

## SWP Expansion Program Mapped By Convention

By Art Preis

NEW YORK CITY, Nov. 20.—The Socialist Workers Party, revolutionary vanguard party of the American working class, last night concluded an historic four-day convention held at the Capitol Hotel here. Convened to prepare the socialist fighters of American labor for the great mass struggles in the period ahead, this convention was the largest, most business-like and enthusiastic national gathering of the party during the entire 16-year history of the Trotskyist movement in America.

Despite wartime reaction and repression, the first great blows of which were struck at the SWP through the imprisonment of 18 of its national leaders, the convention recorded the growth, extension of activities, and widening of the influence of Trotskyism among the workers during the past year. The feeling of unbounded optimism which permeated the delegates reflected not only the revolutionary socialist prospects residing in the highly-organized, militant and undefeated American labor movement but the inspiration imparted by events in Europe where the greatest proletarian revolutionary upsurge in history is now taking place.

**PROGRAM OF EXPANSION**  
Testifying to the Trotskyist party's appreciation of the great responsibility which rests upon it in leading the working class struggle for socialism, the convention first discussed and adopted political resolutions outlining the fundamental political perspectives and tasks of the party both nationally and internationally.

To implement this political line and program, the convention enthusiastically adopted a report on party organization and a program for party expansion designed to consolidate the Trotskyist ranks and prepare the party to face the coming struggles as a firmly united, disciplined, Bolshevik combat organization.

This program of expansion, which crowned the political and

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### Convention Greetings To Our 12 Imprisoned Comrades

This Eleventh Convention, the biggest in the history of our movement, is the greatest tribute to our leaders incarcerated in the jails of American "democratic" imperialism. It testifies to the training of our cadres and to their ability to withstand repression and overcome obstacles. In one party campaign after another our members have worked tirelessly and with outstanding success to strengthen the party. They have come to this convention with the same spirit of devotion, determined to answer the persecutions of the capitalist class and its agents by consolidating their ranks and preparing for the next forward steps of our movement.

Our thoughts and hearts are with you, the pioneer American Trotskyists, who are suffering the cruelty of having been torn from your rightful places and deprived of participating in our deliberations. But your example of fortitude and Bolshevik loyalty inspires our work.

We pledge ourselves to carry out the tasks of this national convention with Bolshevik dignity, responsibility and perseverance, so that our twelve imprisoned comrades and the six recently released will return to a more powerful party. We are confident that the great opportunities opening up for our movement in the period ahead will be utilized to the full for the expansion and strengthening of the Trotskyist revolutionary party of the American working class.

## Labor Leaders Endorse CRDC Christmas Appeal

Eight nationally-prominent trade union and civil liberties leaders have addressed a joint appeal to all labor and progressive organizations on behalf of the Civil Rights Defense Committee's campaign for a \$5,000 Christmas Fund.

The fund is urgently needed to provide relief and a little Christmas cheer for the 12 Minneapolis Labor Case victims still in prison and their wives and children. The CRDC is also continuing the fight for unconditional pardon of all 18 convicted Socialist Workers Party and

Minneapolis CIO truckdrivers' leaders, six of whom were released last month, and for repeal of the anti-labor Smith "Gag" Act.

The signers of the CRDC Christmas Fund appeal are John Green, president of the CIO Industrial Union of Marine and Shipbuilding Workers; George Baldanzi, executive vice-president of the CIO Textile Workers Union; Julius Hochman, general manager of the N. Y. Joint Board, Dress and Waistmakers Union, AFL International Ladies Garment Workers Union; Willard S.

The appeal declares that the 18 were imprisoned "solely because of their labor activities and political opinions" and that "the

## Attempt To Disarm Belgian Workers Meets Powerful Mass Resistance

Italian Masses Celebrate 1917 Russian Revolution



In the greatest mass demonstration ever seen in Italy eighty thousand workers gathered in Rome on Sunday, November 12 to celebrate the Twenty-Seventh Anniversary of the Russian Revolution, October, 1917. They carried placards bearing pictures of Lenin, the clenched fist of Bolshevism, and revolutionary slogans. The numerous pictures of Stalin bears witness to the illusions still held by the Italian masses concerning the Stalinist party. According to the N. Y. Times, "columns of 1,000 to 2,000 people marched through the streets from all quarters of Rome, singing 'The Internationale' and 'Bandiera Rossa.'"

## Roosevelt's Henchmen Prepare To Knife Union Wage Demands

By C. Thomas

The seed of illusion planted by the labor bureaucrats, that the reelection of Roosevelt would protect the workers' standard of living, is already beginning to bear bitter fruit. The election returns were hardly in before Roosevelt's henchmen swung into action to hold the wage-freezing line against labor.

With the precision of a well-planned campaign, labor's "friend" in the White House set in motion a series of maneuvers, designed to prepare the ground for a slashing offensive against the demand of the unions for the abolition of the Little Steel formula. As was to be expected, the employer-dominated War Labor Board became the spearhead of this campaign.

The WLB waited until after the elections to release a doctored report drawn up by Roosevelt's "cost-of-living" committee, which lays the basis for a rejection of labor's demand to bring wages in line with the rising cost of living.

### PARK AVENUE LAWYER

The report was released by William Davis, the pious fraud who poses as the "impartial" chairman of the WLB, but who is in reality a Park Avenue lawyer protecting the interests of his Wall Street clients. This thimble-rigged "cost-of-living" committee was established by Roosevelt over a year ago in response to labor's charge that the Bureau of

Labor Statistics' figures on which the wage freeze is based, were inaccurate and false.

The cost of living committee of the War Labor Board was appointed by Roosevelt in November, 1943 and ordered to bring back a report within sixty days.

In January, 1944, after the committee failed to submit a report within the specified time, the labor representatives on the WLB

compiled voluminous statistics under the name of the Thomas-Meany report, proving that the cost of living had risen 43.5% since January 1941.

To counter the Thomas-Meany

report, chairman Davis of the WLB appointed a committee of college professors headed by Prof.

Mitchell of Columbia University,

to "examine and report on the accuracy of the Bureau of Labor Statistics index."

The Mitchell report, of course, upheld the BLS

index but added a few percent for "hidden" cost-of-living increases.

### A LEGAL MAZE

The most recent "cost-of-living" report by Davis is based on the Mitchell report, which in turn upheld the BLS index, upon which the wage freeze was based.

This Park Avenue shyster is a clever hand at constructing a legal maze in which even a Philadelphia lawyer would become lost!

Watching Davis perform is like watching the man on the flying trapeze. He executes the most startling legal gymnastics with the greatest of ease. His twists and turns are intended to bewitch the workers into believing that their need for a wage increase is an illusion. That the cost of living hasn't been going up—it's been coming down. That the Little Steel formula has been a boon to the workers, the wage freeze a blessing, and a lower standard of living the greatest joy!

In analyzing the Davis report,

### Paris Censorship

DeGaulle, like Churchill and Roosevelt, is trampling upon that much-touted of the Four Freedoms—Freedom of Speech, which includes Freedom of the Press.

On Nov. 10, the newspaper "Franc-Tireur" appeared in Paris minus its customary editorial, which had been deleted by DeGaulle's censors. The paper is the organ of the parties composing the Resistance Movement. DeGaulle is also trying to stifle the press of the left by starving it of newsprint, the Stalinist organ, "Humanite," reports.

DeGaulle's regime is "democratic"—oh, yes! But the "opposition" press is being prevented from making its voice heard.

(Continued on page 2)

## People Pour Into Streets; Defy Ban On Demonstrations

**Stalinists and Social-Democrats Exposed As Sole Internal Props of Capitalist Regime**

By William F. Warde

Defiantly answering the Allied-supported attempt of the counter-revolutionary Pierlot government to disarm the revolutionary fighters of the Resistance Forces in Belgium, 15,000 men and women workers marched through the streets of Brussels on Sunday, Nov. 19 in a militant and tumultuous demonstration demanding the resignation of Pierlot's government.

The unmistakably revolutionary mood of the demonstrators was evidenced in their singing of the battle-song of Socialism, "The Internationale," by the red flags predominant among their banners, and by the Hammer and Sickle emblem of the Bolshevik Revolution on their armbands.

The mile-long column of demonstrators paraded through the heart of the Belgian capital, shouting "Down with Pierlot!"

About half the marchers were women. Also among the demonstrators were a considerable number of men in Belgian army uniform. Despite a government ban, they carried revolvers, and here and there even rifles, half-hidden beneath tunics, blouses and coats. They were ready to use their arms if provoked.

### POLICE PATROL STREETS

However, no clashes developed between the armed masses and the authorities, although steel-helmeted police with rifles slung over their shoulders patrolled the streets and Allied troops and armored cars were held in readiness in streets off the line of march, together with equipment for building barricades.

The Resistance fighters were protesting not only Pierlot's effort to disarm and demobilize them, but also the entire reactionary policy of his regime. They descended upon the capital from many parts of Belgium to express their indignation over the acute shortage of food, the lack of jobs, the additional privations induced by the deflationary fin-

### Nazis Shoot, Hang Peace Marchers

German women staged "tumultuous peace demonstrations" in Mannheim during the week-end of Nov. 11-12 and were suppressed "bloodily" by Gestapo agents and Nazi Elite Guards, according to a United Press dispatch from Zurich which quoted eye-witness reports by travelers arriving from Germany. Earlier Swiss reports said that 21 persons had been hanged in Cologne, not far from the Allied German battle-lines, for participating in demonstrations against the continuance of the war.

ancial policy of the government, and by Pierlot's failure to arrest and try the political and business big-shots who had worked with the Nazis.

Instead of imprisoning these capitalist collaborators of the Nazis, Pierlot and the Allied leaders placed them in high government posts where they now run the nation and proceed against the Resistance forces who fought in the underground

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## The Uprising In Warsaw

By Paul Stevens

At the beginning of October the great Warsaw insurrection was crushed. After the insurgents had suffered 250,000 casualties, their leaders surrendered to the Nazi command. Thus one of the most heroic mass actions in history was brought to a tragic close. The dead are buried and the survivors are undoubtedly being subjected to the bestial tortures of the Hitlerite conqueror. But the action in which they fought and fell is more than an epic of heroism. It is an event of great historic significance which must be understood, so that the lessons can be learned and transformed into weapons by which the workers of Warsaw can be avenged in the coming European revolution.

No adequate picture of the events leading up to the insurrection, or of the insurrection itself, is as yet available and probably will not be until free access to the survivors can be had. Even then the picture will not be complete until the archives of the various governments involved are opened to public view. But what we could only surmise in the first flush of the struggle itself—namely, that an uprising involving the mass of the working-class population of Warsaw was being betrayed by the counter-revolutionary Stalinist bureaucracy in the Kremlin—has since found considerable substantiation in published facts.

### Background Of The Insurrection

Before we proceed with an examination of the facts that have been established, it is necessary to recall the atmosphere in Moscow and in London at the time of the insurrection. The Stalinist bureaucracy in Moscow had set up a "Polish National Council" under its own auspices in opposition to the Polish "Government-in-Exile" residing in London and enjoying the recognition of Great Britain and the United States. The Moscow "Council" and the London "Government" espoused similar social programs: preservation of capitalism in Poland and promises of reforms. Their differences concerned foreign policy: whether Poland was to be in the British or the Russian "sphere of influence." The differences emerged concretely on the question of the future borders of Poland.

The Red Army's guns were already within earshot of Warsaw. When the insurrection broke out, both parties to the dispute reacted at once: The Moscow "Council" negatively, claiming it was untimely and therefore to be opposed; the Warsaw "government" positively,

claiming it was leading the insurrection and had prepared for it by agreement, etc. Let us examine these claims on the basis of established fact.

The first reaction of the Moscow "Council" and of all the Stalinist apologists in the world over was that there was no insurrection at all; that the whole thing was just a "canard" broadcast by the Polish reactionaries in London. That continued to be the Stalinist line until it became manifest from military communiques that there was a full-scale battle going on for control of Warsaw. Meanwhile the Red Army's advance towards Warsaw was halted.

