

FREE THE 12!

THE MILITANT

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Stalinists Hurl New Slanders At Revolutionists

By Art Preis

In the *Sunday Worker*, Oct. 29, the American Stalinists fired their opening barrage in an intensified world-wide slander campaign of the Kremlin bureaucracy against the insurgent workers and peasants of Europe and the vanguard party of international socialism, the Trotskyist Fourth International.

The blast of lies is an article with screaming double-banner headlines, "Trotskyite 4th International Used by the Nazi 5th Column." It was written by the *Worker's* specialist in anti-Trotskyist red-baiting, George Morris, who professes to "expose" the "pattern of a Trotskyite 'fourth international' to cover up Hitler's fifth column now and fascism's postwar perspectives."

What the article really exposes is the panic fear of Stalin, counter-revolutionary despot in the Kremlin, before the rising tide of proletarian revolt in Europe. It reveals the vile lengths to which American Stalinism must go to hide its own perfidious efforts to sell out the American labor movement to Wall Street. And it serves to disclose the pattern of the propaganda preparations now being made by the Stalinists for their attempt, in alliance with the Allied imperialists, to crush the developing European socialist revolution.

The tissue-paper basis for Morris's lies is a dispatch sent to the *Chicago Daily News* on Sept. 28 by its Swiss correspondent, Paul Ghali. Ghali's story, credited to anonymous "private but most reliable channels," bears the clear imprint of Stalin's secret police agency, the GPU.

The GPU makes a business of planting its inventions in "respectable" capitalist organs whenever Stalin's agents can find journalists gullible or venal enough to give currency to the Stalinist lies. In this way, the GPU attempts to circumvent the well-known fact that any "information" known to come from Stalinist sources is thereby automatically rendered suspect.

Ghali's story attempts to link the Trotskyist Fourth International with an alleged plan of Heinrich Himmler to establish an underground terrorist group in France "to sabotage Allied communications lines and assassinate de Gaulle French politicians." For this purpose, according to Ghali's GPU informants, the Gestapo is forming "groups of red terrorists" and "creating a fourth international amply contaminated with Nazi germs and

(Continued on page 3)

THE STORY OF DOMODOSSOLA What The Papers Didn't Tell

This is the story of Domodossola, Italy. These are facts which have never appeared in the American Big Business press. This is how Allied imperialism "fights" fascism.

Domodossola, near the Swiss border, is the key junction at the end of the Simplon tunnel through which the railroad runs feeding the Nazi armies in North Italy with supplies from the main industrial centers of Germany, the Ruhr and the Saar. Domodossola is therefore of prime strategic importance for the continued operation of Hitler's forces in Italy.

This town was seized by Italian Anti-Fascist Partisans on September 10. A bitter struggle forced the Nazi and Fascist garrisons to surrender. The Partisans held control of Domodossola until October 16, during which time the flow of Nazi supplies was totally halted. Operation of all war factories in the vital Piedmont and Lombardy areas ceased when the Partisans also captured the electric-power plant in the Ossola valley.

Scantily provisioned, lacking heavy arms and air support, the Partisan Army, numbering 10,000, grimly held on to its gains, waiting for Allied supplies in response to their repeated appeals. Their appeals were in vain.

A Swiss newspaper, *Tribune de Genève*, on October 6 interviewed Colonel Federici, the Partisan commander. "We are all armed," he declared. "We requisitioned all sporting arms in the valley and have also taken many arms from the enemy. We could do great things if only General Alexander, in arms.

Stilwell's Recall Exposes American Imperialist Aim To Dominate China

17 Trade Unions Protest Denial Of Pardon To The 18

Protests from trade union and other labor organizations against the recent denial of a presidential pardon to the 18 Socialist Workers Party and Minneapolis Truckdrivers Local 544-CIO leaders railroaded to prison under the Smith "Gag" Act, have been mounting in the past two weeks, according to the latest report of the Civil Rights Defense Committee.

While 6 of the imprisoned Trotskyists were released 2 weeks ago at the termination of their sentences, 12, including Grace Carlson, the only woman prisoner, still remain behind prison bars under longer sentences. The CRDC, official defense representative of the 18, has issued an urgent appeal to the entire labor movement to intensify the mass demand for President Roosevelt to pardon the 18 and has called for financial aid in providing relief for the remaining prisoners and their dependents and extending the campaign for their freedom.

Among the union bodies which have adopted resolutions recently in support of the 18 and made contributions to the CRDC campaign are the following: CIO United Automobile Workers Local 306, Detroit; Fleetwood 15, Detroit; 160, Henderson, N. C.; 242, Muncie, Ind.; Spicer Unit 12, Toledo, O.; Amalgamated 490, Highland Park, Mich.; CIO Steel Workers Local 1684, San Francisco; CIO United Gas, Coke and Chemical Workers, Dist. 8, St. Louis; American Federation of Hosiery Workers Local 148, Reading, Pa. Also AFL Ladies Garment Workers Local 102, New York City; Brewery Workers Locals 97, St. Paul, Minn., and 264, Allentown, Pa.; Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Engineers, Bloomington, Ill.; Smith Steel Workers Federal Union Local 19806, Milwaukee; Suit Case, Bag and Portfolio Makers Local 60, N. Y. C.; Typographical Union Local 3, Cincinnati, O.; and Retail Hat and Furnishings Employes Local 271, N. Y. C.

One of the most significant expressions of support came last week from a group of progressive members of the CIO Fur Workers, which for years has been under the iron rule of the Stalinists who are conducting a virulent slander campaign against the framed 18 Trotskyists. Along with a financial contribution to the CRDC, these fur workers sent the following statement:

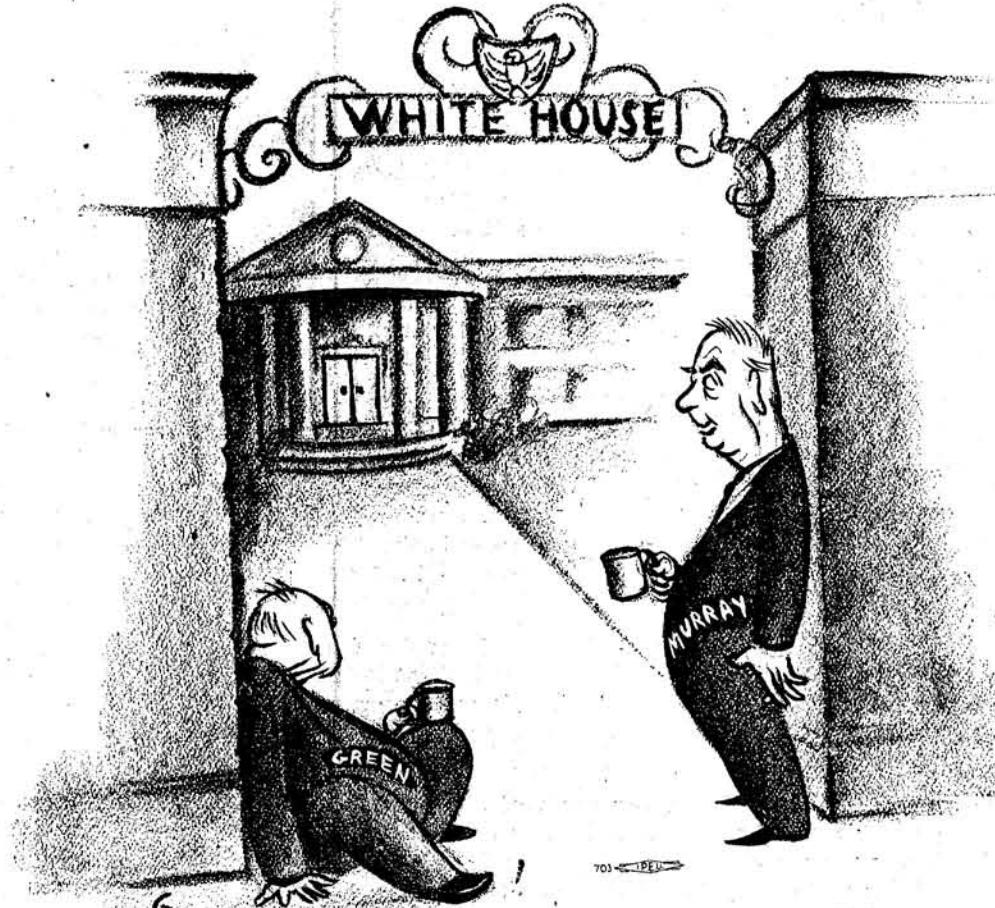
"We declare our solidarity with you in the fight for the rights of labor and free speech. Our influence may not be as strong as that of a great and influential trade union, for we are only a group of people who are fighting for our rights in our own furriers union which is under Stalinist domination. Nevertheless we will send a letter to the President asking him for a pardon for the 12 who are still in prison."

The Nazis and Fascists sent a powerful force, armed with tanks, flame-throwers and heavy artillery, against the Partisans. The Partisans held for two weeks, but were finally forced to retreat from Domodossola into the mountains. Today, Nazi supplies flow freely once more; the North Italy war factories are in operation. The war, and the slaughter, has been prolonged.

The patriots in northern Italy have been dealt a heavy blow," reported the *Tribune de Genève* on October 16. "The prestige of the Allies, who did nothing to help the Domodossola partisans, is sinking."

Last year the Allies bombed the workers' districts in Milan and other industrial centers, which the masses had seized in the great uprising after Mussolini's downfall, instead of blasting the Brenner Pass through which Nazi troops and supplies were pouring to stem the revolutionary upsurge. Now at Domodossola, the Allied imperialists once more have demonstrated that their main fear is not of the rival Nazi imperialists but the independent action of the revolutionary anti-fascist masses in

Beggars At The Gate



Mass Jim-Crow 'Mutiny' Trial Convicts Fifty Negro Sailors

By R. Chester

SAN FRANCISCO, Oct. 26.—In a drastic move to maintain its vicious Jim-Crow segregation policy, a seven-man, gold-braided, navy court-martial has found 50 Negro sailors guilty of "mutiny." Penalties may range from extended prison sentences to the maximum, death. The verdict was brought in *after only 45 minutes of deliberation* upon the conclusion of 33 days of contradictory testimony and summation arguments.

The case goes back to the Port of Chicago disaster, when a ship being loaded with ammunition blew up, causing the death of 327 men and tremendous damage. The great majority of the men were Negro sailors in "labor battalions" doing longshore work. All the men brought to trial were involved in the tragedy, being either survivors or among the squads that cleaned up the wreckage and remnants of bodies dismembered by the explosion.

INDIGNATION STIRRED

This disaster caused a profound reaction in the men and appears to have brought to the surface their resentment against navy Jim-Crow policy. Up to the outbreak of hostilities, Negroes were accepted in the navy only in the capacity of messmen. "Only after things got hot," stated Thurgood Marshall, chief counsel for the NAACP, "did the navy open up other opportunities to Negroes in other capacities." Even then they were Jim-Crowed into segregated units. "Somehow or other," Marshall pointed out, "these units happen to get assigned to the dirtiest, hardest and most dangerous jobs."

The navy uses Negro labor gangs extensively in the San Francisco area to load ships. They

usually work under the direction of white officers. Training for skilled types of work is often insufficient. It has been pointed out that the longshoremen's union does not permit men to work ammunition until they have had five years' experience. Yet some of the men at Port Chicago were put on ammunition after two or three months' training. On top of that, navy officers often use speed-up methods, pitting one crew against another. It has been reported that officers in charge would make side bets with each other on the comparative outputs of their gangs.

BASIS OF CHARGE

The trial testimony showed that the men feared to continue loading ammunition after Port Chicago. Petitions had been circulated asking for transfers to other types of work, stating that they feared to work ammunition after seeing the effects of the blast. These petitions were used as the basis for the charge of "conspiracy to mutiny." Although much reference was made during the trial to "refusal to work" lists, no clear-cut evidence was presented that the men had re-

(Continued on page 2)

Mexican Government Launches Violent Anti-Labor Offensive

The increasing resistance of Mexican workers to the assaults on their already very low standards of living has led to a series of violent attacks organized by the official CTM-Stalinist apparatus with police collaboration against the insurgent groups. The first sign that the official policy was to be violent and bloody repression was the action taken against the demonstration at the Zocalo—the plaza in front of the National Palace—

Two years ago several of the local federations of independent unions united to form the National Proletarian Front whose leadership professes much more democratic and militant policies than the CTM bureaucrats and is actively anti-Stalinist. In this and other insurgent groups such as the Libertarian Federation, the democratic rights of the rank and file are more respected and consequently, of course, sell-out deals with the bosses and the government are not the norm of conduct. This condition is in striking contrast to the CTM unions which in large part are run by gangster methods and whose leaders serve virtually as

liberating only two on bail. The police and courts are trying to keep the others in jail during their trials by accusing them of crimes that call for more than a seven year sentence—in which case no freedom on bail is possible.

