shelter when the crowd commenced to act. "Some jumped out of the windows into the courtyard."

More significant, perhaps, than this demonstration of the impotence of the Bonomi regime in face of the angered masses were two incidents which occurred in the final stages of the killing, both reported by Matthews.

In the streets, momentarily, two lieutenants of the Carabinieri succeeded in freeing the badly beaten Fascist from the furies of the crowd. They carried him to a command car standing a few feet away, with an American soldier at the wheel. But the soldier "refused to take the burden and drove off."

The two officers then picked Carretta up and carried him to where a British military truck stood and asked the driver to take him to safety. "The Britons refused and drove away. The Carabinieri officers put their burden down helplessly."

**FASCIST JAILER**  
Matthews professed to be horrified by this manifestation of "mob rule" and displayed great solicitude for the Fascist jailer who finally paid for his crimes at the hands of the Roman populace. It is on the record, however, that Matthews was never horrified by the mob rule of Mussolini's Fascist blackshirts. He never protested against the indignities, the tortures, the killings that went on in Italy for twenty years under Fascism. This was for the simple reason that Matthews was himself an admirer of Mussolini's regime, and said so without mincing any words. Like Churchill, he belatedly discovered his anti-Fascism only when Mussolini plunged Italy into the war against the imperialist "democracies."

**MASSES WANT SOVIETS**  
The writer goes on to describe villages alive with "many thousands of Italians — hungry Italians with guns." They will not surrender the guns, he says, before they achieve "some social order more nearly attuned to their ideas of justice than even our own ideas of justice." Like Matthews, this correspondent, too, views with apprehension the Allied "liberation" of the industrial North.

Southern Italy, he states, "is inhabited today by a completely disorganized, demoralized, hungry mob, capable of anything." By which he simply means that the masses are not prepared to tolerate the old order of things, even if it is handed them on a platter supported by Allied bayonets.

**THUNDER OVER MEXICO**  
How restive Italian workers in Naples are being treated by the Allied authorities is revealed once more in a Naples report published in *L'Unità del Popolo*, Italian-American weekly. In a factory making pastry for British headquarters the workers, all women, demanded that a wage increase due them be put into effect. "Orders came from the 'higher-ups' to check all disturbances: 'If the workers are men, shoot them. If they are women, turn a hose on them.'"

According to the same report, a demand by public utility workers for wage settlements negotiated many months before was greeted by Roosevelt's appointee, Col. Charles Poletti of the Allied Control Commission: "Tell the S. O. B.'s to go to hell. If they are anxious to hear from Col. Poletti, let them listen to his radio speech." The utility workers were further told that "demonstrations were strictly forbidden," that Allied Military Government would take care of all labor disputes. If a worker dared to disregard the orders, he might be punished by a death sentence.

The rising revolutionary tide in Italy is being watched with intense interest and sympathy by the large Italian-American working class as well as the labor movement in this country. In the Italian policies of Washington and London, they can see plainly the counter-revolutionary aims and purposes which animate the imperialist "liberators."

Matthews' testimony to the revolutionary temper of the masses all over Italy is reinforced by a dispatch from Rome in the Saturday Evening Post. After describing the terrible conditions of the people in the "liberated" parts of Italy, the writer declares that the "problem of the Italian revolution" is THE problem now facing the Allied imperialists: "For

## Report of Activity Of SWP Branches

MIWAUKEE, Sept. 19 — The new office and headquarters of the Milwaukee Branch of the Socialist Workers Party will be formally opened on October 1, with a gala house-warming party to begin at 4 P. M. The program will begin with a lecture by Comrade Jack O'Connell, entitled "Working Men Need a Labor Party." The lecture will be followed by lunch, entertainment, and dancing.

Included in the new headquarters at 926 N. Plankinton Avenue, is The Militant Bookshop where The Militant, The Fourth International, and all of Pioneer Publishers works will be displayed and sold.

LOS ANGELES, Sept. 10 — An audience of more than 90 Workers tonight attended a lecture presented by the Socialist Workers Party Branch, on "The Civil War in France."

More than half of the audience were new friends of the organization, who came to the forum in response to a mailing sent to new readers of The Militant in Los Angeles. A collection of \$67 was contributed by the audience.

## Masses Storm Caruso Trial



Fascist Carretta, former director of prisons in Rome, who turned chief witness against Pietro Caruso, Fascist Police Chief in Rome, cringes in fear as Romans storm around him in the Palace of Justice. The masses of Rome took their own vengeance on Carretta after dragging him from the courtroom.

## New Italian Trotskyist Group Unfurls Revolutionary Banner

(Continued from page 1)

homes, where imperialist armies have passed, are rubble and roofless walls.