When they could no longer pretend to ignore what was happening, the Kremlin gang took the line that the insurrection was premature, that it was organized without the Red Army being informed and without any attempt to correlate military operations. Charging that the London "government" was using it as a "political maneuver," the Kremlin branded the insurrection as a "crime" and refused to give any aid whatsoever to the hard-pressed insurgents. Only in the last week or two of the struggle, when the blood-letting had been heavy enough to preclude any possibility of victory for the insurgents, were feeble attempts made from Moscow to supply them. The line of the Stalinists has remained the same, however, to this day; the insurrection was a "crime," it was premature, it was undertaken without prior agreement and even against the wishes of the Red Army high command.

To date, the Stalinists and their apologists have offered no substantiation in fact for their line. But there is already ample proof at hand to contradict it.

1. Between June 2 and July 31 (the day before the uprising) there were constant appeals over the Moscow Radio for the Polish masses to take up arms against the Nazis.

2. During this time, the Stalinist Radio charged that the masses were ready to rise, but that the military leaders of the London government were restraining them. Thus, on June 5 Moscow broadcast the following: "It is generally believed that it is time to act. There is great discontent with the orders of Sosnkowski and Bor."

3. We have no reason to doubt the assertion that the masses were in an insurrectionary mood as a result of the Red Army victories, and that there was discontent with the policy of restraint

(Continued on page 4)

# TRADE UNION NOTES

By Joseph Keller

## Hats Off to Union Musicians!

Our hats are off to the American Federation of Musicians who have scored a resounding victory for organized labor after a bitter two-year battle in the famous "canned-music" case against some of the mightiest monopoly corporations and the capitalist government machinery from Roosevelt on down.

When the powerful Radio Corporation of America and the Columbia Broadcasting System two weeks ago publicly acknowledged defeat and announced their willingness to sign a three-year union contract, it was a tribute to the tenacity of the union musicians of America and their loyalty to the principles of unionism.

In a biting statement following the announcement of "unconditional surrender" by the corporations, A. F. of M. President James C. Petrillo gave vent to the justified anger of every decent element in the labor movement against the scarcely paralleled campaign of capitalist press slander and misinformation against the musicians who refused to make recordings until the RCA and CBS moguls put their names to a union contract.

Petrillo characterized this press campaign as "a vile, indecent and malicious campaign of libel, slander and vilification."

That's putting it mildly. Petrillo himself has been called everything from a "traitor" to an "agent of Hitler" in the public prints—all because the musicians have insisted that the two biggest monopolies in the recording industry do what 112 other concerns had already done—sign a contract whose terms had been accepted by the War Labor Board itself.

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For over two years, the two monopoly firms had spread the lie, with the eager assistance of the bought press and Roosevelt himself, that the union was "impeding the war effort" allegedly because the companies refused to accept a contract providing for the payment of a fund to the union for the establishment of musical projects to provide work for unemployed musicians. That's plain nonsense—as every union man will understand when he learns what some of the major contract clauses called for.

The real reason why the big corporations held out—and why the whole capitalist class and all its press and governmental mouthpieces slung their barrage of slanderous muck at the musicians—is embodied in two principal clauses of the A. F. of M. contract. One clause gives the union the right to examine the financial records of the corporations and compels the companies to supply all information affecting the carrying out of the contract which the union "may reasonably require." The other is a clause protecting the union's right to strike.

The employers and the Roosevelt administration were prepared to "fight it out on that line" by any means and at any cost rather than permit the precedent to be established that union labor has the right to examine the books and records and uncover the business secrets and hidden profits of the corporations. And they were doubly infuriated by the fact that the A. F. of M. stuck to its guns and refused to yield the right to strike in wartime or any other time.

But whether their workers are musicians or steel puddlers, the bosses are helpless and useless. It is the workers and producers who create everything, and the musicians have once more proved this to the hilt. When the various prominent musicians who previ-

# Trial Pamphlet Sales Campaign Near Goal

By The Campaign Manager

With final reports from many branches not yet in our hands, the scoreboard shows 98 percent of the 10,000 goal already filled. Thus the campaign nears its end with the assurance that once more, as in all recent campaigns, the branches of the Socialist Workers Party have gone over the top in fulfilling their pledges. As an indication of what the distribution of these 10,000 pamphlets will mean in the further growth of the party's influence, we would like to quote in full a letter from Philadelphia received in this week's mail:

## From Our Mailbag

"During the Norman Thomas Socialist rally here at the Academy of Music on November 3, 1944, I was very glad to see *The Militant* on sale outside the meeting, and copies of 'The Case for Socialism' of which I also bought the set for 25 cents.

"I am now reading these pamphlets over for the second time, and sure find them factual. It is just a matter of time when Socialism will revolutionize modern society, and establish a better form of non-corrupt government.

"I am enclosing 10c. in stamps for which please rush me a copy of the new booklet called 'The Russian Revolution' by James P. Cannon. I will also appreciate a copy of Pioneer's new catalogue on books on Socialism and the labor movement by Leon Trotsky. Can you place me on the mailing list from time to time covering new books, etc.?"

Just as the friend from Philadelphia found that reading and reading the Minneapolis Labor Case pamphlets gave him a clearer understanding of Marxist principles, so will other thousands of workers who now have the sets in their homes. These pamphlets give an answer to the problems facing the workers today. Our latest report from San Francisco points out the extent to which doubts and fears of the future under capitalism, are pervading the workers on the West Coast.

"We sold 16 more pamphlets this week, covering an Oakland district consisting mainly of shipyard workers from the South. With few exceptions, all expressed doubt and fear as to their remaining in the Oakland area for even the next six months. All of them can see the lay-offs coming and feel that as the cutbacks occur, they will be the first to get the axe. Many have no place to go back to, while others have a little piece of land or perhaps just a hut in one of the Southern states. All view the coming period with great fear."

This increasing restlessness of the workers makes it doubly important that we continue to reach them with the Marxist literature which explains to them in simple language, why the capitalist system cannot offer them any security, and how they can work for a Socialist system that will supply their needs. The close of this campaign, therefore, marks a splendid beginning to the work we must continue to do in popularizing the Minneapolis Case pamphlets which are such an effective introduction to the ideas of Socialism.

Complete sets of "Socialism on Trial," by James P. Cannon, "In Defense of Socialism," by Albert Goldman, "Who Are the 18 Prisoners in the Minneapolis Labor Case?" and "Why We Are in Prison," are still available to readers of *The Militant*, who will continue to be visited by our agents. Or you may write directly to us for your set, as other readers have already done. Write to Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Place, N. Y. 3, N. Y., enclosing 25 cents in stamps or coin. Individual copies of the pamphlets can be obtained at 10 cents each.

We would like, in this final report, to give special mention to branches which did outstanding work in the Literature Campaign, going far over their quotas by consistent work through the entire two months. Flint, with 320 percent; Toledo with 305 percent, a large percentage sold directly in the shops; Milwaukee with 200 percent, many of them sold at Socialist Party meetings in this one-time Socialist Party stronghold; Reading with 169 percent, here again putting a living program of Marxism into the hands of members of the moribund SP. Buffalo, Philadelphia, San Francisco, Saint Paul, Youngstown, Cleveland and Los Angeles have also all gone over 100 percent.

## SCOREBOARD

Quota	Sold	Percent
10	32	320
160	488	305
80	160	200
90	152	169
400	560	140
80	100	125
350	404	115
140	156	112
120	132	110
200	212	106
1500	1524	102
700	700	100
1000	1004	100
330	330	100
140	140	100
2800	2672	95
40	36	90
70	58	83
500	400	80
230	132	57
180	96	53
700	284	41
80	24	30
40	0	0
10	0	0
10	0	0
30	0	0
<b>Total</b>	<b>9792</b>	<b>98</b>

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## THE MILITANT

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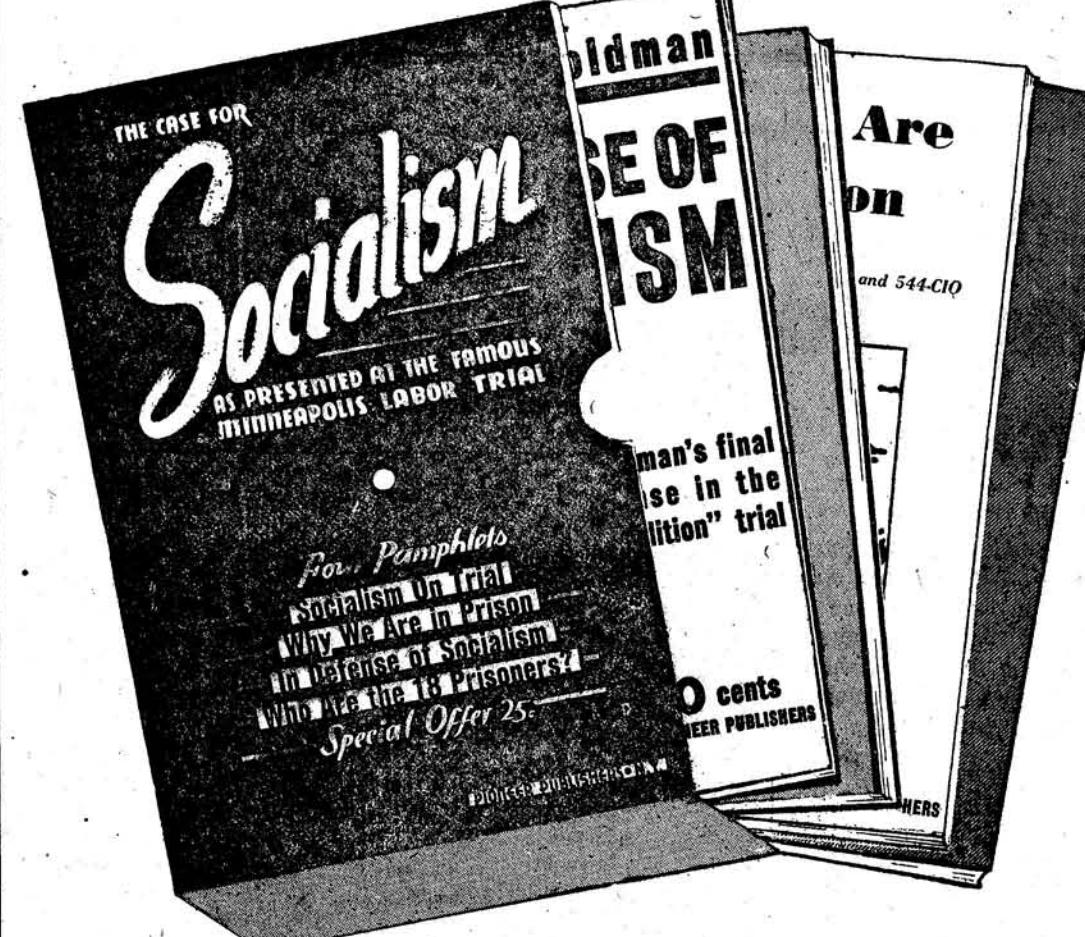
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## The New 'Friends' Of The Soviet Union

The Soviet Union under the regime of Stalin has acquired some strange "friends." In Madison Square Garden on Nov. 16 the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship put on a stylish celebration to commemorate the 27th anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution.

The star speakers' list included such sterling proletarian revolutionaries as Hon. R. Stettinius, Jr., Under-Secretary of State and U. S. Steel magnate; the Earl of Halifax, British Ambassador to Washington; Hon. Joseph E. Davies, corporation lawyer and big business lobbyist; Henry J. Kaiser, shipyard and steel magnate; Corliss Lamont, son of J. P. Morgan's partner; Bishop G. B. Oxnam.



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.

## Latest Issue of FI Features Articles On Soviet Union

The November issue of *Fourth International*, now on sale, features a series of articles weighing the economic and political perspectives facing the USSR as it celebrated the 27th Anniversary of the October Revolution.

"The Future of the Soviet Union and the Victories of the Red Army," by a European comrade, analyzes the role of the Stalinist bureaucracy, which is maintaining a precarious position in conflict with the economic foundations of nationalized property. The diplomatic moves of Stalin are examined against a double background: the conquests of the Red Army have diminished the danger of capitalist restoration by external attack; simultaneously, the continuing attempts of the bureaucracy to bolster their position against the masses has raised to immediacy the danger of capitalist restoration from within. This danger is also analyzed by A. Roland, in "Political Economy Under Stalin." Roland cites the growth of "free markets" and the atomization of industry during the war, as symptoms of the growing danger, which has been made clear by the recent theoretical writing of Stalin's economists.