WORKERS PROTEST

Recent events have brought into the open the CTM-Government-Stalinist alliance aimed at stemming the insurgent workers before they finish with the official CTM-type of unionism.

(Continued from page 3)

Washington Demands Control Over Chinese Armed Forces

Government Lifts Censorship On Rottenness Of the Chiang Kai-shek Dictatorial Regime

By Li Fu-Jen

Roosevelt's recall of Gen. Joseph W. Stilwell, commander-in-chief of the China-Burma-India theater, followed by the recall of Clarence E. Gauss, American ambassador to Chungking, marks a new climactic point in the developing crisis of China and serves to reveal—this is the most important aspect of the matter!—what amounts to the first overt move by the American imperialists to bring China under their control and domination. It is the first step in a long-range plan to convert China into a colony of Wall Street.

Although Roosevelt declared at his press conference on Oct. 31, that Stilwell's recall was "just a case of personalities," thus reducing the matter to a simple personal feud

between the American general and Chiang Kai-shek, all the published facts and circumstances point to the conclusion that Washington is engaged in exploiting the crisis of Chiang's regime in order to further the China aims of the American imperialists.

Chiang AND U. S.

As reported by Brooks Atkinson of the *N. Y. Times*, in an article written in this country and passed by the War Department censorship following his return from Chungking, Chiang was "at first inclined to agree" to Stilwell's appointment as supreme commander of Chinese forces. But later his attitude became "stiff and hostile." At a private meeting of the Standing Committee of the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang he announced the terms of his personal ultimatum to Americans who were pressing him for military and governmental reform:

1. Stilwell must go.

2. Control of American lend-lease materials must be put in his hands.

3. He would not be coerced by Americans into making terms with the Chinese Stalinists.

4. If America did not yield on these points, China would go back to fighting the Japanese alone as she did before Pearl Harbor.

Following Stilwell's recall, T. V. Soong, Chiang's foreign minister, issued a statement declaring that China and the United States were in "complete agreement" on closer military, political and economic cooperation and that henceforth "relations between the two countries will be more understanding, more intimate and more fruitful than ever before."

This diplomatic sidestepping cannot conceal the deep significance of the ultimatums exchanged between Washington and Chungking. If, as Soong suggests, Stilwell proceeded to act on

(Continued on page 5)

Railroad Labor Bureaucrats Side-Track Union Convention

By James Montgomery

For the second time in ten years the B. of L. F. & E. membership has been persuaded to cancel its National Convention by its reactionary and overpaid craft officials. The Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen is one of the 21 craft unions into which the American railroad workers are divided and disorganized. Both times the move to postpone the convention was initiated by the \$15,000 a year President, D. B. Robertson, and the first time he did it he had to twist the law to suit his purpose.

The proposal to postpone the convention was incorporated into a ballot to the 952 lodges under date of June 27th, 1944. The ballot was mailed to the lodges without one word of warning or discussion on this important proposal to postpone a national convention which only meets once every four years. The ballot was also loaded with all kinds of propaganda in favor of postponement. Lodges voting for postponement—654, with 190 against, and 108 lodges not voting at all. The way things now stand the organization will be credited with holding only two conven-

tions during a period of 18 years from 1931 to 1949!

When a reactionary leadership strengthens its grip on a union, conventions are spread further and further apart, and postponed as often as possible. This has been the trend in the B. of L. F. & E., as the following record will show. From 1873, when the organization was started, until the Minneapolis convention in 1886, the union held conventions annually, from 1886 till the St. Paul convention in 1910, every two years, from 1910 to the Milwaukee

(Continued on page 3)

TRADE UNION NOTES

By Joseph Keller

The deliberations and decisions of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada, in convention assembled two weeks ago at Toronto, were in marked contrast with the more progressive views and actions of the Canadian Congress of Labor which had held its convention the week previously. The CCL, to which the CIO industrial unions are affiliated, had endorsed the Canadian Commonwealth Federation, counterpart of the British Labor Party, and rejected the no-strike pledge.

But the TCL, dominated by the craft unions including AFL bodies, and with the Stalinists playing a key role, continued to support reactionary policies. Reaffirmation of the no-strike pledge was shoved through without a dissenting vote and the old-line craft bureaucrats and Stalinists joined in expressing their allegiance to the anti-labor capitalist Liberal Government.

The most significant development revealed by the convention was the extent to which the Stalinists have become entrenched in the bureaucracy. The machinery and organization of the convention was in the hands of J. A. Sullivan, TCL Secretary-Treasurer, and President of the Canadian Seamen's Union. Stalinist Sullivan was interned by the "democratic" Canadian government during the period of the Stalin-Hitler pact, but was released after he jumped on the imperialist band-wagon when Hitler attacked the Soviet Union. Sullivan's union, together with the International Association of Machinists, headed by Stalinist Robert Haddow, and the Lumber Workers, bossed by Stalinist Bruce Magnusson, constituted the main source of Stalinist strength at the convention.

Under cover of their CIO posts, the Stalinists issued a public statement calling the CIO machinists who were fighting to defend their union standards "enemies of labor and of the nation." This vicious canard was broadcast by those who have called on labor to surrender its strike weapon permanently.

The Stalinist statement did not end with mere slander, however. These slimy finks brazenly proclaimed that "we will support the armed forces and the appropriate Government agencies and the President in any action necessary to halt this or any other strike."

This is the first recorded instance in the history of the American labor movement that so-called labor leaders have announced in advance their support of the use of armed violence against striking workers.

Moreover, the statement actually demanded that the government "give no consideration to the demands of Machinists' Union Local 1304 while it is in violation of the no-strike pledge."

Truly, there is no depth, however low, to which the Stalinists will not sink in their efforts to convince Wall Street and Big Business that they are the most reliable agents of capitalist reaction within the labor movement.

One of the fastest growing CIO organizations is the Oil Workers International Union, which held its 15th annual convention recently in Fort Worth, Texas. A healthy sign at the convention was the rejection of the Stalinist efforts to push themselves to the fore and shove over anti-democratic policies.

A progressive step adopted by the convention was the decision to publish a union paper, the Oil Workers International. Among one of the first features of the paper, according to a Texas correspondent, "will be to debunk the fantastic and romantic ideas Texans have of the Texas Rangers."

Our correspondent reports the statement of Organizational Director W. B. Taylor to the convention that the Texas Rangers, who were formed originally to rid Texas of cattle-rustlers, are now being used for "something for which they were never intended, union busters." Our correspondent adds that "the companies are calling them in, in West Texas, to brow-beat, coerce and abuse union members."

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Branches Speed Up Pamphlet Sales

By The Campaign Manager

Taking advantage of the political meetings held in the pre-election weeks, comrades in many parts of the country have given an added spurt to their work in selling the Minneapolis Case pamphlets. At least 264 pamphlets presenting the basic principles of the Trotskyist program have thus been sold.

Other reports from the branches comment on the favorable response of Militant readers to the Pamphlet Campaign. The steady increase in sales of our literature shows that by the end of this campaign over 10,000 Minneapolis Case pamphlets will be in the hands of these advanced workers. Reading "Socialism on Trial" by James P. Cannon, "In Defense of Socialism" by Albert Goldman, "Who Are the 18 Minneapolis Prisoners?" and "Why We Are In Prison" will make many of these workers new adherents to the cause of socialism.

From Our Mailbag

Philadelphia: Our records show that so far we have sold 100 pamphlets. Please send us 40 more! The 52 we sold this week were all sold at a Socialist Party election rally at which Norman Thomas spoke.

Milwaukee: By checking the exact number of Minneapolis Case Pamphlet Sets sold here, we can definitely inform you that we have sold 148 pamphlets, almost double our quota. In addition to selling pamphlets to Militant readers, we sold 44 at one Socialist Party campaign meeting, and another 40 at a meeting where Norman Thomas spoke. Incidentally, we have completely sold out our stock of individual trial pamphlets.

Detroit: We covered a Henry Wallace meeting last Friday and sold 32 sets (128 pamphlets) there. We hope to go over our 1,000 quota by the end of the Campaign.

Youngstown: One of our comrades visited a Negro subscriber who remarked that he liked the paper and was interested in the pamphlets. After adding that in Georgia where he comes from, he would "have his neck broken" if he were caught with them, he bought the pamphlets and renewed his subscription. Another subscriber told our comrade who visited him that he was buying The Militant and pamphlets for his young daughter, who liked the paper very much.

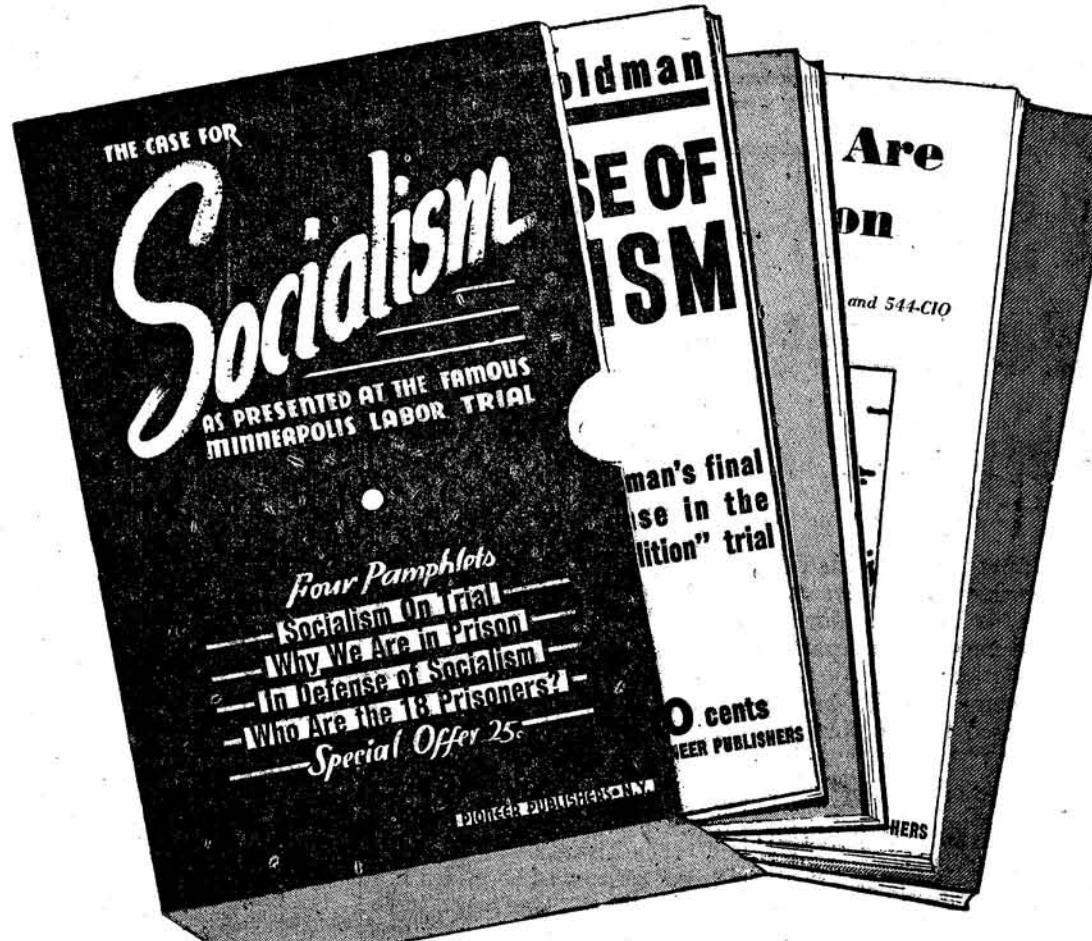
Los Angeles: One of our comrades working in a large plant has sold 60 pamphlets and 20 trial subscriptions to The Militant in his shop. He has had discussions on the nature of Fascism with a group of fellow-workers, many of whom have been helping him sell the sub and the Minneapolis Case pamphlets.

San Francisco: We're well over our quota of 350 pamphlets, and still at work! We visited one Negro subscriber who had already mailed in his own renewal and four premium subs for his friends. Now he is helping us to complete the work of visiting other subscribers in the neighborhood.

New York: We are now past the 70 percent mark in the Literature Campaign, with 2,044 Trial Pamphlets sold. In addition we have obtained 334 six-month, one-year, and 11 one-year renewals for The Militant, with 72 new trial subs and 277 premium subs for friends of subscribers. A Brooklyn comrade told of visiting one subscriber who said he didn't want to renew his subscription. "I would like to ask you some questions about the Minneapolis Case, though," he added, inviting her to come into the house. She took out the pamphlets, discussed the case with him, and left with both the subscription and the pamphlets sold!

