

The Fighting Worker

Workers of
The World
Unite!

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Who Is To Blame For The Smith-Connally Slave Act?

The yellow leaders of the CIO and AFL, mightily seconded by the finks of the Stalinist anti-communist Party, are blaming the miners strike and Lewis for the passage of the Smith-Connally Act.

First of all, they blame Lewis for the strike. Actually, if not for the strike situation, Lewis would be far in the background. Moreover, Lewis has done more than all of them put together to throttle the strike.

Secondly, the strike was just an excuse to put through the bill. It or a similar one would have come up as soon as the bosses and their stooges saw a chance for it.

Remember the Vinson Bill, back in April 1941? It called for a 25 day "cooling-off period," and for freezing wages and an open shop in war industries. There was no miners strike then. Reaction wasn't strong enough to push it through then, but we have it today. We have the wage freeze, the job freeze and the no strike. The war and the labor fakers gave them their chance.

BOSSSES PARADISE

True enough, if the miners didn't strike, if the rubber workers didn't strike, if the auto and airplane workers didn't strike, if all the workers submitted quietly to the high prices, inflation, rising cost of living, increasing taxes, grievance run-arounds and management brushoffs—if labor accepted all this humbly like slaves then of course there would be no Smith-Connally Act. It would be unnecessary.

It would also be managements idea of paradise.

The trouble is, labor is to be blamed selfish. They wont be docile. They want to live and bring up their families decently. They have the gall to think they're just as good as management, and

managements' paid editorial writers. They think the bosses should make some sacrifices. They don't see the sense in first becoming slaves so you can win a war supposed to be for liberty. They even make demands—and want to back them up!

The bosses are out to use the war to reduce labor to serfdom. If labor won't take it meekly, the bosses will use their government to force it down labor's throat, through laws like the slave act and more to come.

MUNICH-MEN OF LABOR

What do the Murrays and Greens and Browders want us to do? They ask us to take it lying down, to sacrifice, to be "appeasers" in the war against capital. They are the Munichmen of labor.

Did these people support the miners? Did they call on the millions of men and women in their organizations to back up the miners strike against the operators and the War Labor Board and Roosevelt? Did they recognize it as labor's struggle against capital?

They did not! They attacked Lewis—not from the left but from the right. They supported the capitalist government against the miners. They are appeasers. They

(Cont. on Page 4, Col. 3)

CORRECTION

On page 2 of the Cleveland section of the June Fighting Worker, where it states that the City (Cleveland) "bought out the railway company stockholders at \$5.00 a share at a time when the stock was selling in the open market at between \$15.00 and \$23.00 a share," it should read: "bought out the railway company stockholders at \$45.00 a share...."

Capitalism Cannot Fight Fascism!

Labor Must Free Itself At Home and Abroad

In April, May and June 1943 there were more strikes, involving more workers, than at any time in the last decade. Rubber workers, auto workers, miners, steel workers, all contributed their numbers to a widespread movement.

Yet the number of days lost was small compared to the number of people out. The movement was arrested almost before it got started. Lewis pushed the miners back to work after 3 short 48 hour or 72 hour walkouts. The rubber workers in Akron were out slightly longer. Chrysler workers, about the same.

Lacking leadership, without clear

political perspective, the first big upsurge of American workers in this war is now receding. With it is utter confusion and groping that will bring on new upsurges of a more conscious and more prolonged character.

After "Pearl Harbor" the workers of this country gave support to the war and to production. They united behind the government in what they really believe (and to a large extent still do) was a real war against Fascism. They were prodded along by Murray, Green, Browder and the last minute support of the war by Norman Thomas.

TALK OF FREEDOM FOR FUTURE USED TO IMPOSE DICTATORSHIP NOW

As the days went on, however, it became more and more apparent that the "war against Fascism" had some very un-democratic methods. The cost of the war was being loaded on labor's shoulders. Democratic rights, won after years of battle, were being revoked with the speed of an 18th century guillotine.

To "protect labor," Roosevelt was revoking its right to strike. To win the battle for "freedom from want," Roosevelt was permitting skyrocket prices, OPA controlled inflation, and the little steal formula. Regimentation made the country a good embryo edition of Europe.

After the first wave of chauvinism, the working class rebelled. The rebellion took on the form of economic strikes for higher wages. No leadership has yet advanced to lift the levels of the strikes to their true political levels. Without such leadership the capitalist state has been able to reform its lines for another onslaught of threats (of drafting strikers, jailings, etc.), anti-labor publicity, and race riots to take the punch out of the strike movements.

WORKERS ENEMIES ARE AT HOME AS WELL AS ABROAD

The first wave of working class battles since the war seems to have ended with the Smith Connally Act, but a second wave is in the making and will go higher and higher as the cost of living and taxes dig deeper into the workers' paychecks.

These coming struggles must be raised to an anti-war political struggle of the workers against the exploiters and their state. The new strike developments will be a step in that direction and it is up to the revolutionary Marxists to see that it goes along with the proper organization and policy.