"How We Made the Russian October," from Trotsky's pamphlet "From October to Brest-Litovsk," appears in the *Arsenal of Marxism*. The editors' "Review of the Month" describes the rise and degeneration of the workers' state.

The first of two installments of "Problems of the European Revolution," by a group of European comrades, appears in this issue. Replying to revisionists of Marxism who see in the European upheavals only a struggle for restoration of the national states on bourgeois-democratic foundations, these comrades pose the necessity for socialist revolution: "He who wants first to liquidate the 'main enemy,' or the 'main obstacle,' i.e. fascism or national oppression, and only then to think of modifying capitalist conditions, is unlikely to witness any changes in the bourgeois system, and still less to see the advent of Socialism. That would be the road towards the victory of reaction."

"The Coming Uprise of American Labor," by William Simmons, describes the stages of development of the labor movement from the era of Samuel Gompers, through the militant strikes of 1934-37, the retreats under wartime repressions, and the rise of a new wave of militancy exemplified in the fight against the No-Strike Pledge.

Single copies may be obtained for 20 cents, yearly subscription \$2, by writing to Business Manager, 116 University Place, N. Y. 3, N. Y.

## Seeks Pardon



Convicted of punching a scab during a strike, Carl Gilmore (above) was sentenced in Oct., 1940 to 9 to 10 years in prison. Gilmore is a member of the Binghamton New York Teamsters' Union, AFL. In response to the protests of fellow workers, Gilmore was paroled by executive action in December, 1942. Now attempting to obtain full pardon for Gilmore, the Workers' Defense League asks all defenders of labor and minority rights to write to Governor Thomas E. Dewey, Albany, N. Y., requesting immediate pardon.

An idea found of help to Detroit is sent to us with the thought that it may be useful to other branches:

"On the pamphlet and call-back campaign, we here in Detroit found that we had a half dozen mothers who were anxious to participate but couldn't because of their children. We solved the problem by meeting at headquarters on Sunday, where one mother took care of the children. The other mothers were thus freed for work. This helped a great deal in making the branch mobilizations a success. Perhaps this could also help other branches."

Excerpts from the pamphlet, "American Workers Need A Labor Party," by Joseph Hansen (to be published soon by Pioneer Publishers) printed in several recent issues of *The Militant* are bringing in many advance orders and comments. One of our readers in St. Louis expresses appreciation for this timely pamphlet:

"Please send me Joe Hansen's

## NEW YORK CITY-WIDE DANCE

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 25

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# How To Win The Struggle For Negro Equality

Following is the text of a speech delivered by Charles Jackson, writer of "The Militant" column, "The Negro Struggle," before the Forum of the New York School of Social Science, on Sunday, November 12. We print it in this issue for the benefit of readers outside New York who did not have the opportunity to hear Comrade Jackson.

This speech is being printed in place of Comrade Jackson's regular column, "The Negro Struggle," which will be resumed next week.

In order to carry on an effective struggle for Negro equality we must first trace back the stream of inequality until we have found and marked the source from whence it flows.

Just what comprises Negro inequality? If not the whites, certainly every Negro here knows the answer to that one. In the South the Negro knows what it is to be denied, either through legal maneuvers or intimidation, the right to vote. He knows what it is to be contemptuously referred to as boy, George, Uncle, or just plain "nigger." He knows what it is to enter a street car and meet the signs: "This end of car for white people; this end of car for the colored race." He may know what it is to see an innocent man beaten, dismembered, hanged, shot and burned to a crisp on some trivial accusation and without a trial.

In this nation's capital, a woman recently reported that she was raped by a Negro. Police rounded up eleven Negroes in 24 hours. The woman then admitted that she had fabricated the story. In the deep South usually the first Negro would have been lynched, without a wait of 24 hours.

Even in some Northern states the Negro knows what it is to be turned down at a theater box office or else directed around the alley to the balcony entrance. He may know what it is to insist that a waiter serve him a drink in states where there is a civil rights law and then have the waiter break the glass in his face. Negro women in Indiana who were delegates to a convention of the Mothers of World War II were recently refused rooms in an Elkhart hotel. They had to return home. In Washington, D. C., in the Church of the Immaculate Conception, a Negro woman was asked to get off her knees and go behind the ropes to the Negro section to pray. Even in death the Negro cannot rest. In a Catholic cemetery in Chicago, plans were recently made to dig up the grave of a colored woman buried accidentally among the whites.

In the South or the North, the Negro knows what it means to be segregated into a ghetto of shacks near the railroad tracks. He knows what it means to be discriminated against in industry: to get the dirtiest jobs at the lowest pay, to be the last hired and the first fired.

The unkindest cut of all, however, has come since this "land of the free" has been engaged in the present colossal slaughter which they would have us believe, is being waged for the most lofty and humanitarian ideals. In a war for "democracy" the Negro has been officially labeled a second-class citizen by his own government. In the Army, the Navy and the Marine Corps, Negroes are set aside in separate regiments, quarantined from English-Americans, Italian-Americans, German-Americans, Japanese-Americans and Jewish-Americans. Any soldier with a "drop of Negro blood" in his veins must, on orders of President Roosevelt and his War Department, and in violation of the Selective Service Act, train and fight not in the regular army, but in the Jim Crow Army. There he is sure to get the dirtiest and most hazardous work and the added scorn and persecution of white civilians and soldiers alike.

## Persecuting Negro Soldiers

The anticipated results of this policy are occurring every day. In Petersburg, Virginia last week, a local policeman arrested a Negro soldier for some undetermined reason and took him to the fire house. Another soldier asked the policeman what the trouble was, and he was also arrested. Sergeant Abraham Jackson made similar inquiries and was ignored. Thereupon he started for the fire house to rescue his men. He was promptly shot down by the local police. At last reports he was not expected to recover. But let us not be too hard on the police system of the capitalist government. In Miami, Florida, five Negro policemen were hired — but with a reservation: they cannot arrest any white person, no matter what crime he may be in the act of committing.

Reported by the N. Y. Times and the Pittsburgh Courier of Nov. 11, and incidentally by The Militant some three weeks earlier, was the reactionary policy established in regard to the all-Negro 92nd Division now in combat on the Italian front. The policy is this: as Negro officers are killed, they are replaced by whites, instead of the customary replacement by advancing lower officers. Also there must not be, under any circumstances, a Negro officer who is superior in rank to a white officer in that sector.

We understand what Negro inequality is. Now just what is the Negro's conception of equality? What does the Negro want? The Negro wants what everyone else wants — no more, no less.

He wants a dependable annual wage capable of bringing him all the necessities of a healthy, happy life. In short, economic security. He wants political freedom, a voice in the way things are done, a vote, and a representative who understands his problems. In addition to this he wants complete social equality. Let us get this straight — the mind, body and emotions of the Negro are inherently the same as those of any other race. Therefore, just as the white man would resent the stigma of social inferiority, so does the Negro resent it. To stamp an entire group of individuals as inferior simply because they have more melanin or less carotene in their skins — absolutely inert pigments — to do so is contrary to scientific truth.

Now what is the direct instrument of repression that condemns the Negro to second-class citizenship? It is the State, that is, all the various agencies of government from top to bottom. Through their actions and their failures to act, they condone, teach, foster and enforce the oppression of the Negro people. Who protected Noble Ryder, the recently freed murderer who lynched an aged Negro preacher in Liberty, Mississippi? The sheriff. Who upholds white supremacy in the South? The courts. Who holds Negroes in Georgia in the chain-gangs for stealing a loaf of bread? The State. Who leads the pack in race-baiting? The State. Who leads the pack in race-baiting? Your government officials such as Chauncy Sparks and the poll-tax senators. Who tenaciously insists upon a Jim Crow army? Roosevelt and his War Department. Who carries out this policy? The brass hats in the Army and Navy.

The Federal Housing Authority recommends discrimination in its official manual. The Office of War Information has a standing order that a messenger shall watch the news ticker and bring all copy on race or color to the "Negro Censoring Division." At the Arlington Hotel in Hot Springs, Arkansas, the Army set up a rehabilitation center for soldiers and their wives. The management of this hotel happens to house, without discrimination, Indians and all other races and nationalities. A Negro lieutenant and his wife registered at the hotel and were given rooms. But as soon as this was discovered by a white army captain, he ordered their removal. They were removed.

But how about individual prejudices? Remember, these are not inherited, they are acquired. H. Scudder Mekeel, associate professor of anthropology at the University of Wisconsin, told the National Committee for Mental Hygiene last week: "With Brazil and Russia as examples, we can say that racial prejudice is not inherent in the human animal . . . What we need to do is to deflect, modify or transform the processes at work in our society so that children will no longer learn prejudice and discrimination . . . The cradle is the best place to start."

## Jim Crow Propaganda

Well, that's not news to the American educators. Not for nothing are the "nigger" dolls used in the nurseries and the tale of "Little Black Sambo" taught in the kindergartens. The history books, the comic strips, the radio and the cinema all contribute to the formation of the Negro stereotype — a petty thief, a clown, an ignoramus. Whoever attempts to teach equality is usually stymied. Last month, the subway lines right here in New York barred a poster showing babies of all races side by side. You remember the revealing pamphlet "Races of Mankind" which torpedoed the myth of racial inferiority, giving statistical proof from the records of drafted soldiers? That was too much "truth" for the Army brass hats and they recalled 50,000 copies that had been distributed for soldiers' libraries. Directly or indirectly the agencies of government are responsible for individual prejudices.

Why would the government officials want to foster such a policy? President Roosevelt is well-known as a humanitarian. Mrs. Roosevelt has even been photographed with Mrs. Bethune, Negro soldiers and Negro children. Many government officials welcome Negro leaders to their offices to confer with them on race problems. Some of the most reactionary Southern governors have sponsored drives to obtain funds for Negro colleges. Now, I don't think we are fooled by these patronizing gestures. It is plain that the State in America is invariably anti-Negro. But back to the question. Where there is an effect there must be a cause. Maybe with the following facts we can better follow the trail.

In 1848 Karl Marx, after making a scientific analysis of the history of society, arrived at the conclusion that the State was supported and kept in power by and for the ruling class in society. Whoever owns the means of production makes up the ruling class. The State serves to protect the interests of the exploiting minority over the exploited majority. In slavery days, the judges, law officers, and governors, that is, the State apparatus, unfailingly upheld the interests of the slave holder over the slave. In feudal days the State was always on the side of the noble and against the serf.