Another comrade tells of her method of arousing interest in the pamphlets. In Harlem, for instance, she mentions that "Socialism on Trial" gives the Trotskyist position on equality of races. Then she turns to the index, opens the book at the testimony on race equality, and reads aloud Cannon's statement on the witness stand. The clarity of the answer, and the ease with which she can refer to it, never fails to sell the pamphlets.

SCOREBOARD		
Quota	Sold	Percent
Flint	10	32
Toledo	160	360
Milwaukee	80	148
Reading	90	152
Philadelphia	80	100
St. Paul	140	156
Buffalo	400	444
San Francisco	350	388
Cleveland	200	212
Los Angeles	1500	1380
Detroit	1000	876
Minneapolis	330	272
New York	2800	2044
Seattle	500	338
Youngstown	120	76
Chicago	700	376
Rochester	140	64
San Diego	80	24
Bayonne	180	44
Newark	700	152
Akron	70	20
Boston	230	40
Allentown	40	0
New Haven	40	0
Pittsburgh	10	0
Quakertown	10	0
St. Louis	10	0
Texas	30	0
Total	10,000	7698
		77



The four pamphlets above, packed in an attractive container, are being offered to new readers of THE MILITANT for only 25 cents, by Pioneer Publishers. The regular price is 40 cents.

SWP Celebrates Anniversary Of October 1917 Revolution

NEW YORK, Nov. 5.—Several hundred members and sympathizers of the Socialist Workers Party tonight celebrated the 27th anniversary of the Russian Bolshevik Revolution at a mass meeting here in the Irving Plaza ballroom.

Inspired by the news of the developing revolutionary socialist struggle throughout Europe, the assembled workers pledged themselves to the defense of the remaining conquests of the October Revolution, the nationalized property and planned economy of the Soviet Union, and to carry forward the struggle for international socialism, the program of Lenin and Trotsky which led the Russian workers and peasants to power in 1917.

"We celebrate the Russian Revolution on its 27th anniversary," declared Comrade Frank, "with the conviction that the masses of France, of Italy, of Greece, of Belgium, of all Europe are beginning the fateful revolutionary march which will lead them to their own October Revolutions where they, like the workers and peasants of Russia in 1917, will overthrow their landlords and capitalists, take over the factories and farms, and proceed to build a new society on socialist foundations."

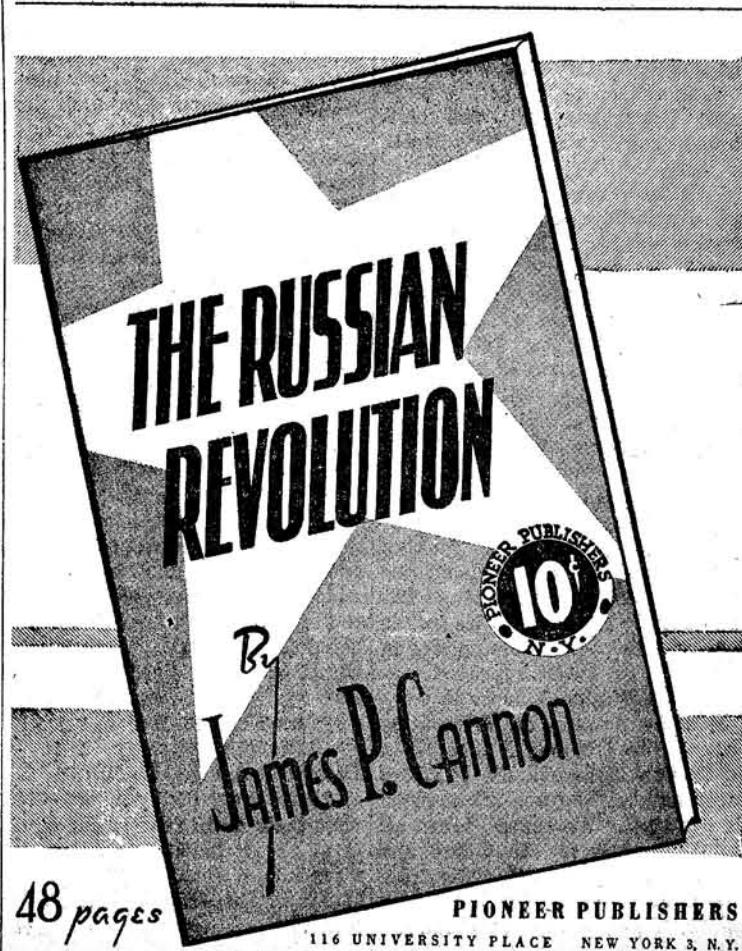
In his final statement Prosecutor Lt. Commander James F. Coakley, who has been accused by Thurgood Marshall of prejudice, said: "Any man so depraved as to be afraid to load ammunition deserves no leniency."

FREE THE FIFTY!

The case has held the interest of Negroes all over the country. They see in it a representation of the whole system of discrimination as practiced by the U. S. armed forces. They see in it a repetition of the discrimination they have experienced all their lives. Many young Negroes, believing this a "war for democracy," hoped that by joining the armed forces they could win some for themselves. Their experience has proved otherwise. All the conflicts in society are reproduced in the army and navy with intensified force.

This trial, the largest mass trial in navy history, bids fair to become the Negro "cause célèbre" of the war. Resentment is piling up. The imposition of sentences will touch off movements of protest by colored workers all over the country. Their demand will be "FREE THE FIFTY SAILORS."

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Navy Convicts 50 Negro Sailors Of 'Mutiny' In Trial

(Continued from page 1)

fused to obey, direct orders from their officers.

One important point stands out from the testimony. Any exhibition of resentment by the men against their lot was immediately translated by the officers into a threat against their authority and discipline. The whole navy system of intimidation was brought into play.

When the news that the men did not wish to handle ammunition reached the officers a series of questionings and musters were held. Men were questioned individually and statements drawn up by the officers were given to them for signature. Groups were lectured and the navy manual on mutiny read. Many of the statements were not taken verbatim.

THE NAVY'S METHODS

One ensign testified that he asked the men to tell him "all about it" and then selected "that which he thought was important." Another officer testified that he took down notes in longhand and then dictated statements that he considered were "the substance of what the men said . . . excluding irrelevancies." Many of the men testified that they were told to sign the statements, and did so because "they thought they had to."

The army and navy have made a whole system of allowances for battle fatigue, shell shock and psychological reactions to the horrors of war. Yet in this case, where the men went through one of the severest munition disasters of the war, no consideration for its effect was made.

Pointing to the recent direct reports of the survival and growing strength of the Trotskyist parties of the Fourth International throughout Europe, the speaker voiced confidence in the ability of the insurgent proletariat to "build their revolutionary party in the very heat of the struggle." "Far more likely than the definitive crushing of this wave of revolutions by the military forces of Anglo-American imperialism and the Kremlin bureaucracy is the fraternization of the revolutionary masses with the rank and file soldiers and the flames of the revolution leaping over and catching fire in England and in the Soviet Union and making its effects felt even across the Atlantic."

Eloise Black described the imperishable achievements of the October Revolution. "The revolution proved for all time that the workers are capable of making a successful social revolution, that they are able to organize and run society for the benefit of all the toiling masses. The capitalists and their agents scoffed at the idea that 'dumb' workers and peasants could establish their own government and organize production. But this has been done in one of the most backward countries."

Prior to the showing of the inspiring film record of the Russian Revolution, "From Czar To Lenin," the meeting sent messages of solidarity to the 12 imprisoned Trotskyists and to Natalia Trotsky, widow of Leon Trotsky, co-leader with Lenin of the Russian Revolution and founder of the Fourth International. A collection of \$95 was made.

Toledo: "Enclosed are two 25¢ subs obtained by the branch and thirteen introductory subs obtained by subscribers. These Toledo subscribers are doing very well and more subs will come in next week."

"One of our subscribers who was born in Poland which was then part of Russia said that upon first reading The Militant he thought we were too harsh on Stalin. After reading the paper for two months and also the pamphlet, 'Fascism' by Leon Trotsky, he approached our worker in the factory and said, 'You know, perhaps I'm more radical than I thought I was. I should like to have a one-year subscription to The Militant and Fourth International. (We had given him a sample copy of the F. I.) Your paper is the only one telling the truth about the European situation today. I cannot tell you how pleased I am that you have given me this opportunity for a source of information other than the capitalist press.'

Milwaukee: "Please cancel my subscription when it expires. I enjoyed it very much and many others enjoyed it with me. I am a widow making my living with keeping rooms. But the government froze my income before I knew it and could raise the rent. Food prices and other commodities are still going up. I still have to eat. So with regret I had to cancel the subscription to The Militant."

"Because this subscriber has expressed a sincere interest in The Militant and because we feel that our paper will continue to be of interest to her and her friends, we are keeping her name on our mailing list so that she will receive The Militant regularly every week."

Minneapolis: "One comrade went to see the subscriber for whom I'm sending you renewal. His wife answered the door and when our comrade told her the purpose of her visit, she called her husband who was playing cards in another room. She said, 'I'm sure he wants to renew it for I have heard him tell some of his friends what a good paper it is.'

Presented. No forum is scheduled for November 19th.

All friends and readers of The Militant are invited to attend the November forums, to be held at the school, 116 University Place. Forums begin at 8 P. M.

Perspectives Of Revolutionary Situation In France

This is the last of a series of three articles dealing with the revolutionary developments which commenced in France with the Paris uprising of last August. It outlines the present main political tendencies and the prospects of the mass struggle against reaction. The previous articles dealt with the Paris uprising and described how the French workers armed themselves.

By Frank Lawrence

Over two months have passed since the August uprisings and the assumption of office by the provisional government of de Gaulle and not one of the fundamental problems confronting the French people has found a solution.

In an address delivered on October 1 at Lille, de Gaulle presented the following grim picture of the present material situation: "Today . . . we are an impoverished great nation . . . Our communications everywhere are broken, our canal locks destroyed, our ports unusable, and our factories without raw materials, without coal and without current, our mines without pitprops."

How does de Gaulle propose to rebuild the war-shattered economy? To dupe the masses who want an end to the anarchy of decaying capitalism and to the domination of economic life by the big banks and industrialists, he attacked the "trusts" and talked about the necessity for a "planned economy" and "state direction of the great sources of common wealth." But he immediately hastened to reassure the capitalists that such state regulation and control will not "of course, exclude those great levers of action: men of initiative and fair profits."

The demagogic is only too transparent and familiar. To appease the masses and to gain time, de Gaulle is compelled to "talk like a Socialist." To protect the capitalist collaborators and to eliminate workers' control over the seized factories and forestall their revolutionary expropriation he is using the power of the state to act as "trustee" and policeman for the capitalist government.

In the case of the seizure of the Renault plants for example, Pierre LeFauchaux, an industrialist, was appointed manager of the property by the government. De Gaulle takes over factories which have previously been taken over by the workers, for the same reasons that Roosevelt takes over strike-bound plants: to smash the independent class action of the workers and to protect the threatened interests of the bosses.

DE GAULLE DICTATOR

De Gaulle is not only working to keep the old capitalist gang in power and to suppress the masses at home. As a tool of French and Allied imperialism, he has to drag the French people back into the imperialist war. Our Paris correspondent points out in the October Fourth International: "The French ruling class, expressing itself through de Gaulle, is staking its claim to a share in the peace settlement, the partition of Germany, and the policing of Europe as a great power. As a matter of fact, however, France no longer has the power to play such a role in view of its economic, political and military weakness and the preponderant power, economic and military, of the U.S.A."

The accelerated tempo of de Gaulle's reactionary drive to disarm the workers, restore power and property to the capitalists, the inability of the provisional government to provide elementary necessities to the starving and poverty-stricken French masses while it proceeds to carry on the war in conjunction with the Anglo-American conquerors — all these developments are straining the class antagonisms to the breaking point. The second stage of the revolution which erupted last August is now opening.

THE ONLY ROAD

The central issue at stake in this struggle — the struggle for power — has been set forth as follows by our correspondent:

"The problem that poses itself in France is — who will triumph? The workers and peasants through the development of their class organs — workers' committees, peasants' committees, etc. — into a Soviet Government, or the bourgeois reaction in the form of a military Bonapartist dictatorship? There is no middle road possible."

The road of emancipation for the French masses was indicated 27 years ago by the workers and peasants of Czarist Russia, who, under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Trotsky, ended capitalism and landlordism in their country and thereby opened up a perspective of glorious development toward a new socialist society.

Together with the task of extending their dual power through their own class organs, the advanced French workers now have the task of building a mass revolutionary combat party, a Trotskyist party, after the pattern of the Bolshevik Party in Russia. Only such a party can lead them to the vanquishing of the reaction in a triumphant struggle for power.