This is what the Italian workers are receiving after their heroic armed struggle to overthrow the fascist regime and oust the Nazis. I was in Naples immediately after the Allies marched in, and I can tell you it was the workers alone who drove out the Nazis, after nearly a week of bitter, hand-to-hand fighting in the streets. The Allied troops moved in afterwards without, to my knowledge, firing a single shot or suffering a single casualty. The deceived people then turned the city over for abundant promises of food, "democracy," a "new" officialdom, and surrendered their arms.

Today, a year later, the masses are in tremendous revolutionary ferment. The detested monarchy has been jammed down their throats. Their freedom to meet and demonstrate is denied. No free elections have been held. They cannot even purchase newsprint from the paper control, for only those parties like the Stalinists and Nenni "socialists" which agree with the Allied conquerors and their puppet Bonomi government are permitted to issue publications. The Bonomi regime has not even the power of a rubber stamp, and less mass support.

Only the Trotskyist party offers a real solution to the problems of the Italian people. That is why the Trotskyists, joining hands with the revolutionary socialists everywhere in Europe, are destined to lead the great insurgent proletariat of Italy to their final emancipation.

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## FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

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

## Negro Struggle

By Charles Jackson

### The Tune Changes

The official Army and Navy policy of separating the Negro soldiers and sailors into segregated units so that they can be given an extra-special kicking around is beginning to bear the only fruit that could be expected from such undemocratic action. From all over the country come indications that the brown boys in uniform are determined to win equal treatment.

Considering the extreme control that the brass hats maintain over the enlisted men, the odds that these boys face and the price they frequently have to pay for the smallest concessions they win are tremendous. Many of them, however, are disgruntled that the bigwigs of the NAACP, primarily a civilian organization, will not initiate mass action and, as a result, they have decided to take matters into their own hands. Apparently, they figure that they would rather die fighting for a cause that means something to them and those near to them than to give their lives in the imperialist war from which they obviously can hope to reap no benefits.

### ALL-NEGRO JOB

Out on Yerba Buena island in San Francisco bay 50 Negro sailors are being tried in a mass court martial — the largest in Naval history — on a charge of mutiny, the maximum penalty for which is death. They belonged to the Jim Crow unit which had been assigned to the extremely dangerous task of loading the deadly naval ammunition. They had previously been fortunate enough to escape the fate of 300 of their buddies who were blasted into oblivion in the explosion which occurred at Port Chicago on July 17. Although for some strange reason the fact is not to be found in the daily capitalist press, it so happens that this particularly lethal task is reserved for the all-Negro units of the U. S. Navy. According to the sailors' statements, it was this racial aspect of the job to which they objected.

And how did they back up their objection? According to an official Naval statement around 300 walked off the job after the July explosion. After being given orders individually and threatened with penalties which might even mean death there were still 50 men who stood their ground. These are the 50 who are now standing trial.

### "RACIAL SUPERIORITY"

At the same time, an event took place as if to bear mute witness for the men. At the time of the trial eight more Negro sailors were blown up and 47 were injured in another terrific blast at a Naval ammunition depot at Hastings, Nebraska. The explosion, although it did not reach the main part of the ammunition because of a protective barricade was still powerful enough, according to eyewitnesses, to blast a hole in the ground 550 feet long and 25 feet deep. Here, as in Port Chicago, the treacherous job of handling the heavy naval bombs and shells had been reserved for Roosevelt's "cullud section" of the U. S. Navy.

### Pioneer Paragraphs

## FASCISM ARISES FROM DECAY OF THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM

The whole basis of Fascism arises out of the decomposition and decay of capitalism. In a period of social crisis, where millions are unemployed and hungry, great sections of the population seek a leadership which will show them a way out of the blind alley of capitalism. All the normal, middle-of-the-road parties of capitalism tend to disintegrate. The workers' parties which stand on the program of the abolition of capitalism and espouse a socialist program experience a stormy growth.

The capitalists attempt to utilize the very misery of the masses and their revolutionary aspirations for a decisive change, to create a mass movement of the middle classes, and employ it as a praetorian guard to crush the rising labor movement and to impose a new bloody dictatorship over the people.

The Fascist movements of Italy and Germany gained mass support by demagogically adopting

# Bridges' Program Endangers Union

(Continued from page 1)

they are able to take this position on account of the fact that the contracts that cover the work that have been signed on behalf of the labor contractors put a premium on doing work the slowest way."

### BRIDGES EXPOSED

There is only one thing left out in this tearful confession by Bridges — the longshoremen are holding the short end of the stick in this bankrupt game of knuckling under in order to increase efficiency for the "war effort." Where did this program come from? "We devised it," Bridges boasted in 1942, "and pushed for its adoption." And to put it over, Bridges and com-



HARRY BRIDGES

pany "agreed to set aside any and all provisions of its (the union's) entire collective-bargaining agreement." Out of his own mouth Bridges is convicted of playing the shipowners game.