## Divide And Rule

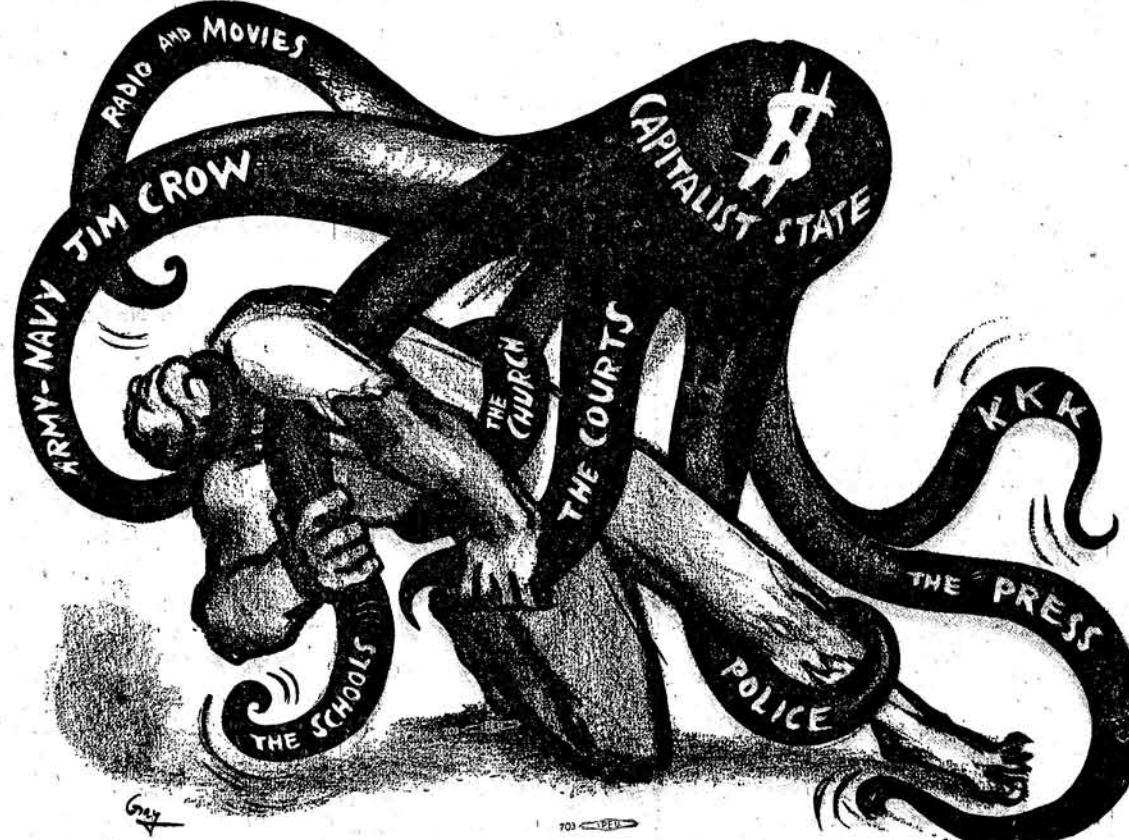
We have reached the point in America today where it is the monopoly capitalists who own and control the means of production. The industrial workers, on the other hand, comprise the exploited majority. True to the Marxist analysis, every agent of the State from top to bottom must do the bidding of the monied interests. If he defies the capitalists he is soon kicked out in one way or another. Now what has that got to do with the Negro? Marx said that no ruling class has been able to long exploit the vast majority unless that majority was split within itself. The capitalists know this and they make the most of it.

Whether based on race, religion, nationality, language or custom, the axiom "Divide and Rule" is never forgotten and never neglected by those who are in power.

They take the most convenient minority within the group of exploited people and set them up as a scapegoat. The other oppressed people are permitted — even trained — to kick around this minority at their leisure, thus unconsciously venting the perfectly natural resentment which arises from their economic insecurity. The ruling class, through control of the educational system and the State apparatus, deliberately fosters prejudice among the masses against the designated minority. They inculcate this venom in such large doses that it is practically impossible for even the most mentally alert individual to escape from its degrading effects.

In America, of course, the Negro is a "natural" for the capitalists. His dark color makes him easy to recognize. His background of slavery is also played up to give impression that he is in-

## Tentacles of Oppression



## Negro Sailors Get Harsh Sentences

Sentences ranging from eight to 15 years have been imposed by a brass-hat, Negro-hating court-martial on 50 Negro sailors found "guilty" on charges of mutiny arising from the disastrous explosion of a munition ship at Port Chicago, in the San Francisco area, a few months ago.

The charge of mutiny arose out of a petition asking for transfers to other types of work which allegedly had been circulated by the defendants, all of whom were involved in the catastrophe, being either survivors or among the squads which cleaned up wreckage and remnants of bodies dismembered by the blast.

The case has aroused a wave of protest from the Negro people who correctly see in it a vicious extension of Jim Crow practices in the armed forces. Prior to the verdict, some of the Uncle Tom supporters of Roosevelt kept assuring everyone that the "commander-in-chief" would never permit the 50 Negro sailors to be railroaded to prison.

In our next issue we shall deal in more detail with the vicious court-martial sentences. Every labor, liberal and working class fraternal organization must join with the Negro people in demanding that the Jim Crow verdict be set aside and the 50 Negro sailors freed.

ferior and as docile as a dumb animal. The history books put out by the capitalists, by a crime of omission, imply the lie that the darker races have never been "civilized." They tell us of the pyramids and other wonders of the world, but they fail to say that they were built by black Egyptians centuries ago. The features of the Sphinx betray by their Negroid characteristics, the existence in the valley of the Nile of a highly civilized Negroid race. The books of the capitalist class don't tell us that and no white scientist has been able to even explain how those engineers accomplished these feats. Their propaganda depicts the black man in the very worst light simply because he is a useful minority to turn to their ends. As a result of the tremendous pressure of their gigantic propaganda machine, millions of Americans are color-conscious. "What's white is right: what's black, stay back."

## Well-Paying Crimes

Although in the Dick Tracy comic series "crime never pays," we find the opposite is true in real life in America. The crime of Jim Crowism, the crime of indoctrinating prejudice into the workers, and the crime of denying the Negro people equality, are very well-paying crimes for the American capitalist. For it is largely as a result of racial divergence in the working class that the capitalist is able to remain in power. He knows well the day of working class solidarity will be his day of reckoning.

Now let's look down the trail. Negroes are denied equality either through official government action or official government lack of action. The government is under control of the ruling class. That class is the capitalist class which comprises only a small minority of the population. These capitalists, through their government agencies and through their control of the means of information, indoctrinate the people with the lie that a man is inferior if the color of his skin is dark. They do this so that they can keep their economic slaves, the workers, white and black, split and fighting among themselves. Thereby they are able to spend their winters in Florida clipping stock coupons while the workers toil in the shops for a mere existence. These leeches suck the life blood of the American working class by setting up the Negro as a straw man and then shouting: "Don't give a Black a break: give the Black the boot." By this system of capitalism, race prejudice is made profitable.

Therefore we say that this system — capitalism — is the basic and fundamental enemy of the Negro people. Here is the spring from which flows the vile potion that cascades down to form the final stream of Negro inequality. We have found the source — let us mark it well. This is the reason why the fight against Jim Crow without a fight against capitalism, well intentioned though it may be, is an endless and fruitless fight. To establish Negro equality, we must abolish capitalism.

## Capitalism Bars Progress

Furthermore, the capitalist methods of exchange are outmoded. The assembly lines and mass production, along with thousands of chemical and engineering discoveries, have so improved the means of production that the potential turnout is gigantic. But the policy of exchange for profit is holding back the productive forces. When the masses can not pay enough for the capitalists to make a substantial profit, the capitalists simply close down the factories and let the workers shift as best they can, even though the people may be in need. It is only when they are warring with a rival imperialist power for profit that the factories run full blast, and then the workers and their sons are sent to die on bloody battlefields. History is bearing out Marx's prediction that increasingly savage wars and depressions are inevitable under the decaying capitalist economic anarchy.

Again, how does this affect the Negro? Well, we all know that the Negro is the last to go on a job when things are getting better, and the first to be pulled off when things are getting worse. That is why — and remember this! — you only have Negro employment when you have full employment. Therefore, under capitalist production, the average Negro can only look forward to a good-paying job during war, whereas during the long years of depression he has to depend either on the breadline or the relief roll.

Now what WOULD bring the Negro full equality? What WOULD bring him full employment? We say not capitalism, but Socialism. Socialism with its nationalized property and its planned

economy. Now factories hum only with the production of instruments of death and destruction manufactured solely for the profit of the few. Under Socialism factories would hum with the production of instruments of life and construction, manufactured to supply the needs of the many. World Socialism, without a doubt, would bring with its classless society full equality, full employment, job security, peace and plenty to not only the Negro people but to all mankind.

Will we get Socialism by talking about it, hoping for it or praying for it? Hardly. We've got to fight for it in organized fashion. Like every ruling class in the past, the capitalists will not relinquish their stranglehold on the workers of their own free will. The industrial workers, for the very good reason that they are the most oppressed and at the same time the most highly organized group, will lead the Socialist revolution. They will take over the means of production and thereby lead the way for the liberation of the farmers and the white collar workers. The capitalists during this period will try desperately to retain or regain their exploitative power on a world scale. They will try, in vain, to hold back the wheel of human progress. Their main weapon in America will be to set the white against the black and to bring on a racial war within the working class. The capitalists will be willing to exterminate the Negro minority if their preservation makes it necessary. The new Workers' and Farmers' Government, on the other hand, for the very basic reason of self-preservation, will have immediately to grant and enforce full equality for the Negro people. It will have to do this to counteract the capitalists and to demonstrate that its program is reliable.

When such a government gets control of the means of communication, it will have to embark immediately upon an educational program to enlighten backward white workers, and thereby destroy the false ideas of white supremacy which have been indoctrinated in their minds by bourgeois society. Thus the very first step in the direction of Socialism will also give birth to Negro equality.

## The Negro And Socialism

This is no pipe dream. The Socialist Revolution was scientifically outlined a century ago and has been demonstrated in real life in that greatest of all spectacles in human history, the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917. This fact is obvious: nothing short of a proletarian revolution will bring the Negro full equality in America.

The Negro struggle, therefore, is inseparably intertwined with the struggle of the world working class. Our fight is not hopeless if we realize its breadth. We, Negroes are outnumbered 10 to 1 from a racist point of view. That is true. But as workers we are part of the vast majority. The white worker of this country is our ally, not our enemy. His prejudices have been artificially learned and may be just as easily unlearned when he sees the necessity of working class solidarity. He needs us and we need him. Necessity will force us to get together. Our allies also include all the workers and peasants of imprisoned Europe who are now pitted against each other by the German and Anglo-American imperialists, but who tomorrow will rise and take their destiny into their own hands. The toiling masses of India, China and Africa are also on our side. When they are free, we will be free.

A word of warning about our false friends. A false friend is one who aids us in the struggle but at the same time leads us to believe that we can win full equality within the confines of the present capitalist system. What shall we do about these false friends? If such a friend still clings to the old order because he knows nothing of the dynamics of the world class struggle, we must educate him by patient explanation. Into this category fall some of our preachers, our "race leaders," and some opportunistic labor leaders. In this bed also rest our militant anti-white racists as well as the weak-kneed pacifists who think that the problem will be solved by people of good will getting together on a basis of brotherly love.

It should be obvious that it is too late in history to go back and call the roll and count in the Negro as a paid-up brother in good standing. Look how the Negro has fared during the war. Judge Hastie, reporting for the NAACP this past June, said that all forms of Negro brutalizing increased in 1943. If they stopped to draw blood from us even while engaged in an outside brawl with German imperialism, then what can we expect when Germany is defeated and they are free to turn their entire strength against the

Workers' Defense Guards to protect the Negro workers from fascist attacks. Finally, the keeping alive of the class struggle in the shops is all important to the Negro, because more inter-racial education can be obtained on a picket line during a strike where white and black workers are in common struggle for basic needs, than can be gleaned in a dozen pink tea liberal discussion groups.

## For Working-Class Unity

The fighters for Socialism today are found in the Socialist Workers Party and among the Trotskyist builders of the Fourth International. Our Marxist analysis brings us to the conclusion that the Negro struggle in the coming period will be largely a defensive one. It will mount in intensity with rising world class struggle and will only be resolved when the workers come to power. That is why we say:

The only way to win full Negro equality is through a simultaneous struggle for the liberation of all the toiling human brothers — be they black, brown, yellow or white. Negro workers, to avert a losing race war, prepare now for a victorious class war!

# Kremlin's Role In The Crushing Of The Great Warsaw Insurrection

(Continued from page 1)

pursued by the London Polish government. The latter was a declared policy, based undoubtedly upon a desire to utilize the Polish masses against the Soviet Army rather than against the Nazis retreating before it. The pertinent fact is, however, that the Moscow authorities dwelt on the discontent of the masses, and utilizing it against the London leaders, became more and more specific in the broadcasts.

Thus, on July 29 the Stalinist-controlled Union of Polish Patriots in Moscow issued a direct call to the Warsaw masses: "Appeal to Warsaw. Fight the Germans. No doubt Warsaw already hears the guns of the battle which is soon to bring her liberation... It (the Red Army) will be joined tomorrow by the sons of Warsaw... For Warsaw, which did not yield but fought on, the hour of action has already arrived."

Obviously, if Stalin and his Polish lackeys thought an insurrection "premature," it is clear that on the eve of that insurrection they not only did not say so, but said the exact opposite.