The coming French Revolution will help raise the masses of all Europe to their feet and project them along the road of socialist struggle. United, the tortured peoples of the whole Continent will go forward to a Socialist United States of Europe.

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New Times -- Old Slander



Stalinists Hurl Slander At Fourth International

(Continued from page 1)

Wintley, leading comrade of the German group in France, was recently murdered by the Gestapo. This is how Heinrich Himmler "aimed to create a fourth international!"

SMEAR TROTSKYISTS

But this same tragic news was accompanied by the inspiring report of the European Conference, representing five Trotskyist parties, which was held under the shadow of the Nazi terror last February in France. This report confirmed the survival and growing influence of the Trotskyist movement in Europe and the white-hot revolutionary temper of the European masses who every day draw closer to the socialist revolution under the banner of the Fourth International. It is this prospect, so feared by the Kremlin and its tools, that has dictated the present Stalinist counter-revolutionary slander campaign, of which Morris's article is one lurid expression.

Only last week, The Militant published a letter from France conveying the tragic news of the murderous blows struck at our Trotskyist co-thinkers by the Nazis during their four-year occupation of Europe. The Nazi repression dealt us heavy blows everywhere. Dozens of militants were shot, mainly in France and Holland, Greece and Belgium. Hundreds of others were imprisoned and deported to Germany. Among the leading comrades: In France, eight members of the leadership were deported to Germany; in Belgium two, including the secretary of the Party. In Greece, the secretary of the Party, C. Pouliopoulos, was shot, together with two other members of the leadership. Comrade

sistance of American labor to the corporation-government assaults on workers' rights and conditions.

Thus, Morris directly connects Ghali's GPU-concocted story about "Himmler's fourth international" with "the group that is now jailed in Minneapolis for sabotage of the war effort," that

is, the 18 Trotskyist and Minneapolis Truckdrivers Local 544-CIO leaders who were railroaded to federal prisons under the infamous Smith "Gag" Act and whose release and pardon has been demanded by over 3,500,000 trade unionists.

By labeling the Trotskyists, the most uncompromising working-class fighters against fascism and all other forms of capitalist reaction, as "agents of Hitler and Himmler," and by assaulting all militant workers who defend labor's interests as "Trotskyites," the Stalinists thereby hope to smear all who resist the anti-labor, union-busting schemes of American Big Business.

Through the union's Vice President, W. G. Graham, stationed in Canada, the Transport Controller for Canada, T. C. Lockwood, was similarly approached on the desirability of postponing

FRENCH STALINISTS RETREAT ON ISSUE OF ARMED MILITIAS

(Continued from page 1)

N. Y. Times correspondent: "Cars bearing red flags with the hammer and sickle and loudspeakers, drove slowly through Paris proclaiming: 'They want to disarm the patriotic militia in favor of the fifth column, don't let them take arms from the patriotic guards!'"

If de Gaulle should accept this proposal, he will do so only as a first step toward disarming the Workers' Militia. But it is doubtful whether he will find even this sufficient.

The mayors of most of the cities and towns in the provinces belong either to the Stalinist or the Socialist parties. Toulouse, Roubaix, Marseilles, Tours, Le Mans and Morlaix, for example, have Socialist mayors. Pour La Victoire, American French paper, reports (Nov. 4) that the Workers' Militia is "very active in these small provincial towns where it is under the influence, if not the direct control of the Communist Party." Under such conditions it is hardly likely that the Allied-de Gaulle conspirators will be satisfied with the proposal to "legalize" the Workers' Militias.

They do not want to "legalize" or to tolerate in any shape these armed formations of the workers which represent the greatest menace to their rule. That is why there can be no compromise on this question either on the part of the capitalist conspirators or the revolutionary workers. That is also why the maneuvers of the Stalinists must end either in their complete capitulation to de Gaulle on this question — or to the outbreak of civil war. The class struggle is rapidly rushing to a climax in revolutionary France.

Railway Union Leaders Side-Track Convention

(Continued from page 1)

the labor convention, and he, like Mr. Johnson, was in full accord with Robertson's wishes to cancel the 1945 regular convention of the Union. There was mutual harmony all around between Government and union officials on the question of postponing workers' meetings and conventions, like every other reactionary idea, is usually proposed by the officials who prefer to run the union as if it were its private property.

OFFICIALS CONNIVE

In search for excuses to do away with the 1945 quadrennial convention President Robertson sought and received the warm and enthusiastic support of U. S. and Canadian government officials.

In the following paragraph we quote in full the last paragraph on page two of the ballot which shows how anxious Robertson was to find an excuse for cancelling the convention, and how he pleaded with the Government officials to help him to put over his reactionary scheme:

"Prior to consideration of the matter of postponement by the above named officers, efforts were made to secure an expression of the attitude of the two governments with respect to our holding the scheduled convention in Toronto, Ontario, in July, 1945. Explanation was made to the proper officials that our conventions usually remain in session from four to five weeks, and at times for longer periods, and are composed of nearly 1100 delegates, officers and incidental employees, a substantial majority of whom are engaged in active railroad service in the United States and Canada. It was also brought out that our Ladies' Society holds its convention, usually about two weeks in length, simultaneously with ours, and is constituted of approximately 750 delegates, officers and employees. Government attention was likewise directed to the fact that the holding of a convention would require the release of railroad employees from service during the period of the convention to permit them to serve as delegates or in other capacities in connection with the proceedings."

In response to the International President's request for an expression of his views based upon the foregoing submission, J. M. Johnson, Director of the Office of Defense Transportation, Washington, D. C., addressed the International President, thanking him "for your evident desire to fully cooperate with this office in our efforts to conserve transportation facilities."

Through the union's Vice President, W. G. Graham, stationed in Canada, the Transport Controller for Canada, T. C. Lockwood, was similarly approached on the desirability of postponing

the conventions have been conducted in the past. Through the stranglehold which the union officials have on the circulation of all progressive ideas in the unions between conventions, they have been able to prevent the formulation of any good and progressive programs for these conventions by the militants in the union ranks, with the result that these rail union conventions have degenerated into mere spending sprees of the dues payers' money by delegates and officers alike.

CONVENTIONS A NECESSITY

Nevertheless, conventions like lodge meetings are an absolute necessity to every union and we cannot improve them by not holding them. Conventions offer members the best opportunities to get rid of a useless leadership and objectionable laws, of which the B. of L. F. & E. constitution is loaded. Only one man in the B. of L. F. & E. enjoys the freedom of the press and that's the President. No other officer or member is permitted to put his ideas in print and circulation on union matters without permission of the President. If you don't believe this, just look up the law on the matter. They even have a law on page 127 of their constitution which provides that a local lodge must obtain a special dispensation from the President before it can admit an American Indian to membership!

The B. of L. F. & E. cannot afford to pass any conventions. On the contrary, it needs to hold them more often. It needs many improvements in its laws and leadership, and it needs an organized left wing inside the union to aid and direct the movement for these improvements.

Mexican Authorities Launch Fierce Anti-Labor Offensive

(Continued from page 1)

part of the government apparatus.

As unions or parts of unions have revolted from the domination during the past three or four years, they have tended to support one of the newer and more militant federations. The latter being free from commitments to the government, have been more outspoken in demands for higher wages and in fighting the gangsterized CTM. Indignation of the workers because of worsening conditions crystallized in the struggle over the Social Security Law — newly instituted by the Government in collaboration with the CTM leadership.

The great mass of the workers were completely opposed to this law which provides for an equal amount taken from their wages and from the capitalists for establishing a fund for various services such as sick benefits, unemployment, etc. The workers realized that such a law, administered by the corrupt union leadership and by the government, was merely a new form of tax on their incomes and represented a cut in wages at a time when a rise has already become a life and death question. The independent unions protested against the law and led the struggle against it, receiving a great amount of mass support.

The government with the aid and support of the CTM and the Stalinists is striking back vehemently. Since the July 20th demonstration it has begun a systematic campaign to weaken and crush the more independent unions. Using as a pretext this demonstration, it arrested leaders of the Libertarian Federation of Workers and Farmers of the Federal District. One of the arrested, Pedro Hernandez, General Secretary of the Federation, was threatened and bribed into betraying his union and went over to the CTM. In addition some Stalinist agents who had wormed their way into the Executive Committee of the Federation made public pronouncements against the "Trotskyist provocateurs" at the Zocalo demonstration.

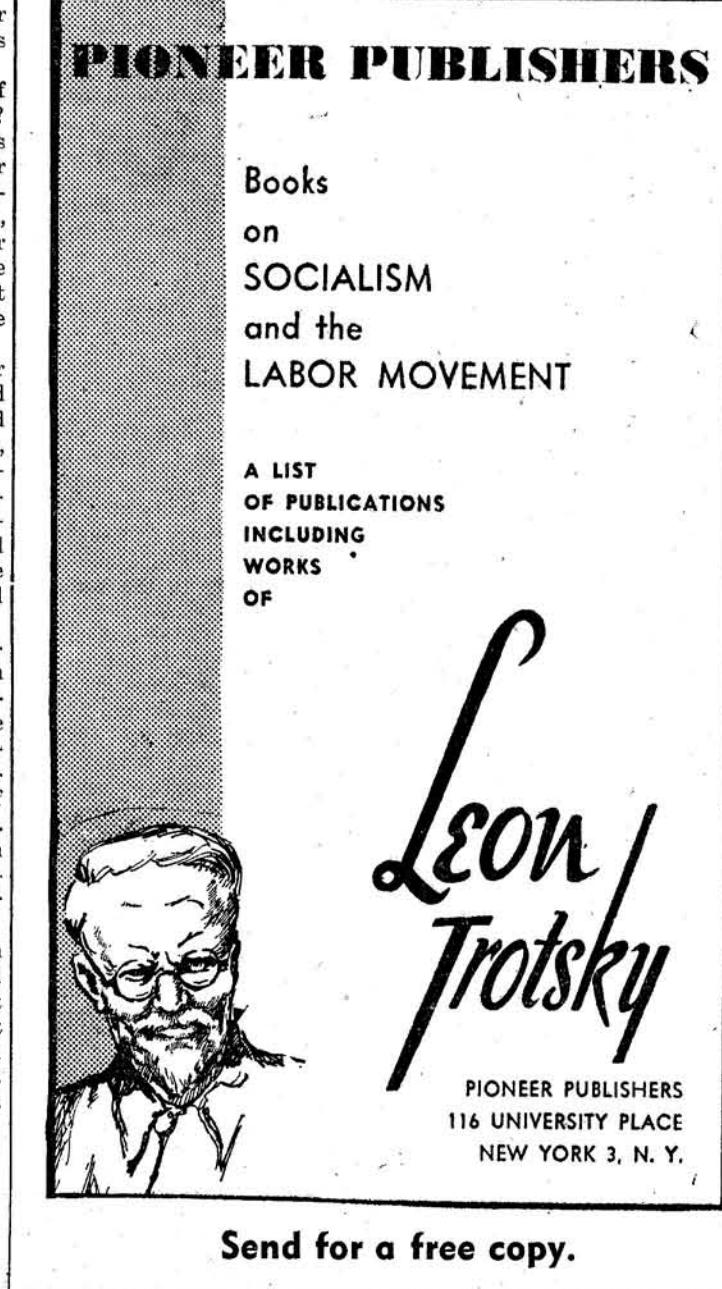
In answer to the offensive of violence and murder undertaken by these gangsters, the independent unions have no recourse but to unite and prepare for a militant defense of their organizations. For the offensive is clearly aimed at reestablishing the CTM monopoly over the workers' organizations in order to crush the inevitable resistance to the skyrocketing cost of living, the unemployment, poverty and other consequences of the imperialist war that are already descending upon Mexico. The violence of the CTM-Government offensive is teaching the Mexican workers that only a vigorous and militant answer by their own class organizations can save them from complete annihilation; that the CTM bureaucrats and the Stalinist betrayers are not their friends but their mortal enemies, and must be cast out by the labor move-

ment.

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INTERNATIONAL'

Off the press!

PIONEER'S NEW CATALOGUE



The central issue at stake in this struggle — the struggle for power — has been set forth as follows by our correspondent:

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Labor Commemorates The 48th Anniversary Of The Death Of The Haymarket Martyrs

By Ruth Johnson

On November 11, fifty-seven years ago, the State of Illinois took the lives of four Haymarket martyrs, in the mad hope that with their death, the very ideas of militant labor struggle and the fight for the emancipation of labor would vanish from the American scene. But the capitalist murderers were wrong—twice wrong.