**ANTI-UNION OFFENSIVE**

In March 1944, 700 members of the union were fired at the Oakland Naval Depot, where they had been working under contract. Local 1-10 of San Francisco, in reply to this attack, began an organizing drive for all civil service workers (also known as dock seamen) in the following month. The army retaliated by firing 200 workers and moving in 1,400 war prisoners to do their work. In addition, on orders from superiors in Washington, D. C., it revoked the passes of union business agents permitting them access to the grounds. Labor advisor to the port commandant at San Francisco is none other than Louis Lapham of the Lapham shipping clan. Bridges reply to this anti-union barrage was merely to send another telegram — this time to Senator Truman requesting an investigation of the manpower situation on the west coast:

"... while Local 6 (warehousemen) has a membership of 14,000 to 18,000, there are approximately 35,000 workers in the Bay Area doing warehouse work." And in the same issue "... there are 25,000 to 30,000 unorganized workers in this area."

### MAJORITY UNORGANIZED

A little arithmetic reveals that from 17-21,000 unorganized are warehouse workers, and the rest, up to 13,000 are longshoremen. In both cases a majority of the workers in the industry are unorganized. These civil service workers receive up to 30 cents less per hour than organized workers and constitute a serious threat to the union's standards.

The Waterfront Employers Association, with the MIB at their disposal have utilized the reserve army of unorganized to hit the union a series of heavy wallops. In November they demanded that the MIB outlaw the payment of initiation and dues by new men coming into the industry. Paul Elie, MIB chairman, followed with the proposal that recruitment of new longshoremen into the industry be taken out of the union's hands. The employers are poised for an attack on the union as soon as the army and navy give them the signal that the military situation no longer requires restraint and that the civil service pools are at their complete disposal.

The Bridges leadership is evading the real task of organizing the unorganized. They begged the

MIB to establish a single labor pool based on the union hiring hall — in order to increase efficiency. The employers walked out of the meeting and Elie, board chairman, ordered its minutes suppressed. Only militant action will organize these un-

### Harry Bridges

In line with the declared Stalinist policy of permanent surrender to the bosses, Harry Bridges, Stalinist head of the CIO Longshoremen's union, has incorporated for the first time in any union contract ever signed in America his notorious "security preamble" clause, agreeing not to strike for the duration of the war "and beyond."

This clause is contained in the contract being negotiated with the Pacific Coast waterfront employers. It has already been signed by five locals of the ILWU and the barge industry of San Francisco. Even *Business Week*, the weekly organ of Big Business, admits that "other CIO unions and the AFL view with horror" this treacherous blow at labor.

Bridges has become an all-out defender of capitalism, stating at the recent California CIO state convention that "capitalism is here to stay and I am tired of listening to these revolutionaries who refuse to see it." But he is not as tired as the workers are becoming of his dirty sell-out policies.

ganized and the Bridges-Stalinist have no intention of risking a clash with the government-shipowners combination.

### PRODUCTION TECHNIQUES

The production techniques developed during the course of the war, have cut down the required labor, decreasing the unit cost of production. Bowles described some of these in his speech to the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce: "The automobile industry and heavy industries will enter the post-war period with unbelievably more efficient machine tools. One such machine is reported to have cut production time on a given unit from 90 hours to 2 hours, 20 minutes. Another new machine replaces 17 pieces of equipment formerly required for all operations in drilling, machining, and finishing a casting. It has cut costs from \$3.88 to 22 cents per casting."