## London Government Gives Approval

4. Hearing these appeals and hearing the guns of the Red Army in the distance, the insurrectionary mood of the masses undoubtedly ran to fever pitch. The military leaders from the London government probably could not have prevented the insurrection even had they tried. In any case, they decided to identify themselves with it and give it their formal approval.

5. On July 31, the day before the uprising began, Premier Mikolajczyk of the London "government" was in Moscow. The British periodical "War Commentary" (Mid-October 1944) informs us: "It is stated by Polish socialists in London that when the Polish Premier saw Stalin in Moscow on July 31 and told him the rising would take place the following day, Stalin signified his approval and stated that the Red Army would have occupied Warsaw by August 6."

Moscow, on the other hand, denies that it was informed. But it is not necessary for us to take anyone's word for it, in order to ascertain that the insurgent mass conceived of its action as one coordinated with the advance of the Red Army. We have not only the fact that the Red Army's guns were already being heard in the city. We have evidence that in Moscow this conception was known. Far from the insurrection being discouraged as premature, Moscow called for the insurrection as a direct supporting action to aid the Red Army advance on Warsaw. On July 30, the Moscow radio beamed the following instructions to Warsaw:

"The whole population should gather round the National Council and the underground army. Attack the Germans. Stop the Germans destroying public buildings. Assist the Red Army in crossing the Vistula. Give it information and show it the best roads. The more than a million inhabitants ought to become an army of a million men fighting for liberation and destroying the German invader."

## Stalinist Perfidy Is Apparent

What Moscow's position on the insurrection was before it actually broke out is thus irrefutably established. It is clear that the sponsors of the quoted broadcasts knew of the insurrectionary mood of the Warsaw masses, that they fostered it, and directly appealed for the rising immediately before it began.

Most of the broadcasts were under the auspices of the "Polish National Council" and not the Soviet government, to be sure. However, no one in his right mind can believe that these broadcasts could be made from Moscow without the knowledge and approval of the Kremlin. At any rate, the broadcasts were never repudiated and have been passed over in complete silence by the Stalinist press despite their repeated quotation in the world press.

6. There is further evidence, however, that once the insurrection began, contact was established between its military leaders in Warsaw and the Red Army of General Rokossovsky which stood almost at the gates of the city. According to the "Government-in-Exile," on the third day of the uprising Captain Kalugin, sent by Rokossovsky, contacted General Bor, the military leader of the insurgents and "made an appeal by radio to Stalin, via London, for arms and supplies. A request was made for five tons of supplies to be dropped by plane." Moscow has never denied this story. The silence of the Stalinists would indicate that there is at least an element of truth in it.

7. The line of Moscow after the outbreak of the insurrection becomes no less clear under examination and proves to be in direct contradiction to the Stalinist line which preceded it. Insofar as action is concerned, we have these undisputed facts: Immediately after the outbreak of the struggle in Warsaw, the Red Army advance on the city, steady up to then, is abruptly halted, not to be resumed until nearly six weeks later, towards the end of September.

Whether the halt of the Red Army before Warsaw was an act deliberately calculated by the Kremlin in order to isolate the Polish insurgents and insure the crushing of the insurrection by the Nazis; or whether the halt was dictated by considerations of a purely military-strategic character, is known only to Moscow. The important thing is that once the insurrection was under way, the Stalin gang refused the insurgents any material aid whatever, although such aid was manifestly possible.

## A 'Canard' Becomes A Fact

Insofar as propaganda is concerned, the development is less abrupt. At first, Moscow denies that there is an insurrection and dubs the reports a "canard." Then, when evidence of the struggle and its mass character makes denial impossible, a hue and cry is raised that it is first, "premature;" secondly, organized without coordination between Moscow and London; thirdly, a criminal political adventure undertaken by the reactionaries in the "Government-in-Exile." Finally, all these charges are crowned with propaganda opposing insurrections in principle. On August 19, United Press cables from Moscow:

"Pravda, official Communist Party newspaper, said today in a front-page dispatch that the Warsaw insurrection was doomed to failure from the beginning and that the men who died fighting German mechanized troops in the Polish capital were 'foully deceived by a group of adventurers and political speculators of the London emigre government.'

"Not one city has been freed by the combined blows of Soviet troops and citizen insurrections, Pravda said, although hundreds of cities have been liberated by troops alone in Russia, Lithuania, White Russia and Poland."

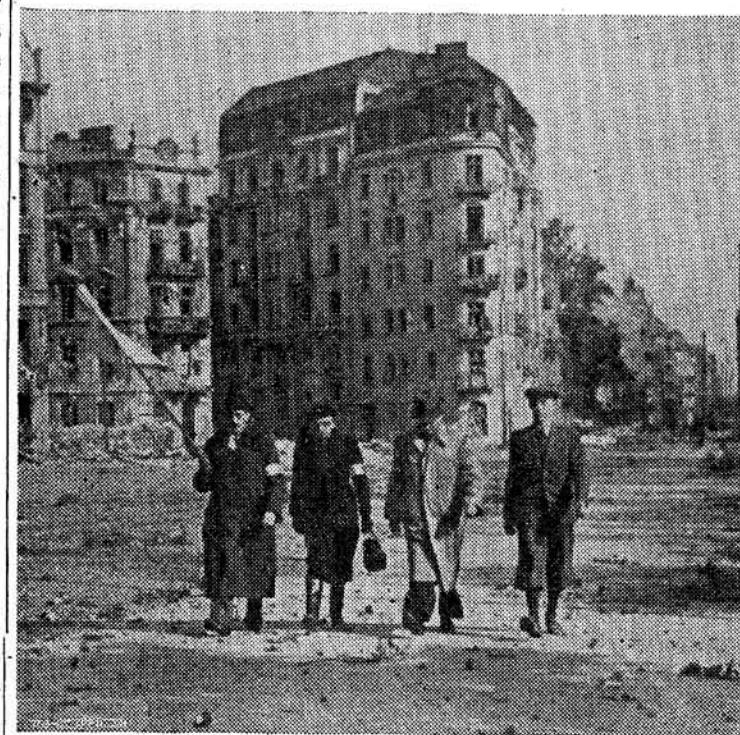
"The reason is that 'only stupid adventurers think success is possible by the insurrection of inadequately armed civilians in cities filled with German Panzer troops, planes, and guns,' Pravda added."

"The Red Army is opposed to such insurrections, the dispatch asserted, since complex technical materials 'are necessary to wage successful modern warfare, and people equipped only with ardent emotions and cold arms cannot expect to win.' (N. Y. Times, Aug. 20, 1944).

It is now apparent that what the Kremlin opposes is not the "prematurity" of the insurrection, its lack of coordination with the action of the Red Army, or even its leadership by the military representatives of the London "government"—but the very idea of the insurrection itself. And not only in Warsaw, but anywhere. That is what becomes crystal clear if this *Pravda* dispatch is stripped of its casuistry.

Obviously, the Warsaw insurgents, or any other insurgents for that matter, would not propose to carry through such an action

## The Warsaw Surrender



Delegates of the Warsaw insurgents, on their way to surrender to the Nazis, walk down the bomb-gutted streets between buildings that are hollow shells.

"inadequately armed" or only with their "ardent emotions and cold arms." It was just because they expected adequate arms from the Red Army at the gates of their city that the Warsaw masses undertook their insurrection. It was just because of its approach that their emotions became ardent.

By condemning insurrections in general (do they dare repeat it still after the events in Paris and Athens?), the Kremlin oligarchy merely sought to cover up its counter-revolutionary betrayal of the Warsaw masses. Actually, the Kremlin disclosed its real motivation—fear of the revolutionary masses in arms—and its own criminal conduct. If they thought all along that insurrections are "doomed to failure" then how can their repeated broadcast appeals to Warsaw for an uprising be characterized otherwise than as criminal provocation?

8. From a juxtaposition of the two lines—before and after the insurrection began—another important fact emerges: The appeals over the radio were intended only to take advantage of the Polish mass discontent with the policy of the nationalist and social-democratic leaders. The invasion of Poland by joint agreement with Hitler in 1939 and the subsequent bureaucratic suppression of workers' rights in the Soviet-occupied territory had undoubtedly driven the Warsaw workers further over to the side of the nationalist demagogues and their social-democratic henchmen. Under the impetus of the Red Army victories against the Wehrmacht, however, the revolutionary aspirations of the masses probably rose and clashed with their allegiance to leaders who were kowtowing to the Allied imperialists. The Kremlin sought to utilize this situation for its own counter-revolutionary purposes.

9. The Anglo-American imperialists, were naturally not averse to utilizing the insurrection for their own reactionary purposes, that is, to win the Polish masses over to the idea of a Poland within their "sphere of influence." To this end, they rushed "token aid" to Warsaw, in the form of meager supplies—but not until three weeks of unaided struggle had passed. To this same end they made the gesture of requesting the Kremlin for bases in Soviet territory for alleged use to supply the insurgents. When two thousand Polish paratroopers in England volunteered to go to Warsaw, their request was denied. "Token aid," on the other hand, was sent by Moscow also, late in September, when the insurrection had already virtually bled to death. Only when it became obvious that the insurrection was crushed did the Red Army resume its advance on Warsaw, which to this day is still in Nazi hands. This fact requires further scrutiny when we recall that, on the day the insurrection broke out, even the Stalinist press was reporting that the Nazis were evacuating Warsaw.

10. Regarding what happened inside the Polish underground, inside Warsaw, information is still very sparse. But two isolated items are worth our attention. The first is taken from the London Tribune, and reads as follows:

"The Polish official daily accuses the Lublin Patriots (Stalinist "National Council") of having disarmed and interned whole detachments of the Polish Home Army that were rushing from the provinces to Warsaw to assist the insurgents. The names of the detachments, their numbers, the places where they were disarmed have been published. What will the Lublin commander-in-chief—General Rola Zymierski—reply to this?"

## Kremlin Maintains Guilty Silence

Of course, no reply has been made to the charge. Silence here too indicates that there is some truth in it. If that is so, it points to the fact that the Warsaw insurrection must have aroused a tremendous response in the rural sectors of Poland, in particular in territory already occupied by the Red Army. The action of the Kremlin, if this is verified, was then not only confined to passive but amounted to active assistance in suppressing the insurrection.

Finally, in the British anarchist periodical, War Commentary (October), we find the following item:

"...a decree... issued by the Polish civil authorities during the first days (of the insurrection) proclaimed control of the factories by workers' councils. This was a clear indication that the workers had already taken over."

The periodical does not give its source for this information, so it is difficult to check. But should it prove to be true, it would point to the very heart of the whole policy of the counter-revolutionary Kremlin gang in the Warsaw tragedy.

Even so, an examination of the known facts permits us already to draw our conclusions:

1. Although the conflict over "spheres of influence" between the Allied imperialists and the Stalinist bureaucracy played a role in determining the policy toward the Warsaw insurrection, it was not the decisive factor. This conflict had effect only insofar as each side attempted to exploit the revolutionary aspirations of the Polish masses to undermine the prestige of the other.

2. The decisive factor making for the policy of betraying the insurrection was fear of the European revolution, of the independent action of the masses. Both sides share this fear equally and no doubt have had basic agreement on policy since the Teheran conference. Basic agreement, however, does not preclude jockeying for position among them. In the case of the Warsaw insurrection, the threat of revolutionary action was of more immediate concern to the Kremlin.

The Allies, while doing nothing seriously to interfere with the betrayal of the Warsaw uprising, naturally took advantage of the uprising to strengthen their diplomatic position as against that of the Kremlin.

3. Stalin's policy was clearly aimed at the attrition of the uprising.

4. The betrayal of the insurrection, followed by the stalemate at Warsaw up to the present, appears to have been a direct blow to the Red Army even in a strictly military sense. It certainly was a blow against the defense of the Soviet Union in the broader political sense. In deserting the Warsaw insurrection and permitting it to be crushed by the Nazis, Stalin was applying a strategy directed at nipping in the bud every manifestation of the ferment which is developing into the European revolution.

5. Defense of the Soviet Union today, means in the first place defense of the European revolution against the imperialists and the counter-revolutionary Stalinist bureaucracy.

6. The successful development of the European revolution, with the coming defeat of Nazi Germany, can be assured by the independent revolutionary action of the masses. The first task in that direction is the building of strong Trotskyist parties in every country under the banner of the Socialist Revolution.