August Spies, Albert Parsons, Adolph Fisher and George Engel, framed up and condemned to death by the courts of capitalism, are remembered and honored today for their heroic leadership of the fight which won for the working class the right to the eight-hour day. Tomorrow, as the American labor movement in its political struggles learns more and more clearly the need for socialism, these Haymarket martyrs will be honored equally for their deathless fight to bring to the American working class an understanding of the need for a new economic order. On that day, the final challenge of August Spies, hurled at capitalism as the hangman adjusted the black hood of death, will appear in all its might:

"There will be a time when our silence from the grave will be more powerful than the voices you strangle today."

LABOR STRUGGLES

The Haymarket frameup climaxed the first May Day demonstration in labor history. By a resolution passed in the 1885 convention of the Federation of Trades and Labor Unions of the United States and Canada (later the American Federation of Labor), May 1, 1886 had been designated as the day for workers to down tools in their demand for the eight-hour day. All over the country, workers by the hundreds of thousands answered the call, laying down their tools to pick up banners proclaiming the eight-hour day. So powerful were the demonstrations that in many large centers the workers won their demand, and resumed work on May 2.

HARVESTER STRIKE

Not so in Chicago, where May Day came as the climax of a long, bitter struggle between the workers and the bosses. In Chicago, then the heart of the radical movement in America, the workers had organized at the great McCormick-Deering Harvester plant, under the leadership of August Spies and Albert Parsons, editors of the anarchist "Die Arbeiter Zeitung." The company had answered the work-

Honeymoon Over

Although the French and Greek people have experienced only a few months, and even weeks, of Allied occupation, popular disillusionment in the "democratic" and "liberating" role of Anglo-American imperialism has become so deep and wide-spread that the capitalist press has been forced to give hints of the real situation. Thus, N. Y. Times correspondent Milton Bracker wired from Rome on Nov. 4 that:

"... The Allies are increasingly sensitive to the harmful effect on liberated populations of what they conceive to be broken promises. The 'honeymoon' has long been over in Italy. In France—at least in the Cherbourg area—Sgt. Jack Foisie, who has just returned from many people partial to the Germans. In Greece the tendency of the population to expect aid sooner than it can be available is causing much serious concern."

ers with a 2-month lockout, then still in progress. Another strike was being waged by the lumber workers. As May Day approached, the Chicago police urged on by the notoriously reactionary Chicago Tribune, made preparations for a final assault upon the workers.

On May Day, the workers of Chicago thronged the streets. All day long, roving detachments of police attacked parading workers in pitched battles. On May 2, the bosses proclaimed a lock-out against the workers throughout the city. Locked out of their own jobs the May Day strikers on May 3 joined their brother workers on the picket line at the McCormick-Deering plant. Again the police launched an attack, leaving four workers dead and unknown numbers injured.

On May 4 a mass meeting was called in Haymarket Square to protest police brutality. Among the speakers were Parsons, Spies, and a third anarchist, Fielden. A rainstorm sent most of the crowd of 3,000 workers home be-



The Haymarket demonstration, held in Chicago on May 4, 1886, to protest police brutality against workers on the picket line at the McCormick-Deering Harvester plant, was assaulted by police as Fielden spoke from the platform. An unknown person, believed to have been a police provocateur, threw a bomb into the crowd, killing several persons. The anarchist labor leaders Spies, Parsons, Engel and Fisher were hanged after a frame-up trial.

fore the last speaker, Fielden, took the stand. Then came the assault. Over 150 police, armed with guns and clubs, charged the remaining handful of the crowd. As Fielden protested that the meeting was peaceful, and on the verge of dispersing, a bomb, thrown from the roof of the Marshall Field warehouse, burst in the midst of the group. Locked out of their own jobs the May Day strikers on May 3 joined their brother workers on the picket line at the McCormick-Deering plant. Again the police launched an attack, leaving four workers dead and unknown numbers injured.

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HAYMARKET TRIALS

Seven policemen and four workers were killed, many injured. The next day, every labor leader in Chicago was put under arrest. The capitalist press howled for the blood of the "anarchists." A grand jury, carefully selected from prosperous business men, indicted 8 men, Spies, Parsons, Fielden, Schwab, Lingg, Neebe, Engel and Fisher, for the murder of the first policeman to die.

The trial began on June 21, 1886, before Judge Gary, notori-

ous defender and later president of the steel trust. From the beginning, the trial was a legal farce, with at least a third of the jury admitting under examination that they "hated all anarchists, socialists and communists." Not a shred of evidence was presented to show that any of the defendants had planned or thrown the bomb. On the contrary, the evidence, including the fact that Fielden himself was seriously injured, indicated that the bomb was thrown by a police provocateur.

LABOR PROTESTS

After many weeks the trial ended with seven of the men condemned to be hanged. The eighth, Oscar Neebe, was sentenced to fifteen years in prison. All appeals, all protests of the American and international labor movement were disregarded, until finally, shortly before the execution, the sentences of Fielden

and Schwab were commuted to life imprisonment. Lingg, defiant and contemptuous of his persecutors, committed suicide in his cell on November 10, 1887. On November 11, August Spies, Albert Parsons, George Engel and Adolph Fisher were murdered on the gallows.

WORKING CLASS MARTYRS

The Haymarket martyrs who gave their lives for the working class were anarchists, ardent revolutionists convinced of the need for fundamental social change. Today we know that anarchism, despite its noble ideals, cannot succeed in liberating the working class. But we honor the Haymarket heroes for their revolutionary integrity and courageous leadership of the labor struggles of their day. And we advance a program of revolutionary socialism which will lead the working class to the very victory they gave their lives for—the overthrow of that system of exploitation condemned in these eloquent words by Engel during his trial:

"I am too much a man of feeling not to battle against the conditions of today. Every thoughtful person must combat a system which makes it possible for the individual to rake and hoard millions in a few years, while on the other side thousands become tramps and beggars."

How to Answer Opposition Arguments

The bosses always work according to the opposite slogan. On the desk or office wall of business executives can be seen the neatly engraved daily reminder: "DO IT NOW!"

Sometimes an apt quotation will give your shop-mate food for thought. Patrick Henry, one of the illustrious leaders of the American revolution, told the faint-hearts:

"They tell us, sir, that we are weak; unable to cope with so formidable an adversary. But when shall we be stronger? Will it be next week, or next year? Will it be when we are totally disarmed, and when a British guard shall be stationed in every house? Shall we gather strength by irresolution and inaction? Shall we acquire the means of effectual resistance by lying supinely on our backs and hugging the delusive phantom of hope until our enemies shall have bound us hand and foot?"

Likewise with the argument that "labor should not split the vote by organizing its own party." Don't get heated when you hear this argument. Prepare to answer it as you did the argument about not doing it now. Who gains from such a belief? Who would be interested in spreading it? Does labor get anything by voting for the bosses' political machine? Recall the example of what happened to John L. Lewis and Labor's Non-Partisan League in 1936.

You might ask your shop-mate, "What's wrong with splitting the vote? Isn't that precisely what we want to do, start splitting the vote in the direction of labor?" Why should Wall Street have a monopoly of the votes? Why are they interested in maintaining a monopoly of the votes? Doesn't the beginning of a trickle of votes for labor begin to weaken Wall Street? Suppose this trickle would become converted into a flood of votes. Suppose labor ends up with all the votes in the country except the votes of America's 60 families. Wouldn't this be a good fair way to split the vote?

One of the first practical jobs in building the independent labor party is, therefore, learning the bag of arguments that Wall Street spreads among the workers, analyzing these arguments, and preparing a set of answers and explanations. You will be surprised to find how few arguments there really are and how easily they are answered.

Remember—each time you give a convincing answer to one of these arguments, you start the opposite idea rolling through a section of the labor movement. In the long run, nothing can stop correct ideas that represent the economic and political interests of the majority.

Remember—you are not alone in this work. Labor everywhere is seeking independent political action. Hundreds of unions have passed resolutions calling for the formation of an independent labor party. Your own union may be on record. Already powerful groups are organizing to advance the same program. In Michigan, for instance, a number of trade unionists, representing more than 100,000 workers, have organized the Michigan Commonwealth Federation, pledged to independent political action.

Why Labor Must Begin Building Its Own Political Party Now

We reprint below the fourth in a series of extracts from Joseph Hansen's pamphlet, "American Workers Need A Labor Party," which will soon be published by Pioneer Publishers. In this section, Joseph Hansen describes how a labor party can and will be built by the determination of the advanced workers themselves to solve their problems in the coming period.

By Joseph Hansen

A pessimist might feel that organizing an independent labor party is hopeless. "Look how the cards are stacked," he might complain. "Against us is Wall Street, two political parties, powerful labor lieutenants, and worse than anything, the gullibility of the public."

Powerful as these forces might seem, however, they lack the decisive weapons. First, truth is against them. They are forced to lie. Second, the economic interests of the majority are against them. With these two mighty weapons, the truth, and the interests of the majority, a number of resolute, militant, intelligent trade unionists can start the process going which will surely end in the organization of an independent labor party enrolling tens of millions of supporters.

There were pessimists who thought labor would never organize industrial unions. Wall Street opposed such unions. Republicans and Democrats opposed them. So did the labor lieutenants like William Green. But the job was done despite this array of forces. Once started, nothing could stop the organization of the basic industries into industrial unions.

American labor today stands at the beginning of a similar development on the political field. The auto workers who found out how to get together to buck General Motors, Chrysler and Ford; the maritime workers who defeated the shipping moguls; the steel workers who cracked the Steel Trust—workers such as these will likewise find a way to close ranks against the political machinery of the bosses.

The first job is to explain patiently to your shop-mates the inside stuff about boss politics. Take your time explaining. Don't forget that even if your shop-mate argues heatedly against you, chances are he picks up your explanation and repeats it to his friends.

Take for instance the old argument that "now is not the time to build an independent labor party." Don't give up in disgust because you've heard this so many times it sounds worn out. Remember that your shop-mate doesn't really believe it. He is simply repeating an argument someone gave him, which he is passing on because he didn't know to answer it. If you give an effective answer, the original argument will disintegrate very shortly in his mind and he will begin passing on what you've said. He will even begin taking credit for your explanation, claiming it as his own original idea. In a way he's right. At bottom he knew all the time the job can't wait.

Look how the argument "now is not the right time" has helped the bosses. They hold every one of the seats in Congress, the White

Scene At Haymarket Meeting

Diego Rivera Joins With The Stalinist Assassin Siqueiros

MEXICO, D. F., Oct. 15.—Diego Rivera completing his political evolution, has finally landed in the camp of Stalinism. *Lucha Obrera*, organ of the Mexican Trotskyists, reports in its September number that this well-known painter has made his peace with the Stalinist-G. P. U. apparatus in the person of its most eminent Mexican representative—the artist-assassin, Alvaro Siqueiros. Diego went so far as to permit himself to be photographed embracing Siqueiros while making "Common cause with him and other Stalinists in the face of defending the liberty of artistic expression."

In the period 1936-1939, Diego played the role of "friend" and "protector" to Trotsky, obtaining the right of asylum for him in Mexico. In 1939 Trotsky broke with him when he saw the direction of his development. During the elections of 1940, Diego supported Almazan, the conservative capitalist candidate for president. At that time, it is interesting to note, the Stalinists (who supported Avila Camacho) slandered the Trotskyists by claiming that they were supporting Almazan. As proof of this "support", they cited Diego Rivera's action, not being deterred in this by the fact that Trotsky had publicly broken with him some time before.

When in 1940 Rivera's current friend Siqueiros launched the May 24th machine-gun attack on Trotsky's house, Rivera—always capable of the most fantastic statements to gain publicity—announced that after attacking Trotsky's house, the assailants had besieged his own. At that time, he recognized them as being G. P. U. agents. No matter. Now, four years later he finds himself at home in their arms and they extend a gracious welcome. Siqueiros himself has been rewarded for his murderous work by an invitation to teach this February at the Buffalo Art Institute.

Lucha Obrera remarks that Rivera must be bothered by the mural he painted in his revolutionary days—that now stands in the Palace of Bellas Artes. In it he represents Trotsky and the Fourth International as the culmination of historical evolution and as the leaders of the only progressive way out for humanity.

"But Rivera has already substituted the phrase he presented in this work: 'Workers of the world unite in the Fourth International' with 'Renegades of the world, unite under the Stalinist boot'."

The Haymarket martyrs who gave their lives for the working class were anarchists, ardent revolutionists convinced of the need for fundamental social change. Today we know that anarchism, despite its noble ideals, cannot succeed in liberating the working class. But we honor the Haymarket heroes for their revolutionary integrity and courageous leadership of the labor struggles of their day. And we advance a program of revolutionary socialism which will lead the working class to the very victory they gave their lives for—the overthrow of that system of exploitation condemned in these eloquent words by Engel during his trial:

"I am too much a man of feeling not to battle against the conditions of today. Every thoughtful person must combat a system which makes it possible for the individual to rake and hoard millions in a few years, while on the other side thousands become tramps and beggars."