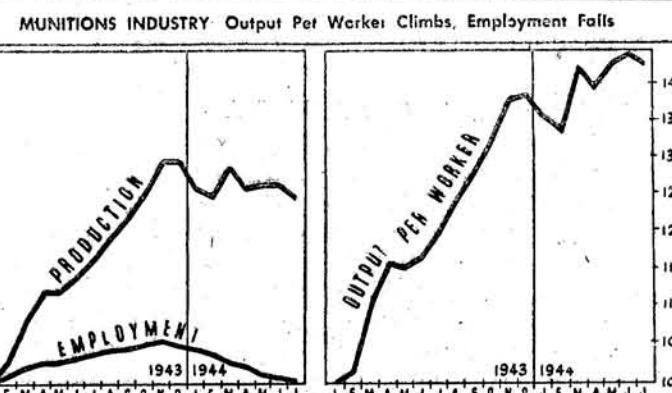
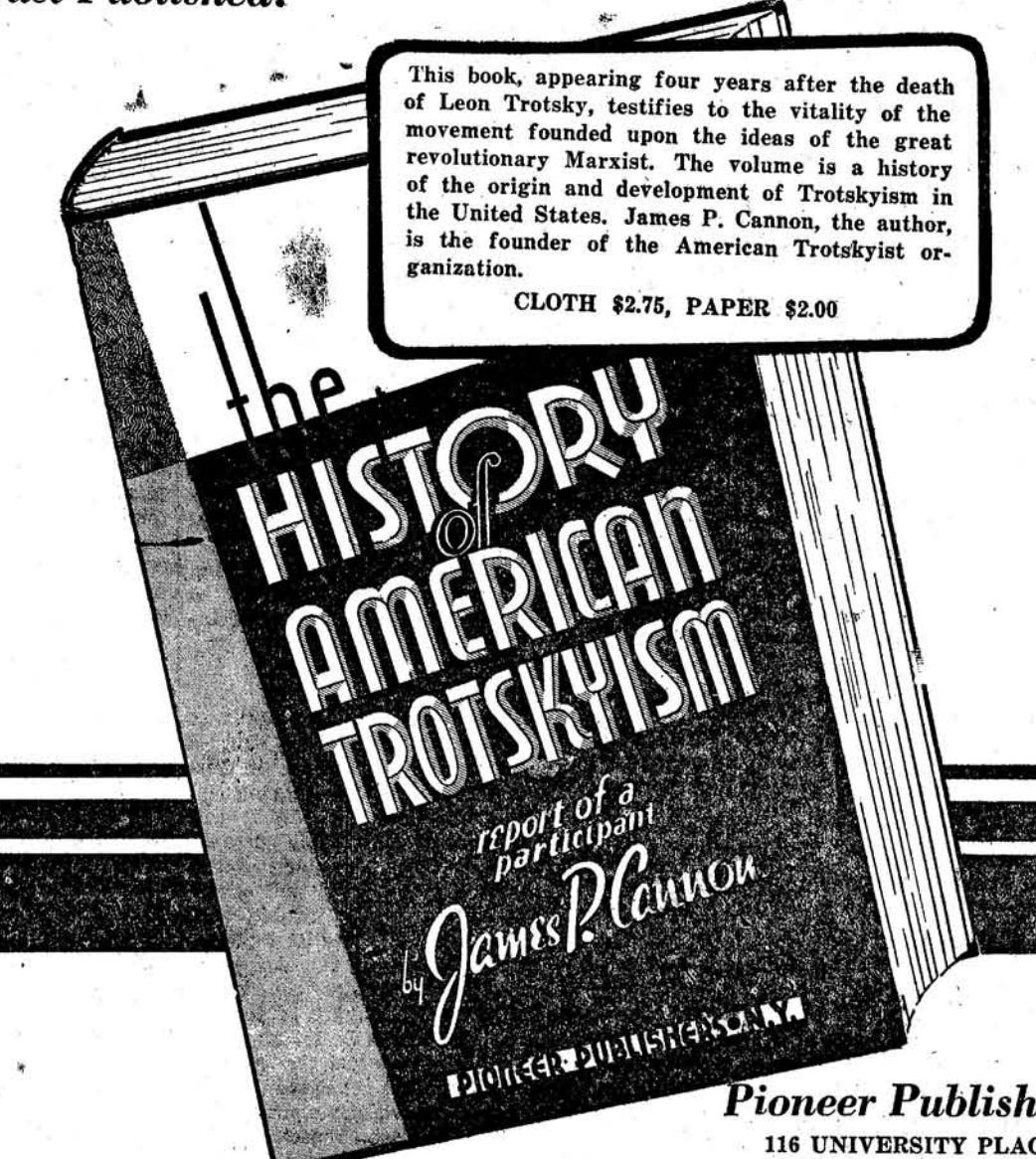
Similar changes have taken place in all of American production. The CIO News of January 31, 1944, pointed out that the average output per worker leaped from 158 to 207 units, or 33 percent, between 1938 and 1943!

This theory of fighting the government through government boards is plain hog wash. With a militant organization campaign that will lead to recognition of the union, the civil service workers will remain defenseless against army intimidation.

Bridges' policy of kowtowing to Roosevelt forbids him to make any moves in this direction. A clash over this question would expose Bridges' lies that Roosevelt is "labor's best friend" in much the same manner that the miners strike did a year ago. The first principle of a Stalinist bureaucrat is to demonstrate his servility to the capitalist ally of Joseph Stalin. And this comes first, even if the workers must remain unorganized, even if conditions are to be driven down to the depths of the fink days, even if the union hall is to be undermined and destroyed.

The unorganized can only be organized on the basis of a militant program and against the subservient policies of Bridges and Company.

### Just Published!



## Average Labor Productivity Increased 26% During War

By Ruth Johnson

official organ of the UAW-CIO (November 1943). Bowles himself admits that hourly wage rates in the automobile industry went up only 4½ percent from 1942 to the present time.