## Workers Formed Backbone Of Uprising in Warsaw

The leading role of the workers in the Warsaw insurrection last August is the subject of a report in the latest issue of "Poland Fights," organ of the Polish Labor Group published in New York. Organized under the leadership of the Underground Trade Union Council and the Central Executive Committee of the PPS (Polish counterpart of the British Labor Party), the workers "were the backbone of the fighting during the Warsaw uprising, as well as throughout occupied Poland, long before open warfare began in Warsaw," the publication states.

The same source indicates that the insurgent Polish workers derived much of their inspiration from revolutionary battles of the past and named their fighting organizations after popular revolutionary heroes. Thus the underground infantry division which fought in the Zoliborz district of Warsaw bore the name of Romuald Traugutt, leader of the Polish insurrection against Czarist Russia in 1863. A division operating in the central district of Warsaw went by the name of Stefan Okrzeja, working-class hero in the revolutionary year 1905, who was hanged in the Warsaw Citadel by the Czarist authorities.

## SWP Convention Initiates Big Program For Party Expansion

(Continued from page 1)

movement of this country has never seen a more serious, determined and democratic gathering.

Reflecting the proletarian composition of the Trotskyist party, the majority of the rank and file delegates and leaders at the convention were tested trade union militants from the key industries and industrial areas of the nation. They represented a cross-section of the most matured, seasoned and conscious militants in the American labor movement and their views and decisions were based upon a first-hand knowledge of the moods and direction of the working class.

### MARXIST ANALYSIS

The new and greater tasks undertaken in the convention program of expansion were based upon a Marxist analysis of the present position and program of American imperialism, the coming economic and social crisis of American capitalism and the growing struggles of the workers against the wage-slashing, union-busting, mass unemployment program of Big Business.

This analysis, and the perspectives and program of working class action flowing from it, was set forth in the resolution on the "United States and the Second World War" unanimously adopted by the convention.

### POLITICAL RESOLUTION

The purpose of the international political resolution, which had been drafted by the outgoing National Committee, was to reaffirm the political line of the resolution adopted by the October, 1943 plenary meeting of the National Committee and to amplify and extend the resolution in the light of world political developments during the year since the NC Plenum was held. The task of the convention was to determine the correctness of the previously-adopted perspectives and prognoses and to see if they had stood up under the test of living events.

### TROTSKYISM ADVANCING

The discussion revolved around the resolution submitted to the convention with the endorsement of the majority of the NC Plenum held on the eve of the convention. This resolution took as its point of departure the revolutionary mass upsurge in Europe which now dominates the entire international scene and the magnificent perspectives which will be unfolded for the revolutionary socialist movement. The resolution was adopted by an overwhelming vote of the convention.

### THE NEGRO STRUGGLE

As an integral part of the coming upsurge of labor, will be the struggle of the Negro masses for full equality. The Negro struggle will be a decisive aspect of the working class struggle against capitalist reaction, which intends to intensify racial conflicts and the indoctrination of race hatred as part and parcel of its method "divide and rule." The report on the tasks and perspectives of the Trotskyist vanguard in advancing the struggle for Negro equality was delivered by Charles Jackson. The convention instructed the incoming National Committee to embody this report in a resolution to form the basis for the future work of the party.

The ideas and transitional slogans of the Trotskyists have penetrated more deeply into the

American working class. Slogans for rescinding the no-strike pledge, for withdrawing the labor members from the War Labor Board, and for the building of an independent labor party are already the fighting slogans of wide sections of American organized labor.

The general organizational report, which was unanimously adopted by the convention, was supplemented by reports of the heads of the various organizational departments, labor defense, press, publications and education.

Each of these reports strengthened the picture of the party as a growing force, with tremendous energy for the fulfillment of its mission.

But the most graphic picture

of the party in action was given during the day-long discussion on organizational activities by the convention delegates. Union militants and party activists from 27 areas reported on their work and accomplishments for the past period. These reports confirmed the soundness of the Trotskyist program, the increasing receptivity of the workers to this program, the devotion of the party ranks. Optimism and revolutionary determination was the dominant mood of the delegates.

### PARTY BUILDERS

Workers from steel, auto, maritime, railway transport and

many other major industries recounted their experiences in the class struggle and the building of the party. Among them was a high percentage of women workers, who have played an exemplary role in assuming the additional tasks of the party which fell on their shoulders as the result of the high percentage of male members now in the armed forces.

A major task of the convention

was the election of a new national committee. With but three changes, the members of the

SWP. Among the important actions of the convention was the sending of messages of solidarity to the 12 imprisoned SWP leaders, to Comrade Natalia Trotsky, widow of Leon Trotsky, and to Trotskyist organizations in Canada, England, Europe and elsewhere. The convention expressed its firm determination to live up to the obligations of international solidarity in every sense.

### A MEMORABLE EVENT

An outstanding feature of the convention, and one which will live long in the memory of the delegates, was the Convention Banquet held Saturday night. Here the warmth of comradeship in a common great cause was fully expressed. A program of entertainment delighted the delegates. The entire convention arrangement, including the housing and feeding of delegates and the scores of fraternal visitors from out-of-town, was ably handled by the New York Local of the SWP.

As the convention adjourned with the rousing mass singing of the international proletarian battle-song, "The International," every delegate felt imbued with the desire to go out into the working class, to bring the program of Trotskyism to the masses, and to place the banner of the Socialist Workers Party in the forefront of the historic labor struggles that in the coming period will lift the American workers to their feet in a victorious march toward socialist emancipation.

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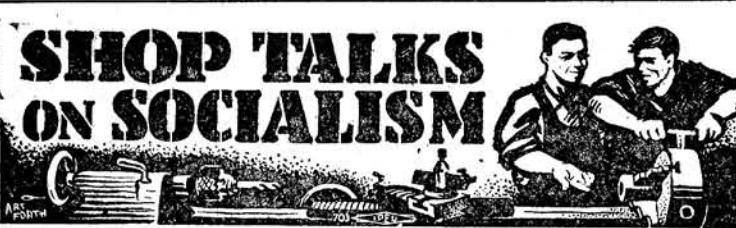
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### Thunder Over Mexico

Proceeds Xmas Benefit Fund for Wives and Children of 18 MINNEAP



By V. Grey

Under Socialism, take it all in all, we'll get paid according to how much we produce. Maybe you think that's how we get paid now. If you do, you're wrong. Under capitalism we produce cotton, wheat and other things, only to plow them under and destroy them in depressions. During capitalist wars we produce steel and ships by the millions of tons so they can be blown sky high. In other words the producer (the workingman) isn't benefited according to how much he produces.

"But if we get paid according to what we produce, under socialism, does that mean we'll have the piece-work system?"

No, it doesn't. In the first place, piece-work doesn't pay you according to what you produce. It only seems to do that. You usually take home a little more money when you're on piece work than when you're on a half-way decent day-rate in a different shop. That's true. You get a miserable, so-called "bonus" for straining your guts to produce five times as much as you would on day-work. If you're very lucky you wind up with maybe twice your lousy day-rate for this five times greater output. And if you kick for more dough, they'll just tell you to put out a little more. They'll do it every time.

#### Piecework Enriches The Bosses

Sure you can put out more if you don't mind losing a finger now and then, or busting a gut. Every so often some miracle work scissor-bill forges he has to do the job every day in the year for a few years yet before he dies, and he does twenty or thirty per cent more than anyone else ever did! Well, you know what happens. The time-study man, or one of his stooges, saunters around, stands behind a post or something and clocks the job all over again.

Oh sure! everything is on the up and up. But you notice nobody gets rich on the piece-work system—except the owners. Even if it were on the level, and the pieces you had to do to make day-rate were a reasonable, walking-pace, day's work, and you could always make twice as much money by doing twice as much work, you'd still be further behind the eight-ball, compared to the big bosses. They make a nice profit when you do an ordinary day's work. When you double the work they make more than double the profit. They don't have to pay any more for light, they don't pay any more for rent or building depreciation, they don't pay much more for power—and they pay even less money out in guaranteed "day-bonuses" where they have that set-up. So the boss doubles his wealth faster than you double your wages—always supposing he lets you double them, and the piece-rate never changes.

Actually, piece-work is not a "bonus" system, but penalty system. Here's the way the time study man figures it out. Say it's a press job. Well, the press does 400 hits an hour when it's going steady on the automatic control. He'll figure that if you get the whole 400 hits you can have a dollar and a half an hour. ("And that's certainly a wonderful wage for a workingman," he thinks with a puff on his fifty-cent cigar). That's twelve dollars for eight hours.

#### What The Speed-up Means

Of course you take fifteen minutes off for lunch. That costs you thirty-seven and a half cents. Five minutes for a sandwich at ten o'clock costs twelve and a half cents. Twelve and a half cents more if you go to the toilet during the day. Twelve and a half cents every time you wait five minutes for the crane or the truck. And ye gods! Seventy-five cents while you hurry like hell to replace a broken punch. You have to go to the machine shop or the storeroom for a new one. Well, you end the day with \$9.87 1/2. You go to sleep in the bus going home and your hand shakes when you light a cigarette but still it's "good money." Brother, we're not going to have that kind of "good money" under socialism.

Under socialism, it's not going to cost twelve and a half cents to take a smoke. You won't be cursing the crane man, yelling at the hooker and ready to sock the truck driver for "holding you up." You won't figure they are taking money out of your pocket. Each inefficiency of the factory won't be charged up to you personally, and taken out of your check, the way it is now. If a machine is broken, it's usually not your fault. And even if it is, you can manage to correct the fault when somebody shows you the trouble. So why should our workers' society blame you and take it out of your hide in the form of a piece-work penalty?

Piece-work is a method of getting the last ounce of energy out of the worker, as everybody knows. Capitalists employ it more and more because they hate to get better machinery that will produce with less effort from the worker. Machinery gets more complex and more expensive every year. Then too, all the big capitalists have the same machinery, more or less. There's no profit in the machine itself. They make their profits on what they sweat out of labor.

#### Socialism Means Production For Use

But the socialist system is a matter of production, not profits. Under Socialism you make cotton into cloth instead of plowing it under, you make steel into tools of peace-time production instead of letting the plants fall to pieces between capitalist wars. Under Socialism our "wages" will be determined very differently from the way the capitalist profits are today. One capitalist wants to undersell the other, so he has to produce more cheaply. That means more production. That means sweat and piece-work. Then there's more production than people can buy. That means shut-down and layoff.

Under Socialism, the workers of one factory will cooperate with those of the other so they won't produce more hats than shoes, or more autos than there are families to use them, etc. They'd feel like damn fools if they did that. Scissorbill Sam might pat himself on the back if two million bird-cages were made for one million canaries. But nobody else would.

People would work. But not with every last ounce of physical energy. You need energy to think, also. It takes energy for a workingman or woman to be wide-awake and see easier ways to produce—better methods—better machines. They also need to know that these ideas will not be used against them (by altering the piece-rate). They need to know that every increase in production means an increase in the well-being of all. And under Socialism they will know it.

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Refreshments

# Belgian Workers Resist Allied Puppet Regime In Militant Demonstrations To Maintain Arms

(Continued from page 1)

holders," reports the N. Y. Times correspondent, "conferring with their colleagues and political mentors on whether to risk a change of government at this time."

#### ALLIED PROCLAMATION

Meanwhile the real rulers of the country, the Anglo-American conquerors, who had been prodigies Pierlot from behind the scenes, issued a public proclamation approving the disarmament of the Resistance Forces. On behalf of the Allied Supreme Command, Gen. W. E. J. Erskine, head of the Allied Military Mission in Belgium, stated that he "greatly hopes that no disorders will result from the application of these measures, but, if they were to occur, Allied military forces, at the request of the Government, would assist in restoring law and order."

#### IMPERIALIST AIM

In Belgium, as in France, the Allied leaders are exerting the utmost pressure upon the government to deprive the insurgent masses of their arms in order to prevent a revolutionary showdown with the capitalists and their putrid regime. This is frankly admitted by the capitalist press correspondents—in this country.