These things sound fantastic beside the dull life we've got to endure now—when we get outdoor life through the pages of Street and Smith's magazines, or go get a free trip to Europe to shoot men instead of animals. They sound like a politician's promises—a capitalist politician before election who got a little overrosey in his predictions. But they will be realized under Socialism. It will be as easy as it is to quit work when the whistle blows.

SHOP TALKS ON SOCIALISM

By V. Grey

It's hunting season again, and everybody is kidding everybody else about how many pheasants they didn't get. A couple of the fellows live in small villages nearby, and they just stepped out in the back yard and knocked down a bird apiece before they came to work in the morning. But they were the lucky ones. Some of the boys took the first day off entirely, trudged around all day without even getting a shot at anything.

What everyone was laughing about though, was the way the fields were so crowded with hunters and the woods so thick with them that you couldn't have let go with a shot without hitting someone. Slim said that when he fired at a partridge he thought he saw, he clipped three hunters at once.

It's worse than ever now, of course, because you can't get enough gasoline to go very far into the country. So every hunter and his brother just has to tramp around in the fields near town. Cartridges are easier to get than they were last year. But what good are they if you don't get a chance to use them? There's plenty of birds in the deep woods, and up in the hills fifty miles from here. But if a fellow goes out there—supposing he has the gas—he wants to stay a couple of days or so. Harry Johnson does that every year. But there aren't many who can afford to do that, no matter how crazy they are about hunting.

"I notice," observes Shorty, "old Hawkshaw in the front office has been gone all week. Probably won't be back until pheasant season is over."

"That's right. He'll be gone again in deer season too. He's got a lodge in the Alleghenies. I'd be up there, too, if I had his dough and that hunting lodge."

THE BIG SHOTS GET ALL THE SHOTS

That's a big "if." Will there ever be a time when the ordinary working man can leave the shop a couple of weeks at a time, go up in the north woods, with canoe, rod, reel and gun—and live a little bit of the life that so many small game hunters dream about? Just think, there are hundreds of thousands of square miles in Canada, with lake, mountain, swamp and pool beckoning to the hunter. But what hunter can go up there? Why, Hawkshaw in the front office, and his masters, Grace, Girdler, Morgan and Co. They get all the shots they want, even when their guide doesn't aim the gun for them.

A workingman doesn't have that privilege—gas rationing or no gas rationing. You're tied to your job, and you just can't go off on these jaunts you dream about, when the wife and kids need the things they do.

Did you ever stop to think, though, that we could put up a hundred thousand well equipped lodges throughout Canada—about five thousand in each of the forty eight states, enough for the gang in every shop on the continent—keep them well stocked and equipped, give every hunter or would-be hunter a week with pay and a few bucks for expenses thrown in? That we could do all this for about one percent of the money the U. S. is spending on war? Well, we could.

When we working people have to take over production, as we will all over the world, there will be no more capitalist business rivalry that results in war. About twenty million lives and a thousand billions of dollars will be saved for each generation that way. If that were the full extent of what socialism could do, that alone would guarantee every workingman and woman the realization of their physical needs as well as many luxuries besides hunting.

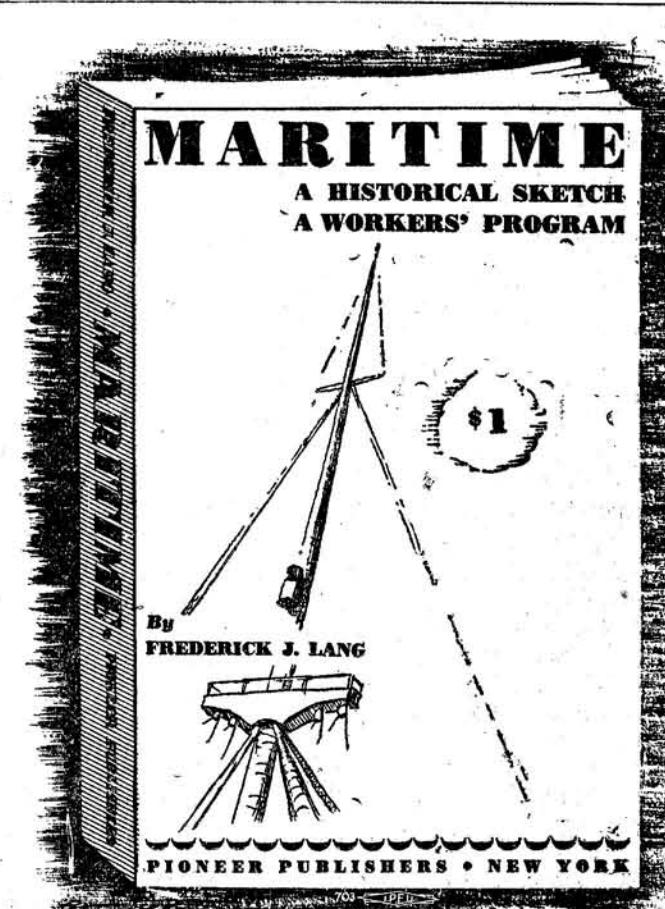
As for people who don't like to hunt or fish, who can't bear to see the worm wiggle on the hook, well, they won't feel cheated either when they see the hunters having such a swell time of it. Maybe they'll go on a European tour—gaze at the Parthenon and the Pyramids.

THESE DREAMS WILL BE REAL UNDER SOCIALISM

These things sound fantastic beside the dull life we've got to endure now—when we get outdoor life through the pages of Street and Smith's magazines, or go get a free trip to Europe to shoot men instead of animals. They sound like a politician's promises—a capitalist politician before election who got a little overrosey in his predictions. But they will be realized under Socialism. It will be as easy as it is to quit work when the whistle blows.

The faker Huey Long had the slogan, "Every man a king." But that's impossible to-day. Under capitalism the wealth just cannot be shared. At least not shared fairly. Most of us realize that. And so we're pretty skeptical of big promises. We have seen our fathers and mothers work their lives away for the bosses, we see ourselves doing the same thing—and a free life, much less a happy hunting season is hard to believe possible. Only the bosses, and the rascals and robbers of Wall Street, have had these in the past. But socialized production is going to secure them for us all.

No single politician is going to get these benefits for us. The working people are going to take them out of the hands of the ruling class, and make them the property of all. The capitalist politicians can't even live up to their miserable boast of a "chicken in every pot" because their system is so decrepit. But in our Socialist system of jobs for all, and therefore goods for all, we can say "two pheasants for every hunter." And make it stick, too.



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

Prose And Poetry

The saga of the Negro soldier and the treatment he is receiving from the military agents of American imperialism continues to be related in different forms almost every day.

It is becoming clear to the Negro people that the winning of this war has not meant and will not mean the winning of first-class citizenship by the oppressed colored minority here in America.

The clarification of this issue has largely been accomplished by the Negro soldier who has written home his experiences to relatives and friends. He has told of the never-neglected measures to keep him in "his place" in the training camps here in America — more especially in the South. (Every Negro soldier is given a taste of this section before he is shipped out.) He has also written home and told of the complete social equality he has received from the working people in Europe who are supposed to be so backward in the ways of "democracy" as compared to America, the "land of the free."

From England, Italy, and the South Pacific have come authentic reports of military enforcement of segregation of American Negro soldiers in previously unbiased civilian business places. The brass hats are getting it straight with the naive "foreigners" that a brown-skinned American is not supposed to be treated as an equal. Lack the lifelong anti-Negro indoctrination that whites have had the benefit of here in the U.S.A., these attempts by the military have not been completely successful.

In addition to this it has been revealed for the first time that the reactionary military caste is going so far as to prevent Negro soldiers from mailing home information telling how much better he is treated by the English people than he is in his own country. The story slipped out in no less an authoritative publication than the Army's own weekly "Yank." The following letter was published in the September 8, 1944 issue.

* * *

This may be "nonsense" to Sgt. Brown but to American capitalism (which determines military policy) it is quite logical. Here is why. In England Negroes are such a tiny minority that they are useless as a scapegoat to split the working class. Consequently there is no calculated anti-Negro indoctrination and therefore little or no prejudice. In America the opposite is true. With 10 percent Negroes (mostly workers) inter-racial antagonism is of inestimable value to the ruling class, especially in times of class crisis such as we may expect in the "post-war" period.

If the Negro is to be used as a scapegoat against the labor movement it is essential that he be denied equality and rigorously segregated. If it is generally known that the Negro enjoys first class citizenship in England without catastrophic consequences, in short, if too many letters from too many Sgt. Browns arrive here, it will inspire the Negro masses and progressive white elements to fight — now — very militantly for immediate abolition of segregation. To fight back such a force would be costly to the government agents of capitalism and would also expose their sinister anti-working class role. Racial equality here as you have in England would be a danger to the exploiting class.

The censors lied, Sgt. Brown, your letter does contain information of value to the enemy — the most basic and the most dangerous enemy of American imperialism — the American working class.

Just A Negro Soldier

Submitted by Bill Horton

I'm just a Negro soldier
Fighting for "Democracy"
A thing I've often heard of
But very seldom see.

In the South I was just a "nigger"
On whom the boss man kept close track
To see that I grew no bigger
That the clothes upon my back.

In the North, of course, it's different,
That is, they had a different name
For Jim-Crow it was segregation
But it amounts to just the same.

Yet I must be patriotic
Must not grumble or complain
But must fight for some "four freedoms"
On which I'll have no claim.

I must fight under every condition
Face bayonet, shot and shell
But with Jim-Crow "recognition"
Tho' I crash the gates of hell.

They expect me to be loyal?
But in my heart I'm not
For how can a second-class citizen
Be a first-class patriot?

To hell with a war impelled by greed
While the hungry masses cry
But to win complete equality
I'd fight and gladly die.

In Detroit

BUY

THE MILITANT and FOURTH INTERNATIONAL
at

THE SATURDAY BOOKSHOP
3513 Woodward Avenue

Gen. Stilwell's Recall Exposes Wall Street's Imperialist Aim To Subjugate Chinese People

(Continued from page 1)

mander why I insisted on flaunting in the officers' faces (through mail) the fact that the colored man enjoys much more equality in England than he does in the Southern States.

My answer was that there was no intent to flaunt anything in anyone's face. I write to tell my people back home things of interest, and so far as I am concerned (and I understand postal regulations will bear me out) the censor is an impersonal machine whose only function it is to pick out information of value to the enemy. The officers agreed that what was contained in my letters was of no harm militarily.

Since then I have received letters from my parents (who have five other sons in service) and my friends stating that not one of my letters has arrived without something cut out and asking why I don't tell them about the English people.

Mail is supposed to be morale building, but this sort of nonsense only makes the people back home more miserable and the men here prone to feel disrespected for their superior officers.

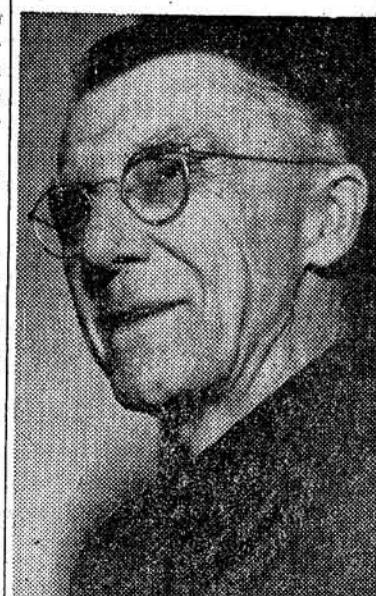
Sgt. JAMES R. BROWN

* * *

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STILWELL

ordinate China's military struggle for independence to American strategic aims and requirements. If Chiang will not cooperate, they will find a Chinese warlord who will. Once American troops have landed in force in eastern China, American imperialist pressure on Chiang—if his regime survives that long—will become all the greater.

Business Week, authoritative organ of American Big Business, with sources of information among the policy-makers in Washington, predicted with assurance in its issue of Nov. 4 that "the Allies — operating through a military government—(will) take a firm hold of populous coastal areas of China when they are liberated" and that Chiang will be "forced into progressive liberalization of his government if he is eventually to assume control of the government of liberated China. It will surprise no one if General Stilwell turns up in command when Allied forces are eventually landed along the China coast."

The reference to "liberalization" of Chiang's bloody and reactionary regime is simply a deceitful euphemism intended to cover the predatory purpose of the Yankee freebooters to convert China into their colony. They intend to use Chiang as an instrument for the accomplishment of that purpose, or — find an alternative to Chiang!

LIFT CENSORSHIP

It is not by chance that the Stilwell episode has been accompanied by a fresh outpouring of criticism of Chiang's dictatorship, new tales of the pervasive corruption and ineptitude in high places which has nullified all the great sacrifices made by the Chinese soldiers in the fight to expel the Japanese invaders.