The auto barons in their attempted gouge, cited the 9½ percent increase in auto workers' "take home" pay, which is well beyond the auto manufacturers' demands for tremendous post-war price increases on automobiles.

The greater output per man-hour of work, not only reduces the manufacturers' costs, as Bowles points out, it also brings sharply before the American labor movement, the problem of ever-increasing "technological unemployment" resulting from greater efficiency.

According to PM, September 15, the auto barons are planning to jack-up prices 25 percent higher than 1942 prices. They base their demands chiefly on "high labor costs." These claims are spurious and refuted by all statistics. The average hourly increase in wages for all industrial workers, from October 1942 to November 1943, was only six-tenths of a penny, according to the United Automobile Worker, Aug. 11, states:

"... while Local 6 (warehousemen) has a membership of 14,000 to 18,000, there are approximately 35,000 workers in the Bay Area doing warehouse work." And in the same issue "... there are 25,000 to 30,000 unorganized workers in this area."

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## Diary Of A Steel Worker

By Theodore Kovalesky

There's a lot of grimness in a worker's sense of humor. There has to be, or rather, he has to have a sense of humor to be able to live the kind of life that he lives; and that humor is bound to be somewhat grim. He laughs at a fellow worker who has just had a narrow escape from death or serious injury: "When that gate exploded, he was going away so fast his coat tail was standing straight out." He laughs at himself after an intolerable day in the heat: "My shoes were burning up, and I was wet like I'd been out in that lake. I thought they'd have to take me out of that runner with the crane."

A devil-may-care grin on his dirty face, a laugh in his throat . . . and deep anger in his heart. It would almost seem that the worker, the average worker, understood clearly, "This isn't the time just yet. The time is coming when all the wrongs and injustices of our life will be righted, the time when we will rise up and right them. But until we do, we'll make the best of a bad situation and get a few laughs out of it."

The reason why I'm writing these things is this: One of the fellows showed me a verse he had with him today. It was the words for a song to the tune of "The Old Apple Tree." I thought it showed some of the things a furnace man has to put up with. Here's the song:

O my poor pappy worked in a steel plant  
On a furnace making iron out of ore;  
And each day he'd sweat and smoulder  
As he rapidly grew older

In that steel mill on the Great Lakes' smoky shore.

O he worked in the midst of the fire,  
In the midst of the molten metal's glare.  
And he coughed and choked and cussed  
As his lungs filled up with dust,  
But the sulphur gas was more than he could bear.

Then one day as he worked on the furnace  
In that steel mill on the Great Lakes' smoky shore,  
With a misstep that was fatal,  
He fell into a ladle,

And now my poor, dear pappy is no more.

So the steel plant sent a man to see my mammy:

"Now we're sorry," he said, "sorry as can be.

Please accept this check of money

To make up for your honey—

Five hundred dollars worth of sympathy!"

And now it's my turn to work on the furnace

With my dear, departed pappy's old crowd.

So each day I work and wait till

I'll wind up in a ladle.

And join my pappy in an iron shroud.

That gives you an idea of some phases of a steelworker's life, and I think it shows also the attitude that we tend to take. It reminds me of one of the standard stories the fellows tell.

"Oh, it's not so bad now as it used to be," they say. "Why, twenty years ago when I came here to work, the man at the gate told me, 'Well we haven't got any jobs right now, but you just wait here a while, and when somebody gets killed, you can have his job.' So I waited about twenty minutes until they carried some guy out in a wagon, and then they sent me in to work."

But don't get the idea that since these workers laugh at the pain and peril of their work they feel no other emotion. Some of these things they laugh at aren't at all funny. The only way I can explain it is that the anger rises up in their throats and pushes the laughter out. But, as I said, that's only temporary. The resentment and wrath of the workers is smoldering beneath the surface and building up the pressure that will shatter the shell that now holds it in.

Some day our laughter will have a lighter ring.

## 10 Years Ago In The Militant

SEPTEMBER 29, 1934

NEW YORK—"The great general strike of the textile workers," wrote James P. Cannon in *The Militant* . . . "has come to an inglorious end . . . defeated and shamefully betrayed by the leadership of the United Textile Workers and the upper crust of the AFL." The leadership refused to call for financial support of the strike and signed the proposal of Roosevelt's henchman Winant. The proposal, beginning with a demand for immediate ending of the strike, declared "national settlement is not feasible," recommended acceptance of "local mill agreements," and the setting up of committees by the Federal Trade Commission and the Department of Labor, to "investigate wages." Not a single demand of the workers was granted!

Pointing to the need for a new kind of union leadership, Cannon continued, "Forces for a mighty left wing and progressive movement in the trade unions is not lacking. The crisis years have created the conditions for its emergence . . . What is lacking is a conscious unifying and guiding nucleus . . ."