In France, however, as the N. Y. Times reporter points out, the part played by the Allies in their counter-revolutionary conspiracy is "never mentioned in public or in print." (Nov. 20). But, this same reporter states, the Allies would play the same role "in the future, in a situation as acute as that in Belgium."

#### GOVERNMENT VACILLATES

This official attitude of "tolerance" flowed in reality either from the government's lack of power or else from the fact that it was not yet prepared to come into armed conflict with the aroused workers. Moreover, according to the N. Y. Times, the revolutionary fever has spread in the police force itself. "Even the gendarmes cannot be completely objective," cabled the Times correspondent on Nov. 19.

The consternation, fear and panic pervading government circles in the face of the counter-offensive of the masses could be clearly observed on Wednesday of that week when about 2,500 members of the Resistance Movement paraded outside the government building on Rue de la Foix with placards denouncing the Pierlot government and calling for the Premier's resignation. The Pierlot cabinet, hand-picked by the Allied invaders, is obviously a mere puppet in the latter's hands. In the present revolutionary events, the Pierlot cabinet can depend neither on its own armed forces, nor on its own police force. The Allied authority is the sole reliable military power of the counter-revolution. "Within the Parliament buildings and the Cabinet offices could be seen clusters of anxious office

Such are the aims of the Allied imperialists and their capitalist associates in Belgium today: to disarm the workers by trickery, if possible, and by force if necessary, in order to protect the shaken capitalist system against the rising offensive of the revolutionary masses, to set up and support the most ruthless military dictatorships, and thereby drive the people back into servitude and capitalist exploitation, and sacrifice on the bloody altar of imperialist war.

The Pierlot cabinet, hand-picked by the Allied invaders, is obviously a mere puppet in the latter's hands. In the present revolutionary events, the Pierlot cabinet can depend neither on its own armed forces, nor on its own police force. The Allied authority is the sole reliable military power of the counter-revolution. The only real internal forces that

#### Pioneer Paragraphs

## TROTSKYISTS SOUNDED ALARM AGAINST THE RISE OF HITLER

Coming back on the bus from Gillespie to Chicago—I recall it very distinctly—I read newspaper accounts of the appointment of Hitler as Chancellor by President Hindenburg. I had the feeling then, at that moment, that things were beginning to break. The stagnation, the stalemate in the world labor movement was breaking wide open. Things were moving to a showdown. We were fully ready to take our part in the new situation. As I checked the reports the other day, preparing my notes for this lecture, it seemed to me that this action of our League, our reaching out for the first time to participate in a workers' mass meeting in Gillespie, Illinois, was symbolic of our attainment to the new period. Our action was unconsciously synchronized with the break-up of the stalemate in Germany. We were like athletes, trained and poised for action, but restrained by external difficulties and unable to move forward. Then suddenly a new situation opened up and we leaped into it.

Our first reaction to the German events was to call a mass meeting in New York. For a long time we had abandoned the idea of mass meetings because the masses wouldn't come. The best we could do was to hold small open forums, lectures, circle gatherings, etc. This time we essayed a mass meeting: Stuyvesant Casino, February 4, 1933. "The Meaning of the German Events" with Schachtman and Cannon as speakers. The report in The Militant said that 500 people turned out to our mass meeting.

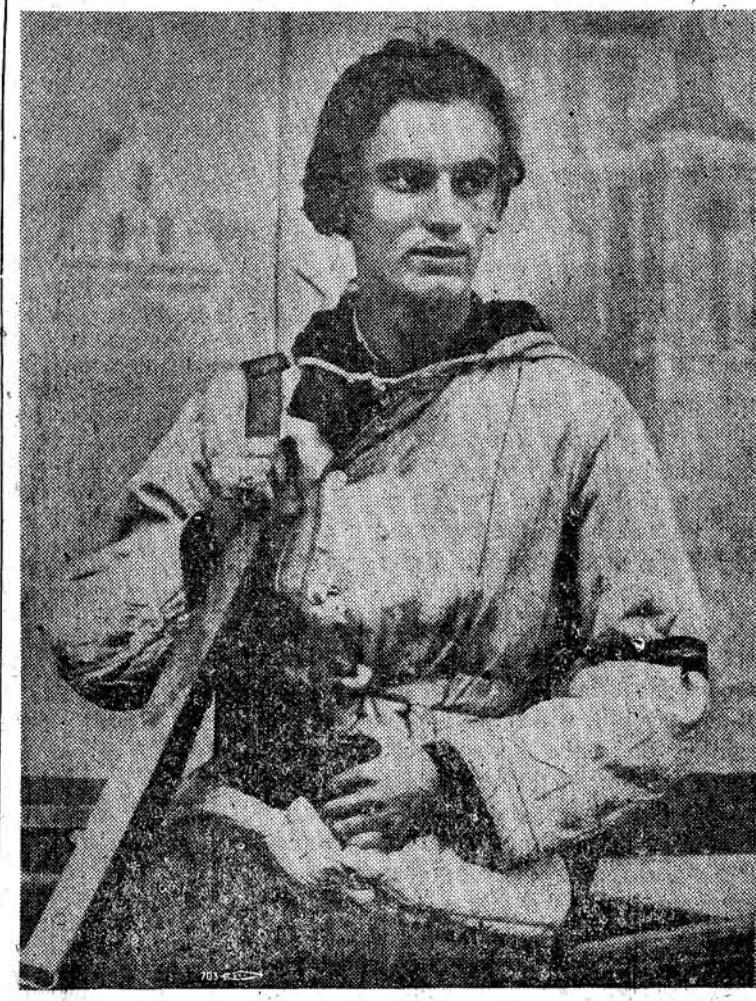
We sounded the alarm on the impending showdown between fascism and Communism in Germany. Then, while the issues were so acute, every day in Germany witnessing new developments, we did an absolutely unprecedented thing for a group so small as ours. We transformed

our weekly Militant—by that time it had become a weekly—and brought it out three times a week, each issue blazing away with the message of Trotskyism on the events in Germany. If you should ask me how we did it I wouldn't be able to explain. But we did it. It wasn't possible, but there is a saying among Trotskyists that in times of crisis you do not do what is possible, but what is necessary. And, we thought it necessary to break out of our routine discussions and criticisms of the Stalinists, to do something to shock the whole workers' movement into realizing how fateful for the whole world were the happenings in Germany. We wanted to call all workers, and especially the Communist workers, to attention. We speeded up our tempo. We began to shout, to sound the alarm. Our comrades ran to every meeting they could find, to every slight gathering of workers, with bundles of The Militant, under their arms, shouting at the top of their voices: "Read The Militant!" "Read the truth about Germany!" "Read what Trotsky says!"

Our slogan during the German events was: The United Front of the Workers' Organizations and Battle to the Death! The Stalinists and the Social Democrats rejected the united front in Germany. They both pretend otherwise after the events, seeking to blame each other, but they are both liars, both guilty of betrayal. They divided the workers, and neither of them had any will to fight. Through that division the monstrous plague of fascism came to power in Germany, and threw its dark shadow over the whole world.

(From "The History of American Trotskyism," by James Cannon, pp. 105-107. Pioneer Publishers, 1944; 268 pp., cloth \$2.75, paper \$2. Order from Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Place, N. Y. 3, N. Y.).

#### Belgian Resistance Fighter



A fighter of the Belgian Resistance forces, his rifle slung over his shoulder, shows the determination of the armed people to carry on their struggle for social liberation.

#### Diary Of A Steel Worker

By Theodore Kovalesky

It took Terry O'Day quite a while to die, in fact, it took him several years.

I suppose you'll say, "Why, Terry isn't dead—I saw him in the union hall yesterday. What do you mean?"

Well, a man can die and still leave his body walking around the streets. That's what happened in Terry's case. It's just his body that's left. You couldn't even say it's Terry's ghost that's around, because the ghost, the spirit of Terry O'Day, is gone. There's just a body with certain well-remembered ways going down to the union hall every day and sitting at the International Rep's desk. But it's not our old Terry.

\*\*\*

I guess none of us who knew him will ever forget the real Terry O'Day, the big, black-browed, good-looking young Irishman with one of those grins that made you feel you'd always been his pal and always would be. I guess none of us will forget how he stuck his neck out day after day all through the organizing drive, when the old SWOC (Steel Workers Organizing Committee) was signing up the men in our plant.



How the company hated Terry! Before it was over they managed to fire him, but of course we got him back after we won recognition in the big strike, in which he was one of the leaders. Then, after everything was all set up and moving pretty smoothly, when Terry was an officer of the local and one of the best grievance men we had, the company saw fit to reconsider their attitude toward him and tried to persuade him to take a foreman's job.

Terry blew up: "I was just a no-good trouble-maker when you guys threw me out of here. Now we've got you licked you want to buy me off with a lousy two-bit foreman's job." He didn't take it.

It wasn't long before Terry was put on the union staff. All the fellows hated to see him leave the plant, because he'd been such a good grievance man and such a swell guy to work with, but then everybody was glad to have him right there in the union office fighting for us. The gang figured we'd get real representation with Terry on the staff.

But bit by bit, Terry began to grow away from us. It didn't happen all at once or even soon. Still, over a period of time we'd notice more and more things. Terry wasn't quite Terry.

When he'd been away from the open hearth a while Terry got a little bulky around the waist; and he began to get sluggish in his ideas as well. We always used to think of him as mostly heart—courageous, fighting heart. But what kind of fighting heart does a man have when he'll turn back one grievance after another—retreating without even swinging a single punch?

And what kind of fighting heart has a man got when he lines up against his fellow workers, or in Terry's case, his former brothers, in favor of the no-strike pledge? He saw us each day losing things that we had fought and bled for. He could see that when we couldn't strike we couldn't fight . . . and that the companies never stopped fighting.

What had happened to Terry? Was Gus Miller right when he asked me one night, "Do you think Terry's getting paid off by the company?" No, Terry didn't get paid in that kind of coin. It's just that Terry's got a new way of life.

There's no sweating in the open hearth for Terry now. There's no more getting tired and miserable in the bleak, black winter mornings. There's no more discomfort and danger—no more cranes skimming over his head carrying ladies of molten iron—no more looking through blue glasses into the white-hot open doors of the furnaces.

Now there's a desk in front of him. His denims, his flannel shirts are used only on fishing trips. In their place in his wardrobe are tweeds, white shirts and happy-looking neckties.

In this world, nothing is free: Everything has its price, and sometimes the price is too high. The price Terry paid was too costly. He came out of the plant a fighter, and he came out for the purpose of fighting. But gradually he became entangled in Phil Murray's machine. At each step he paid a toll. He began to find that retreat was impossible, and that he could only blunder on to new battles and new defeats. He couldn't win; he didn't know why; so he began to think, "So what the hell," and go farther down.

Terry was a great guy—a swell guy! But he never had a chance. Without a political line of his own to follow, he had to take Murray's line—collaboration with the capitalists (which always means selling out the workers). He had to stifle strikes and support the no-strike pledge. He had to try to tie the fellows to Roosevelt's coat-tails.

But all that meant death to the old tough, happy, honest Terry. And it meant the birth of a new two-bit Murray bureaucrat going around under the name of Terry O'Day.

## 10 Years Ago In The Militant

NOVEMBER 24, 1934

NEW YORK—"Labor history will be made in New York City this coming week," said The Militant, reporting the opening of conventions of the Communist League of America (Trotskyist) and the American Workers Party (Musteite). At these conventions the organization of a new revolutionary party in the United States was to be debated and decided by the two organizations preparing to fuse their forces. Delegates included leaders of the Minneapolis and Toledo strikes. They came from the coal mines and industrial centers of America, from the unemployed movement, and from the political centers of the nation. "Not sleek, self-satisfied bureaucrats," The Militant described these delegates, "... but fighting militants fresh from the picket lines . . . beating their way to New York," to make the decision which proved to be "a milestone on the road to the Fourth International."

NEW YORK—Revealing that he had been approached by a representative of 42 native fascist groups, General Smedley Butler made public the existence of a three-million dollar plot to finance a fascist party in the United States. "While General Butler's discoveries do not reveal the fascists as a serious menace," The Militant said, "they indicate that incipient fascism is here and only waits its opportunity."

#### San Francisco

##### Sunday Forum

###### "WHICH WAY EUROPE?"

###### Socialism or Barbarism

December 3 - 8 P. M.