For years Kuomintang-dominated China has been depicted by all spokesmen of capitalism, including Roosevelt himself, as a "democracy." The true and fearful facts about Chiang's regime, as vile in all respects as Hitler's, were suppressed. Only the Trotskyist press carried factual, unvarnished accounts of the Chinese situation. Today, in order to further the imperialist aims which they serve, the capitalist press agencies and newspapers, with the approval of the War Department censorship, are publishing news that only recently was taboo.

Thus Thoburn Wiant, Associated Press correspondent in London, who was formerly in China, now tells us that Chiang is "more concerned with the inevitable civil war against the 80,000,000 Chinese Communists than with the struggle against Japan. . . . Democracy does not exist in China. There is probably no more efficient dictatorship than that of the Kuomintang. There is no freedom of speech, or

of press, or of much of anything else. There are secret police, concentration camps and firing squads for those who dare to speak, or write, or act out of turn."

Why was all this kept dark so long? "First," says Wiant, "because of Chinese censorship. Second, because Washington held out hope that the mess could be cleaned up. Washington, through General Stilwell, gave Chiang every assistance possible under the circumstances. The mess became so bad, however, that General Stilwell was finally recalled to Washington."

In plain words, Roosevelt conspired with Chiang to hide the foulness of the Kuomintang regime from the rest of the world—as long as it served his purposes. He propped this regime up, painted it in the glowing colors of a fighter for "democracy," acquired in its unbridled oppression of the Chinese people. Today, when the revolting corruption and ineptitude of the regime have progressed so far as to reduce almost to zero its effectiveness as an instrument of American imperialist policy, Roosevelt permits some of the facts to be made known. Today as yesterday, Roosevelt and those he serves are concerned least of all with the awful plight of China's millions. Their interest is solely in the "manifest destiny" of American imperialism, which is to dominate and exploit these and other millions throughout Asia.

FEARS CIVIL WAR

It is true, as Wiant reports, that Chiang is "more concerned with the inevitable civil war against the 80,000,000 Chinese Communists than with the struggle against Japan." The Stalinist-controlled areas in northern China, where some of the basic elements of the agrarian revolution have been partially achieved (division of the land, reduction of land rents and taxation, etc.), are a terrible threat to Chiang's regime of landlord-capitalist oppression. He keeps up to half a million troops — some reports say close to a million — blockading these "Red" areas.

However, the raging economic crisis, combined with the utter failure of the defensive war against Japan under Kuomintang direction, have weakened all the warlords of Chiang's regime and encouraged his warlord rivals — many of them his own regional commanders — to nurse hopes of being able to step into his shoes as "leader of the nation." Separatist and particularistic tendencies, strongly reminiscent of the warlord era between 1911 and 1927 when China was truncated and torn apart into many principalities, are becoming rampant once more. Chiang therefore hesitates to embark on large-scale military action against the "Red" areas for fear of unleashing countrywide civil war which

The Masses Chiang Kai-shek Fears



Pictured here is part of a crowd of 50,000 workers, students, shopkeepers demonstrating in Shanghai in 1931 to protest the Japanese invasion of Manchuria and the sell-out policies of Chiang Kai-shek's government. The butcher of the Chinese Revolution fears, with good reason, that similar sell-outs to the American imperialists will provoke a new stormy upsurge of the mass movement and imperil his regime.

Wiant reports: "Chinese (meaning Chiang's commanders) in many sectors are resisting (the Japanese) only on a token basis." They are saving their soldiers and their ammunition for civil war. And as correspondent Brooks Atkinson reveals, Chiang "hedges and hesitates" over anything involving the use of his troops. He refers to Chiang's "basic unwillingness to risk his armies in battle with the Japanese" and says "foreigners can only conclude that the Chinese Government wants to save its armies to secure its political power after the war."

YUNNAN WARLORD

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Chiang resists this proposal because he fears that any relaxation of his regime of suppression may bring the masses to their feet and open wide the floodgates of revolution. He resists American pressure because he fears that open capitulation to the Yankee imperialists would arouse a popular fury similar to the years 1931-36 when, time and again, he yielded to the Japanese imperialists.

Especially significant is the fact that Yunnan province, in the strategic southwest, is the area in which American military forces are most numerous and active. It is the China base of the campaign in Burma, at present the main theater of American operations in continental Asia. Its capital, Kunming, is the air

terminal for all supplies flown into China from India.

Yunnan's defection from Chiang would isolate and weaken Chiang's regime still further. It is not improbable that Lung Yun is being used by the American imperialists as a foil to Chiang and a warning of the fate which awaits his regime unless he does the bidding of Washington.

STALINIST ROLE

So far we have had no word of the role of the Chinese masses, the workers and peasants, in the fast developing crisis. The Chinese Stalinist leaders are trying to rescue the Kuomintang regime. They have proposed that Chiang "democratize" his government on the basis of a coalition of all the parties, including their own. The Yankee imperialists, appraising the Stalinists at their true political worth (all reports regarding the proposed coalition refer to them as the "so-called Communists"), favor such a coalition in the interests of their war with Japan.

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The task of China's national liberation is first of all the task of the Chinese people themselves. Chiang's regime has revealed over the course of seven years its utter incapacity to direct a successful struggle against even a single imperialist power — Japan. It has plunged the country into the deepest crisis, the masses into fearful misery. Completely alien to the people, enjoying not a shred of popular support it is obliged to lean more and more heavily on the Yankee imperialists who are preparing a new slavery for China's millions.

The Chinese workers and peasants will in due time settle accounts with Chiang's murderous regime. In this they will inevitably have to confront, too, the American imperialists — Chiang's present patrons. The working-class of America must not permit the Yankee imperialists to go through with their nefarious plans for the enslavement of China. Now — today — when the political representatives of the Wall Street brigands have plainly betrayed their real intentions, a mighty shout of protest must go up:

HANDS OFF CHINA!

Diary Of A Steel Worker

By Theodore Kovalesky

You were just a guy like a million other guys. Of course I can't know, but I think you were just another guy, maybe named Eddie or Jack or Bill, a guy going to work every day and taking your girl out Saturday nights.

And then the draft came along and yanked you out of normal life with a million others; and they measured you, and inspected you, and tested you, and gave you a number, and a uniform, and a gun with a bayonet.

They told you, "Go out and fight for the American way of life. Kill the Huns. We'll crush Prussian militarism, and then we'll hang the Kaiser. We're depending on you brave boys to defend democracy."

So with "Over There" ringing in your ears, with "My Man" crying in your ears, with "Mademoiselle from Armentières" bawling in your ears, you went out to defend democracy in the "war to end all wars." You defended it in the mud and blood of the trenches. You defended it in the stink of the casualty clearing stations. You defended it in the mad, sleepless bombardments. You defended it in the bayonet charges and lonely hand-to-hand clashes. ("Poor devil, it was either your guts or mine," you thought when you wrenched out your bayonet.)

Then you caught it. Something tore away your dog-tag, ripped open your body, and put out the sun.

* * *

It must have hurt, pal, — Eddie or Jack or Bill, whatever your name was. It must have hurt like hell to lie there with your face in the mud, your legs kicking in the mud, your fingers clutching, and grinding the mud.

Somebody got a telegram that said, "The War Department regrets. . ." It said, "Missing in action. . . ."

But one day, they came and picked you up. They crated you and shipped you back across the ocean. And nobody knew you. . . but still everybody knew you. For you were the Unknown Soldier.

Then they mocked and insulted you. Thin hypocrites and fat hypocrites in expensive suits made speeches. Admirals and generals stood at attention. And they took you (just an ordinary guy, Eddie, or Jack, or Bill, a guy like a million others, eating hot dogs with the girl friend in the summer evenings, maybe running a lathe in the daytime), and they turned you into a symbol of J. P. Morgan's war, into a monument to justify their "traders' war."

And then, with "democracy" victorious, you lay in your new tomb, with young soldiers paid to walk back and forth in front of your door.

"Democracy" victorious, you lay in your tomb, while they starved the children of Europe.

You lay in your tomb while they castrated and lynched Wesley Everett and smashed the Wobblies, while they hanged Negro soldiers in their uniforms, while they raided the trade unions and tarred and feathered radical workers.

You lay in your tomb while your buddies, basket cases and madmen lay in secluded hospitals that even today no outsider may see.

You lay in your tomb while terrified capitalism savagely murdered Sacco and Vanzetti.

You lay in your tomb while the soulines formed, and gaunt, ragged men plodded uncertainly through the snows and confusion of the "American way of life."

You lay in your tomb while they gassed and slugged and bayoneted the bonus marchers and their wives and kids, burned their miserable shacks on the river bank, burned their last miserable possessions.

You lay in your tomb while the Chicago cops shot down ten other ordinary guys on Memorial Day, 1937.

* * *

And now, you'll soon have company. They're readying another selection of unknown dead. They're getting out the spades and prayer-books. The hypocrites in their expensive clothes are writing more speeches. The generals and admirals are polishing up their medals and clearing their throats.

More telegrams are being sent to people, saying, "The War Department regrets. . ." saying, "missing. . . ."

More unknown and ordinary guys are lying twisted in death-agony in the mud of today's "traders' war."

Move over, pal. One of these boys is going to be your buddy. But, we're working on it, Eddie, or Jack, or Bill, or whatever your name was. One of these days, the rest of us ordinary guys are going to smash the system that put you where you are today, the rotten system that makes these "traders' wars."

Then we'll take you out of that show-place where they put you. We'll grind to dust that monument to filth, disease, hunger, blood, agony, and mud, and we'll lay you in a cool, grassy grave where you can rest.

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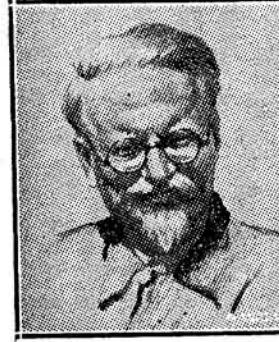
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To defend the USSR as the main fortress of the world proletariat, against all assaults of world imperialism and of internal counter-revolution, is the most important duty of every class-conscious worker.

— LEON TROTSKY

JOIN US IN FIGHTING FOR:

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

Stalin And Iran

Iran, containing some of the world's richest petroleum deposits, has become the object of a tri-cornered struggle between the British and American imperialists and the Stalinist bureaucratic clique in the Soviet Union. With British, American and Soviet troops occupying the country, Stalin precipitated the under-cover struggle by a demand for oil concessions. The government of tiny Iran, neighbor of the powerful Soviet Union, could not resist alone. In rejecting Stalin's demand it undoubtedly had the secret backing of the imperialist claimants to the country's black gold.

Anglo-American aims in Iran are transparently clear. Theirs is the old game of colonial robbery. But what are the aims and purposes of Stalin's bureaucracy? Feather-brains and enemies of the degenerated workers' state yell: "Imperialism!" They equate Stalin's policies with those of the imperialist powers. Yet the Soviet Union has no need, at present, of oil resources beyond its own borders. Those within its borders are still far from being fully developed.

Stalin has evidently demanded concessions as a method of exerting counter-pressure upon the present Iranian government which is subject to British, and partly American, influence. He calculated that the Iranian government, backed by London and Washington, would refuse the demand and that the pro-Soviet masses of Iran would construe this as an anti-Soviet move, overthrow the government, and pave the way for a new regime friendly to the Kremlin. Great anti-government demonstrations in Tehran show that Stalin calculated well.

Stalin's moves in Iran are designed to offset the growing British domination of the Middle East, which is a potential military menace to the USSR. They are part and parcel of his policy of creating "friendly" capitalist governments on the periphery of the Soviet Union. Stalin cannot and will not summon the Iranian masses to rise against the native exploiters and their imperialist allies and hew a revolutionary path to the socialist future. Instead he engages in a devious and dirty intrigue designed to replace an "unfriendly" capitalist gov-

ernment by one that is "friendly." Having turned his back on the socialist revolution, he is obliged to imitate the sordid methods of the real colonial bandits.

The Wage-Freeze

To avoid "embarrassing" Roosevelt, the labor bureaucrats acquiesced in postponing any further action on labor's demand for an upward revision of the wage-freezing Little Steel formula—until after the election. The top union leaders were more concerned with shielding Roosevelt than with defending the standard of living of the workers. It is apparent that from the point of view of pressure politics—the politics of rewarding friends and punishing enemies—the labor movement was in a stronger position to command concessions before, rather than after, the national elections. What "pressure" will the "labor statesmen" employ after the capitalist politicians have been elected to office? On the basis of past performance we can predict that they will appear, hat in hand, scraping and bowing before the elected representative of Wall Street, wheeling and begging for a few crumbs to help them hold-the-line against their own membership.