Describing the treacherous role of the Stalinists, and the helpless floundering of the milk-and-water Socialist Party reformists, Cannon pointed out that neither group could provide the leadership needed by the workers. "The workers need a new revolutionary party," Cannon said.

SAN FRANCISCO—On the very heels of the textile sellout, the American Federation of Labor leaders prepared to fight down the growing progressive movement at its fifty-fourth annual convention, scheduled to meet in San Francisco October 1. The convention faced the tremendous problem of organizing millions of unskilled and semi-skilled workers, who, flocking to the trade union movement under the impetus of the stormy strikes of the NRA (National Recovery Act) period, had no place in the outworn scheme of craft unionism.

NEW YORK—Sponsored by the Young Peoples Socialist League, a united front conference of youth against fascism was held on September 25. Organizations invited were the Young Communist League, the National Student League, Student League for Industrial Democracy, the Communist Youth Opposition and the Spartakus Youth League. Refusing to participate in the conference, the Stalinist YCL and NSL instead launched attacks upon the Lovestoneite CYO and Trotskyist SYL.

# THE MILITANT

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"Entered as second class matter March 7, 1944 at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879."



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

— LEON TROTSKY

## 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.

## Plans For Germany

"Woe to the conquered!" This cry of the blood-thirsty and ravenous conquerors of old has become the guiding line of Anglo-American policy toward Germany. Washington and London are giving advance notice that they intend to inflict the most savage and vindictive terms upon the defeated German people.

General Eisenhower announced that until a joint administration is set up in Berlin, the Allied Military Government will control the sections of Germany occupied by the Anglo-American armies. It is reported that British and American High Commissioners are to rule western and southern Germany, while a Soviet Commissioner will rule the eastern portion. The Allied propagandists are already insisting that these occupying forces must remain in Germany for ten, twenty, and even a hundred years.

The press has published reports of proposals supposed to have been submitted to the Roosevelt-Churchill conference at Quebec by Secretary of the Treasury Morgenthau which envisage the total destruction of German economy: the stripping of all industrial equipment from Germany's manufacturing areas, the withholding of all economic aid to German industry, the transformation of Germany into an agricultural country of small farms.

This program of ruthlessness, oppression and destruction, if put into effect, would doom not only tens of millions of German masses to annihilation, slavery and starvation, but would deal the most terrible blow to the peoples of the entire European continent. For Germany and its industry are the heart of European economy.

The majority of the American people do not support these criminal plans of the imperialists. This is indicated by the results of a poll recently conducted by the National Opinion Research Center. 56 percent of those questioned whether the Germans should be allowed free choice of their own government answered in the affirmative.

The advanced American workers now have the duty to expose and fight against Wall Street's con-

sspiracy to strangle the rising revolution of the German masses and to doom the German and therefore the European peoples to ruination and slavery.

## CIO-PAC

Ever since its formation, the CIO Political Action Committee has been badgered and baited by the political deputies of wealth and privilege in Congress for alleged violations of the Federal Corrupt Practices Act as amended by the Smith-Connally Act and the Hatch Act which forbid organizations to make contributions above \$5,000 in connection with campaigns for nomination or election of candidates for Federal office. These measures were specifically designed to hinder labor's participation in politics as an independent force.

While these laws are ostensibly aimed at all organization and individual contributions the money-bags find no difficulty in getting around them. Thus, in the 1940 election campaign, the Pew, Rockefeller, Quisenberry, Sloan and duPont families contributed \$432,680 to elect Willkie. In many cases America's Sixty Families contribute large sums to both capitalist candidates and parties. The device used is to make substantial contributions in the name of each individual member of the family—including the baby in the crib. Another device developed by the plutocrats is to make contributions to "non-political" political organizations which use such funds to disseminate propaganda in support of their candidates in election campaigns.

One of the more prominent of these "non-political" organizations is the so-called Committee for Constitutional Government. It was founded by Frank E. Gannett, wealthy head of a chain of newspapers which have consistently championed the cause of the rich. Gannett's organization is a favored pipeline through which the Wall Street tycoons swell the slush fund of their chosen candidate. Both major parties benefit from such devices. Through the medium of "family" contributions and "non-political" organizations the financial pot of both capitalist parties is filled to the brim. The laws on campaign expenditures are therefore aimed solely towards crippling the independent political activity of labor whose strength lies in its organized numbers. It is precisely the fear of such independent political action by labor which motivates the adoption of these restrictive laws.

This haunting fear is expressed in the attempt to harass the CIO Political Action Committee even though its leaders disclaim any thought of aiding or encouraging any "third party" movement. But despite the disclaimer of the labor bureaucrats, the political bosses see within the CIO-PAC the seed of labor's independent political action which, under the impact of a severe crisis, will flower into labor's independent political party. It is against this danger that the plutocrats seek to erect a barrier of obstructionist laws.