Speaker:  
R. CHESTER

SAN FRANCISCO SCHOOL  
of SOCIAL SCIENCE  
305 Grant Avenue, 4th floor

# THE MILITANT

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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.

## Fraternization

In the course of the first imperialist world slaughter, Lenin, Trotsky, Karl Liebknecht, Rosa Luxemburg and other proletarian internationalists never failed to single out the least sign of the awakening of the oppressed, especially the news of fraternization between the uniformed workers and peasants on both sides of the trenches—news which came as a rule in the form of decrees against fraternization issued in 1914-1918 by the General Staffs of all the belligerents.

Similar instances of fraternization are beginning to multiply today, with this difference: nowadays the predatory rulers of the world, "democratic" and fascist alike, fear fraternization, whether soldier or civilian is involved. The Anglo-American imperialists, aided and abetted by the Kremlin, and in imitation of the Nazis, now seek to keep inviolate the line of blood which they have drawn in their war, not only between the combatants but between entire peoples. Thus, \$65 fines—more than a month's pay—are imposed on any American soldier carrying on "any type of unnecessary conversation" with German civilians, both adults and children. Hitler and the Gestapo are no less adamant against fraternization. Both sides defend here the same war policy, which serves identical capitalist class interests and aims.

What should the attitude of workers be toward fraternization? It must also flow from a class line. The proletarian attitude was expressed on October 24, 1919 by Leon Trotsky, Soviet Commissar of War, who issued the following appeal to the just-born Red Army in the midst of Allied intervention:

"Red warriors! On all fronts you meet the hostile plots of the English. The counter-revolutionary troops shoot you with English guns. In the depots of Shenskursk and Ongora, on the Southern and Western fronts, you find supplies of English manufacture. The prisoners you have captured are dressed in uniforms made in England. The women and children of Archangel and Astrakhan are maimed and killed by English airmen with the aid

of English explosives. The English ships bomb our shores. . . . But even today, when we are engaged in a bitter fight with Yudenich, the bireling of England, I demand that you never forget that there are two Englands. Beside the England of profits, of butchery, of violence and bloodthirstiness, there is the England of Labor, of spiritual power, of high ideals, of international solidarity. It is the base and dishonest England of the Stock Exchange manipulators that is fighting us. The England of Labor and the people are with us."

What Trotsky told the Red Soldiers in 1919 holds good in 1944. There are two Germanies today, just as there are two Americas, two Englands, two classes in every country where capitalism rules. The Germany of Labor and the people are with us against their Nazi-capitalist oppressors! We are with them against the Anglo-American imperialist oppressors and their agents. In unity and fraternity the workers on both sides of the imperialist battle-lines will struggle for a workers' world.

## Military Training

Although he had said nothing on this vital matter during the pre-election campaign, President Roosevelt stated at one of his first post-election press conferences that he would urge Congress to adopt a law this winter for the compulsory military training of the country's youth during peacetime.

For many months now the brass hats and representatives of Wall Street have been beating the drums for permanent military conscription. The Wadsworth-Gurney bill, which calls for a year of military training for youths eighteen years and upward, has been pending in the House. Its sponsors candidly admit that they want to get it passed while the war is at its peak and before the people are further disillusioned by its consequences.

Now Roosevelt has given his endorsement to this step toward the Prussianization of American life. His action is dictated by the needs and aims of the imperialist ruling class. To realize its present program of world conquest and domination, Wall Street requires a permanent military force and reserves of millions. Under the scourge of its continued rule, militarism will from now on be an integral part of American life.

The plutocracy and their political executives, such as Roosevelt, are compelled by their class needs to view the future realistically and to prepare accordingly. They know that this war will not bring peace, but has already sown the seeds of fiercer wars. That is why they have become militarists on the European model—with American speed, size, and efficiency.

The workers must be equally realistic in facing the future. In a world and in a society where from now on all basic questions will be ultimately decided by force, they need military training to protect and to promote their own class interests. They cannot permit the reactionary officer caste and the servants of Big Business to retain control of military training for their ultra-reactionary purposes.

A working-class solution for this unpostponable problem is provided in the first point of *The Militant's* program of demands: "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." The militants in the unions must put forward this demand as their answer to the bosses' plans for strengthening the grip of their fascist-minded brass hats on the flower of the working class—its youth.

## Cartels

The Senate's Kilgore Committee on Cartels and National Security has issued a report designating the "German industrial group" as the "mainstay of the international cartel system." It calls for the "punishment . . . of the leading imperialist-minded German industrialists" and "not only the dismantling of all the direct munitions industries but also the dismantling and removal . . . of the primary indirect munitions industries" including virtually all of Germany's mass production facilities.

It is easy to detect the real origins of this proposal in Morgenthau's scheme for the reduction of German economy, the very heart of Europe's productive mechanism, to a peasant economy. Under the pretext of fighting the international cartel system and permanently disarming German imperialism, the real intent is to reduce the German masses to the level of agricultural serfs and, by destroying Germany's industrial system, eliminate European capitalism as a rival to Wall Street in the continuing struggle for control of the world's contracting markets.

The government has revealed through anti-trust suits against scores of America's leading corporations—including such world giants as Standard Oil, DuPont, General Electric and Aluminum Corporation of America—that the Wall Street corporations were joined in partnership with the Nazis in international cartels and reaped profits from both sides of the battle-lines.

The international trust, or cartel, is not an exceptional feature of capitalism. It is the finished organizational expression of monopoly capitalism in the highest stage of development. The nefarious activities of the cartels have been exposed over and over again. The only way to end their malodorous practices is to end the capitalist system which brought them to birth and gives them nourishment. This is the task of the international socialist revolution.

of English explosives. The English ships bomb our shores. . . . But even today, when we are engaged in a bitter fight with Yudenich, the bireling of England, I demand that you never forget that there are two Englands. Beside the England of profits, of butchery, of violence and bloodthirstiness, there is the England of Labor, of spiritual power, of high ideals, of international solidarity. It is the base and dishonest England of the Stock Exchange manipulators that is fighting us. The England of Labor and the people are with us."

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# 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

## Wage Differentials

Editor:

I find that many workers who are at first opposed to socialism change their attitude when it is pointed out to them that all the gains that have been made by the workers are of a socialistic nature. But the one thing they are against is equality of pay. These workers are not so concerned over the fact that they are so pitifully underpaid by their bosses—the capitalists—as they are over their misconception that under socialism everyone will get the same pay.

It doesn't bother them so much that under the present system the ones who work the hardest ordinarily get the least, while those of the Tommy Manville type, who do not work at all, get the most (and maybe the best, that is, if blondes are better).

It doesn't seem to bother them so much that Eugene Grace gets from the same company as they work for well over one hundred times more than they do, not to mention what he gets from other sources. It doesn't bother them so much that two persons working on the same type of job (and sometimes the very same job), doing the same work equally as well, get different pay.

What bothers them is that under socialism—so they tell me—everyone will get the same pay. They do not stop to think that under socialism all workers will be getting so much more of what they produce that wages figured down to a difference of a half cent will be absolutely ridiculous—not just slightly ridiculous, as now.

I tell these workers with the

wrong idea that as long as a different in pay is necessary, it will be paid even under socialism.

Under socialism it won't depend on who you know, or who got there first with the most gab, or who happened to have parents financially able to send them to college. Under socialism, any pay differentials will be judged by the men in the shop themselves—not by the boss. The "boss" will be selected by the workers.

I find too that, except to the more advanced workers, it's not a good policy to mention that eventually, under communism, each will give according to his ability and receive according to his need. When you are dealing with workers who have such a vague idea of what socialism is, you merely shock them and give them the idea that under socialism everyone will get the same pay. The chances are that even equality of pay will not be realized in our time.

A. B.  
Bell, California

## White Collar Workers

Editor:

I wish the paper would print an article for the "white collar" workers. Many of them are not the white-livered cringers that some radical literature describes them to be. While the shipyard workers, etc. are lulled by full stomachs and money, post office clerks, teachers, hospital aides and others to whom the war economy means just higher prices and more work are struggling to maintain a standard of living and job performance that is high

events in the industrial town of Maubeuge, in northern France, last month, as reported by the N. Y. Times correspondent in Paris on Nov. 13.

More than 100 collaborationists (those who aided the Nazis) had been arrested. The DeGaulleists who had taken office in the local government made no move to bring the arrested people to trial and large crowds assembled to protest the delay. These crowds were composed of "FFI" (French Forces of the Interior) men, militiamen and workers through competitive bidding, as required by the Securities and Exchange Act.

This method of financing permits Pacific Gas and Electric to charge off \$8,620,000, the cost of floating the loan, to current operating costs, deductible from this year's income taxes. Thus, the U. S. Treasury, instead of the company, will be paying the cost of the refunding operation.

The anti-trust division was all set to place the matter in the hands of an investigating grand jury, when Attorney General Biddle sidetracked it "to avoid embarrassing a fellow cabinet member," Secretary of the Navy James V. Forrestal, peacetime head of Dillon Read, one of the biggest beneficiaries of the Pacific Gas financial manipulation.

## INTERNATIONAL NOTES

### Belgium

The government of Hubert Pierlot, puppet of the Anglo-American imperialists, was on the verge of collapse last week and was saved only by the failure of the Stalinists and "Socialists" to resign on the issue of disarming and disbanding the former underground fighters of the Resistance Movement.

An order commanding these fighters to surrender their weapons by Nov. 18 was issued by the Pierlot government. The two Stalinist members of the government, Dr. Albert Marteaux and Raymond Dispisy, supported by the "left-wing socialist" Fernand de Many, protested against the order but continued to cling to their posts when Pierlot refused to rescind or modify it.

It is one thing to "order" the disarming of the workers, quite another to enforce it. The workers have resolutely refused to surrender their arms or disband their formations. The crisis therefore continues. As the N. Y. Times correspondent in Brussels significantly reports, "a wave of unrest is expected to cross Belgium now that the Leftist underground organizations are on their

meet and clash—in trade, currency questions, civil aviation, shipping, etc.—the Big Business leaders who stand behind the governments and make their policies are continually snarling at each other across the Atlantic.

The latest example of this was a speech in the House of Commons on Nov. 14 by Sir Patrick Hannan, Conservative, who charged that "careful plans are in progress in the United States to seize practically the whole of South American trade" and oust British competitors from this lucrative market. "Laborite" Emanuel Shinwell, faithfull lackey of the British capitalists, seconded the complaint with the assertion that "while discussions are taking place (Bretton Woods, Dumbarton Oaks, and now Chicago) we are slowly but surely losing a lot of trade."

At the International Civil Aviation Conference in Chicago the British delegation last week

virtually capitulated before the

American stand in favor of what

amounts to free and unrestricted

competition along the world's

skies. All the British imperialists got was a face-saver. As the N. Y. Times reported, "the British and Canadians have won less essential concessions which should result in maintaining the prestige of the British Commonwealth and in avoidance of any admission on its part that it is accepting a secondary role in post-war aviation."

The rivalry in this and other

spheres will, of course, continue

until it reaches the explosive

point. The seeds of war are

lodged deep in the system of capitalism.

Unless the workers put

an end to this putrid system

with its cut-throat competition,

they or their sons will have to

suffer in a fresh holocaust of

death and destruction.

As the correspondent states,

the Stalinists are "at the moment

the most virile party," that is,

they have the largest mass following.

But they are rapidly

completing their self-exposure as

a counter-revolutionary force.

In increasing numbers, the workers

will turn to the Trotskyists, the

Fourth Internationalists, for

leadership.

### England

Prospects for a 3rd world war not

so long after the present slaughter

has ceased become sharper day

by day as the reality of imperialist

rivalries breaks with in-

creasing persistency through the

thin crust of the military alliance

between the two biggest imperialist brigands, Britain and the

United States.

Despite all the fine talk about

international understanding and

amity in the post-war world, and

the continuing spate of international

conferences to regulate the

activities of the rivals where they

were (at least in cost) than that of the much—sympathized—with working man. They have always

read more (I think) and now more deeply and critically. Incidentally, a lot of them are voting for Thomas in a desperation that goes on from year to year as no better candidate appears on the radio or ballot.

Perhaps it is because so many