But while the spineless labor skates cringe and crawl and whine for concessions, the agents of Big Business bellow and roar and pound their fists demanding that the wage freeze be continued. The occupant of the White House is much more impressed by the latter method. Whenever the labor movement has begun a campaign against the wage-freeze, the representatives of Wall Street have launched a counter-campaign. It is a matter of record that Roosevelt and his henchmen on the War Labor Board have always fallen in line.

In the dispute over the demand of the unions for a modification of the Little Steel formula, the agents of Big Business came forward with the demand that the wage freeze be continued until after the defeat of Germany. Roosevelt's first assistant, James Byrnes, went even further by demanding that wage controls be continued "until total victory is achieved over Japan." The labor skates who agreed to wait until "after the election" will now be confronted with the demand to wait "until after the war." By that time the cost-plus patriots will have no need of "wage-control" as there will be available a vast army of unemployed to aid them in driving wages downward.

The cowardly methods of the labor bureaucrats have proven impotent to defend the interests of the workers. It is necessary to employ entirely different methods, the methods of independent class action. These methods require that the unions first regain their independence of action by breaking decisively with the policy of depending on spurious "friends of labor" to defend their standard of living. Demand that the labor representatives resign from the employer-dominated War Labor Board! Rescind the no-strike pledge! Build labor's own political party—the Independent Labor Party!

Freedom Of The Air'

American imperialist aims of world domination, and the role of the Washington government as the instrument and executor of those aims, are being revealed once more in the International Civil Aviation Conference being held in Chicago.

President Roosevelt keynoted American policy when, in a message to the opening session on Nov. 1, he urged the fifty participating governments to reach an agreement which would bar "great blocs of closed air" in the post-war world. He warned that if the conference were to adopt any system of closed air blocs it would be "tracing in the sky the conditions of possible future wars."

Washington's demand for "freedom of the air," being pressed by the American delegation at Chicago, parallels its doctrine of "freedom of the seas." Both express the imperialist ambitions and designs of American capitalism which, with its unrivaled economic power, demands unrestricted right of way so that it may establish its sway over all the world.

Fearing the competition of American civil aviation on the world's airways, the British delegation, backed by Canada and the rest of the British dominions, has advanced a counter-plot to Roosevelt's. It calls for the creation of an international air authority which would establish and control routes, allocate quotas, fix frequencies and rates. The British imperialists are utterly opposed to the American stand for free competitive enterprise in what the *N. Y. Times* calls the "immediate post-war air race."

They are opposed to it for the same reason that caused them to stand out against the American demand for a return to the gold standard made at the recent Bretton Woods conference; for the same reason that they oppose the American "free trade" policy. They know that in a world of unrestrained competition, they will inevitably lose out to their far more powerful Yankee rivals.

When Roosevelt declares that the seeds of war will be sown if closed air blocs are established, he is trying to pose as a lover of peace and to saddle on the British imperialists, in advance, the responsibility for a third world war. His words are also intended as a warning to the British bandits that any obstacles they may erect in the path of Wall Street's march to world domination will be ruthlessly swept aside.

The germs of war are ever present in the world of capitalist-imperialism. The antagonisms between the competitive capitalist states cannot be eliminated by conferences, because they arise out of operations of the capitalist system. Peace can be had only by demolishing the "free enterprise" system of capitalism and erecting in its stead a world socialist society based on true international cooperation.

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The cowardly methods of the labor bureaucrats have proven impotent to defend the interests of the workers. It is necessary to employ entirely different methods, the methods of independent class action. These methods require that the unions first regain their independence of action by breaking decisively with the policy of depending on spurious "friends of labor" to defend their standard of living. Demand that the labor representatives resign from the employer-dominated War Labor Board! Rescind the no-strike pledge! Build labor's own political party—the Independent Labor Party!

Freedom Of The Air'

American imperialist aims of world domination, and the role of the Washington government as the instrument and executor of those aims, are being revealed once more in the International Civil Aviation Conference being held in Chicago.

President Roosevelt keynoted American policy when, in a message to the opening session on Nov. 1, he urged the fifty participating governments to reach an agreement which would bar "great blocs of closed air" in the post-war world. He warned that if the conference were to adopt any system of closed air blocs it would be "tracing in the sky the conditions of possible future wars."

Washington's demand for "freedom of the air," being pressed by the American delegation at Chicago, parallels its doctrine of "freedom of the seas." Both express the imperialist ambitions and designs of American capitalism which, with its unrivaled economic power, demands unrestricted right of way so that it may establish its sway over all the world.

Fearing the competition of American civil aviation on the world's airways, the British delegation, backed by Canada and the rest of the British dominions, has advanced a counter-plot to Roosevelt's. It calls for the creation of an international air authority which would establish and control routes, allocate quotas, fix frequencies and rates. The British imperialists are utterly opposed to the American stand for free competitive enterprise in what the *N. Y. Times* calls the "immediate post-war air race."

They are opposed to it for the same reason that caused them to stand out against the American demand for a return to the gold standard made at the recent Bretton Woods conference; for the same reason that they oppose the American "free trade" policy. They know that in a world of unrestrained competition, they will inevitably lose out to their far more powerful Yankee rivals.

When Roosevelt declares that the seeds of war will be sown if closed air blocs are established, he is trying to pose as a lover of peace and to saddle on the British imperialists, in advance, the responsibility for a third world war. His words are also intended as a warning to the British bandits that any obstacles they may erect in the path of Wall Street's march to world domination will be ruthlessly swept aside.

The germs of war are ever present in the world of capitalist-imperialism. The antagonisms between the competitive capitalist states cannot be eliminated by conferences, because they arise out of operations of the capitalist system. Peace can be had only by demolishing the "free enterprise" system of capitalism and erecting in its stead a world socialist society based on true international cooperation.

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.

Hiring Hall in Danger

Editor:

The Seafarers' International Union (AFL) received a letter from Admiral Land, War Shipping Administrator, calling a conference in Washington, D. C. for next Friday (November 10) to decide the question of allocation of personnel in the Maritime Industry. A similar letter was received by all other unions in the Industry.

mind, he will find stiff opposition from the representatives of all the west coast unions at his conference on Friday. Whatever faults those unions may have—such as their discriminatory practices against Negro seamen—they have fought throughout the course of the war to retain control of hiring and have never given up their rotary system of shipping for the wartime rules which the RMO has tried to substitute.

SUP MEMBER,
New York.

Although the letter was vague as to exactly what Land and other government representatives will propose at this conference, it seems to be in response to the recent demand by Joseph Curran and Frederick N. Myers, NMU officials, that a conference be called for the express purpose of establishing a government-controlled shipping pool.

According to the heads of the SUP-SIU here, Weisberger and Hawk, Land is attempting to bring seamen under control of the War Shipping Administration's Recruitment and Manning Office by getting all-around agreement among the several unions here—NMU, MFOW, and SUP-SIU—to permit RMO allocation of men whenever there is a shortage of seamen in one area and possibly an over-supply somewhere else.

Why not preach and preach the unity of all socialistic forces? Yes, and all groups who no longer believe in a money-dominated world? — But I must say, that your paper is one of the best in my opinion.

Mrs. M. A. B.
Omaha, Neb.

Such a situation is in the offing in the near future with possible cessation of large-scale military operations in Europe and continuation of the war in the Pacific. This affords the RMO an opportunity to move in on the west coast hiring halls by shipping men overland and demanding that they be placed aboard ships in jobs that the unions cannot find replacements for in their own halls.

If this is the plan Land has in

view, Britain is planning to ship more food into the country to avert overthrow of the government. Says the correspondent: "The army chiefs are anxious to support the present government because they want no upset during the most critical winter of the war. The experience of occupation is teaching the military command that diversion of supplies is sometimes a necessary alternative to diversion of armed forces to police starving populations behind the lines."

An army that is unitedly

INTERNATIONAL NOTES

Soviet Union

A chapel of the Russian Orthodox Church in the former Soviet Embassy and consulate-general buildings in Istanbul, Turkey, closed since the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917, has been reopened by order of the Moscow government, according to the *N. Y. Times*. The Soviet Embassy is now located in Ankara, the new Turkish capital, but the buildings in Istanbul have been serving as a "summer residence" for Stalin's diplomats in Turkey.

By ordering the reopening of the chapel, Stalin indicates how far his reactionary regime has traveled in cancelling out the revolutionary advances made by the Bolsheviks. One of the first acts of the Bolshevik government of Lenin and Trotsky was the issuance of a decree separating church and state, thereby depriving the Orthodox Church of state aid and support in its work of drugging the minds of the people with the opiate of religious superstition.

The Russian Orthodox Church was one of the most powerful props of Czarism. The Stalin regime, divorced from and hated by the Soviet masses, is now seeking to revive the Church and make of it a prop of Stalinism.

Belgium

The workers and peasants of Belgium, like their brothers in France, Italy and Greece, are beginning to discover the realities of Allied "liberation." The bread, peace and freedom they were led to expect after the expulsion of the Nazis have not materialized. Large numbers of the population are armed and are not prepared to go back to the old way of life. The Belgian capitalists are worried. So are the Allied "liberators."

Writing from Brussels on Oct. 31, Anne O'Hare McCormick of the *N. Y. Times* declares that neither the exiled government (which returned with the Allied armies) nor the Allies can "fulfill the hopes of the populace for bread and work." The country's economy is ruined and the Allies are interested, as in Italy, in repairing only those plants and utilities that serve their military purposes. They have brought in very little food. There is a "disastrous scarcity of essential goods" and prices remain sky-high.

The revolutionary movement against the brutal Franco regime is spreading, according to statements by the Spanish Republican radio in Toulouse, France, and Associated Press dispatches received in London. Insurgent Spanish Maquis who recently crossed into Spain from southern France have been joined in action against the Franco government by guerrillas inside Spain.

According to the Toulouse radio, "Catalonia and other parts

of Spain are already in open revolt" under the direction of the underground Supreme Junta of the Spanish National Union in Madrid. In the mining area of the Asturias, where the miners were bloodily repressed in the uprising of 1934, the banner of revolt has been unfurled, while guerrillas have occupied several small towns in the Aran Valley of the central Pyrenees.

The Toulouse radio declared on Oct. 24 that Spanish Maquis who had crossed from France into Spain and been defeated in clashes with Franco's troops, were disarmed by American soldiers when they recrossed the frontier into France. De Gaulle's troops disarmed others.

The De Gaulle government, which is now seeking to disarm the French resistance movement, is particularly apprehensive over the developing civil war in the French-Spanish frontier region and has ordered closure of the frontier. Together with the Allied imperialists, De Gaulle is conspiring to strangle both the French and Spanish revolutions.

Philippines

American imperialist "liberation" of the Philippines is revealing the same essential pattern as in Europe and North Africa. The Philippine government-in-exile, headed by President Sergio Osmeña, landed on Leyte with MacArthur's troops and has not taken very long to expose itself as a puppet of the Wall Street pirates.

Carlos P. Romulo, of the government's Department of Information and Public Relations, stated last week that "Japanese language instruction has been abolished and American patterns of education, used prior to the war, will be re-established." And in Washington it has been hinted that American military occupation of the islands, when the Japanese have been driven out, may last "indefinitely."

The promise of "complete independence" is thus thrown overboard before the islands have been reconquered. And the new Philippine "government" reveals itself as the national screen behind which American imperialist policy goes forward. The Filipinos will learn that their freedom and independence can be won only in struggle against the imperialists of every brand, never as a gift of those who profit from the subjection of colonial peoples.

Not everything is rosy, to be sure, now that the Allied armies have moved in. "Business as usual" on the other side of the battle-lines, and didn't fare so badly. For instance, "although every industry in France was German supervised, Frigidaire wasn't bothered much. The task here was to keep the organization together, give service to its customers even under the hard conditions of war and keep the dealers going." Yes sir, "war to the death against Fascism" — and keep the rich customers and the dealers going!

GM officials in France boast about the "passive resistance" they put up after the Germans took over the big auto assembly plant. "It is estimated that overhauling an engine normally takes 33 hours. During the time the plant was supervised by the Germans it took—normally—170 hours. The German managers fumed and stormed but were never able to speed things up." Of course, the GM officials don't mention what part the workers played in maintaining this "passive resistance" whether GM liked it or not.

How Allies Have Treated Some Fascist Big-Shots

We have heard much official propaganda about the "pattern of liberation" in Italy. From the Congressional Record of September 19, we can get a revealing glimpse of that "pattern." Congressman Marcantonio, describing the activities of the Allied Military Commission and Allied Military Government, recited some "highlight" facts concerning the treatment of former fascist and pro-Nazi big-shots.

"First. One Borriello, a Fascist owner of a cotton trust in Southern Italy, was requested by Italian officials to be jailed. This request was refused by AMG officials on the ground that he was a 'confidential assistant' to several Allied generals. . . . Borriello had been described as a Fascist, a pro-German who had been decorated by the Nazis, who together