## American Legion

The American Legion at its annual convention held in Chicago last week made extensive plans to recruit the veterans of the Second World War. It has announced that thousands of ex-servicemen are already joining each month and the Legion hopes to triple its present membership of 1,300,000.

The Legion is pushing its organizing campaign by claiming credit for the passage of the "GI Bill of Rights" and by appearing as chief spokesmen for the veterans before the administrator of Veterans Affairs, Congress and the public. Its drive has been endorsed by the Democratic and Republican Parties whose Vice-Presidential candidates addressed its initial session, by Army and Navy brass hats, by Big Business.

Although pretending to be non-political, the American Legion, from its very birth, has been an utterly reactionary instrument utilized by Big Business to crush organized labor and to stamp out all progressive ideas and movements. It was organized by bankers, business men and high-ranking military officers after the last war in the hope that it would corral the veterans to fight against the "menace of radicalism." Since that time its leadership has backed repressive legislation of all kinds, has permitted the use of Legion posts by employers to break strikes, has approved and encouraged actions of Legion posts in denying free speech and free assembly to working class political parties, and has condoned vigilante acts of violence by Legionnaires.

The Legion aims to utilize the veterans of this war in the same manner and for the same purpose: to convert the veterans' anger against capitalist insecurity and hunger into hatred of the labor unions, to organize the rank and file veterans into vigilante gangs to beat down and destroy the labor movement. Said National Commander Alvin Owlesley in 1923: "Do not forget that the Fascists are to Italy what the American Legion is to the United States."

These plans represent a terrible threat to American labor. The American Legion conspiracy must not proceed unchallenged. To protect the welfare of the returning servicemen and the men in the armed forces, and for its own self-preservation, the labor movement must take the initiative in becoming the leading spokesman for the veterans.

The CIO United Automobile Workers took a step in the right direction by holding a joint Labor-Servicemen's Conference in Washington several months ago. But the CIO has done nothing since to build upon this foundation. The labor movement must take the initiative to organize the veterans for joint struggle for jobs, full employment and security. It cannot, it must not permit the labor-hating American Legion to become the spokesman of the returning veterans.

# 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.

### Negro Sailors

Editor:

Fifty Negro sailors here who protested against Navy segregation and discrimination are now facing court martial. They are being charged with mutiny for refusing to obey orders to load ammunition at the Mare Island Navy yard in San Francisco Bay.

These men had protested against the Navy policy of unloading most of the menial, difficult and dangerous work on the segregated Negro units. Both the army and navy in this area use Negroes predominantly in "labor battalions" to load ships and do the other heavy work. Safety conditions are sacrificed for the sake of speed; crews are pitted against each other and are offered special inducements, like extra leaves, to meet exorbitant schedule.

The men on trial had been among the units that suffered in the Port Chicago explosion in July, when 327, mostly Negroes, were killed. Some of them had recently left hospitals where they had been recuperating from explosion injuries. Others had been in the details assigned to "cleaning up" after the explosion.

The repressed resentment of these Negro sailors boiled to the surface on August 9, when 257 men were ordered to work ammunition on a ship at Mare Island. They refused. After repeated musters and threats, 200 finally accepted the order. The remaining 50 remained firm. According to the testimony at the trial, which began September 15, they were "courteous but firm," declaring their willingness to accept any assignment at sea or other duty, except working on ammunition.

The Navy officials, whose sole concern is "to maintain discipline and authority," brought court martial proceedings, under which the men, if convicted, face severe penalties, up to and including the death sentence.

The far deeper aspects of the case are thrusting themselves forward, despite attempts of the officials to confine the issue to the sole point of "discipline." The Negro communities and press have pointed to the basic issue—discrimination. Joseph James, president of the local branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People,

expressed the feelings of the Negro community, when he declared:

"The Negro people are well aware of the pattern of discrimination practiced in the navy and they are very much concerned about this trial. I feel that a general thorough investigation of the navy policies which led up to this thing should be made at once."

R. J.  
San Francisco

I know you are right. You tell the truth. A great many people like myself are growing too old to be much use to the labor armada; when we pass the 40-year mark, some of us get set in our ways. So it's up to the younger generation to carry the heaviest part of the load.

We older ones remember Leon Trotsky and his works. A great many, like myself, studied his teachings and discussed them on the street corners and on the job, sometimes meeting violent opposition. That man is gone, but his spirit goes marching on, and that spirit is more powerful today than yesterday. Long after this generation is forgotten, his name will be spoken of by millions as one of the greatest scientists and leaders who ever lived.

J. R.

### Red Vienna

Editor:

The Swedish paper "Aftonbladet" published recently the following account of conditions in Austria, reported by one who has recently returned from there:

"Red Vienna is redder than ever. In the streets workers demonstrate without fear their sympathy for the Russian and Ukrainian workers going barefoot and in rags.

"The younger workers' organization does not want to get back the old leaders who have emigrated. The times of Otto Bauer and Julius Deutsch (Austrian Social Democratic leaders) are regarded, like the days of Francis Joseph, as ancient history. They want new leaders from their own ranks with a more strongly anti-capitalist radicalism after the war. They declare enthusiastically that they do not intend to work for Anglo-American capitalists but desire to collaborate with the progressive elements in the Allied countries... Austrian youth is showing greater independence and eagerness for revolt than its German counterpart. The overwhelming majority of students are anti-National Socialist and the universities are hotbeds of opposition."

A Reader  
New York

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R. J.  
San Francisco

### We Remember Trotsky

Editor:

... It was really for my friends that I was getting The Militant. It was passed around until it was threadbare! As for myself, it did not make any difference because I know the score, and knew the score years ago. I am disappointed that I cannot continue to receive it, but that cannot be helped. However, I wish you every success for the future.

E. Henry  
Detroit

der the pretext that such activity "would impair the speedy conclusion of the war." All this is part and parcel of a set program, worked out by Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin, for preventing the German masses from taking matters into their own hands and molding their own future.

It is not by chance that Roosevelt has selected Robert D. Murphy as political adviser to General Eisenhower and the Allied forces of occupation in Germany. Murphy is the man who, in the campaign to "liberate" French North Africa, chose the Vichy-Fascist Admiral Darlan and the Royalist General Giraud as the tools of the Allied policy. Roosevelt intends to deal with the Nazis just as he dealt with these Vichy collaborators and as he later dealt with Badoglio and the House of Savoy. They will be his agents and counsellors in the dirty job of aborting, and if need be suppressing, the German revolution.

FRANCE

Reports from Paris indicate clearly the existence of an incipient dual political power to that formally exercised by the de Gaulleists through the Consultative Assembly which originally was set up in Algiers. This dual power is represented by elements comprising the National Council of Resistance (Maquis, partisans) and workers' committees which have taken over control of factories.

The Council, which is largely dominated by the social-democrats and Stalinists, is represented in the government of the Consultative Assembly but, as a N.Y. Times dispatch states, claims "a kind of veto power over the members of the Assembly chosen by political parties or groups," thus forming a "body that supports and is represented in the Government by the members of the Assembly chosen by political parties or groups."

And what about the thousands of Nazi functionaries who do not play a "leading" part in the regime? They will be let alone, as in Italy. And when the German workers move to settle scores with them, as the Italian workers did with the Fascist gangsters, AMG will try to disarm and stultify them again as in Italy — un-

to go the whole hog in their policy of collaboration with the capitalist regime of de Gaulle because of the tremendous pressure of the masses.

An active leader of the Resistance Movement, which fought the Nazis and now is busy cleaning up their French collaborators, told a great cheering crowd in the Paris Salle Pleyel on September 17: "We have not yet the guarantee that the will of the people will always be respected. We must have a planned economy. The people, freed of their masters, the trusts, must rule. We must have vengeance against traitors. We are not satisfied with a few arrests."

Another speaker declared that the Resistance Movement "will oppose all those who try to prevent the revolution in economic and social life."

"The local authorities today are the resistance groups, who were ruling in France in reality even when the Germans were here," states another Paris dispatch to the N.Y. Times. From the same source we learn that the resistance groups are exercising the power of veto over jurors chosen to try traitors and collaborationists. At the same time, under pressure of their following, the Stalinists on the Paris Committee of Liberation, which is provisionally the Municipal Council, have proposed "the creation of a militia to watch the progress of the purge, with the right to enter dwellings to make arrests."

The French masses, it is obvious, are anti-capitalist and are determined to make a clean sweep of the old rotten social order. With profound distrust of the capitalist politicians and of Allied promises of liberation, they are placing chief reliance on their own organizations, their own weapons. The beginnings of the dual revolutionary power are apparent. The great need is to develop, extend and consolidate this independent mass activity and to build a revolutionary party which can give to the movement a clear goal and program — the Socialist Revolution.

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## Wages Drop, But Profits Continue to Soar Upward

"Coming events cast their shadow before," goes the old saying. What the workers and the capitalists respectively can anticipate in the coming period of "reconversion" is forecast in the recent survey of Investors' Syndicate on the distribution of national income and buying power.

Investors' Syndicate, comparing the real income of various classes in August 1944 with the same month a year ago, states that "as a whole" the national income has maintained the same level as in 1943. This "as a whole" covers some important class exceptions, as the report further reveals.

The chief exception is wages, where a decline is recorded. "Wage earners" envelopes in July 1944 contained 98 cents, compared with \$1 in July 1943, the decline reflecting war contract terminations and consequent reductions in hours of work and lessened overtime pay."