A real war against fascism can only be waged by the working class. The Capitalists of all imperialist nations are incapable of leading any anti-fascist struggles no matter how often they say they intend to. The struggle against fascism and its parent capitalism, can be successful only when the working class sets up its own workers Council Government.

Another Va. Militant Framed by Boss Class

Demand Release Of Samuel Kelly!

Richmond, Va. (By Charlotta Lee, special correspondent for the FIGHTING WORKER)—On June 9, 1943 the jail doors clanged shut on Samuel Kelly, framed local militant. Despite the fact that he had pending a petition for rehearing of his case before the Supreme Court of Appeals of Virginia, duly filed in accordance with the Virginia law, the judge refused to allow him bail, even though his case has not been finally decided! This last outrage was the culmination of what has previously been the unbroken rule through every stage of the case. Kelly was convicted in May 1942 in the Hustings Court of the City of Richmond of the larceny of six hundred dollars worth of clothing from the A and B store, despite the fact that not one piece of evidence was ever brought forward to show that Kelly had ever taken one single stitch from that store (literally true!), and despite the fact that the clothing alleged to have been stolen was never proved to have ever been in the A and B store. On June 8, 1943 the Supreme Court of Appeals of Virginia, the same august body that upheld the legal murder of Odell Waller, affirmed the decision of the lower court without even an attempt to show that Kelly had committed any crime. What lies behind all this, so puzzling to the naive believer in the "democratic processes of the law?"

KELLY MILITANT FOR YEARS

Samuel Kelly became active in the labor movement about ten years ago in the city of Richmond at the time of the big unemployed struggles there. In a short time he was city organizer of the International Labor Defense, in which organization he personally played an active and militant part. Later Kelly broke with the ILD but continued his efforts on behalf of the workers and oppressed Negroes. Although a Negro Kelly never regarded himself as other than a battler for workers' interests, regardless of race. Time after time the City Hall has seen Kelly leading delegations on behalf of relief for Negro and white unemployed families. Practically every recent case of discrimination against the Negroes has seen Kelly actively involved in the defense. The Shell and Jackson cases, the so-called

"Lover's Lane" case near Fredericksburg, were among the best known. Then just a few years ago Kelly was the moving force in creating the Citizens' Defense League in Richmond, which put up a hot battle against the police brutality exercised against Negro prisoners and even stirred up wide demand for the ouster of the Chief of Police.

All this time the ruling class in Richmond made every possible effort to "get" Kelly. But they did not discover any opportunity to do this on the basis of his activities. In the meantime Kelly left the A and B Clothing Company, for which he had been working as outside salesman for a number of years and set up a little clothing store and cleaning and pressing place of his own just about two blocks from his former place of employment. Naturally this did not endear him to his former employer, A. D. Lapkin, particularly in view of the fact that Kelly had quite a following from his former employment who began to buy from him in preference to his former employer.

KELLY FRAMED

Then the little prejudice of the former employer to a competitor "clicked" with the big "prejudice" of the ruling class of Richmond. March 7, 1942 Kelly's shop was raided by the police accompanied by Lapkin. All the clothes in the

(Cont. on Page 2, Col. 1)

Lion Of Judea Swallowed By British Imperialism

In Ethiopia, British imperialism still marches jauntily on its way, unperturbed by the Atlantic charter or any other pronouncement about "freedom" and the rights of small nations.

The following item, taken from Time magazine, gives a fairly accurate picture of how small nations fare under British imperialism even before the war is over.

British judges and assessors sit on the Ethiopian bench. British officials operate the railroad from Addis Ababa to Dire Dawa near the French Somaliland border. British officers train Ethiopian soldiers and control the police force. A British commission con-

trols the Addis Ababa wireless. A British commission rules the air over Ethiopia. Britain uses, rent free an estimated 320 to 360 million dollars worth of property left by the Italians. A British financial commission helped to set up the new Ethiopian state bank. The United Kingdom Commercial Corp. expedites what trade there is.

The price that the Ethiopian Emperor paid for victory over Italy was to 'advance' from a vassal status under Il Duce to a colony of London. A high price, indeed, for the millions of underfed and oppressed Ethiopian masses.

Issue For The Coal Miners: Strike Or Starve!

After two months of vicious propaganda against the miners, the labor hating bosses and their representatives succeeded in pushing through the latest and most criminal law against labor, the Smith-Connally Slave Act.

The coal strike was made the pretext for a broad offensive against labor. The miners are slapped down, their rank and file militants threatened with jail, their strike illegalized and their just demands brutally ignored.

Nothing was done to the coal operators—they were told to sit tight, concede nothing, and force the issue. They are the bosses and the management; naturally the government works for them against the miners. Naturally the government gave them a \$1.75 increase per ton in coal prices a few weeks ago. Naturally the government sided with them against the miners.

THE MINER'S SIDE

The crisis in the coal industry has gone through so many changes that it is worth while to look back on the original demands. They were painfully low. A \$2 a day raise, retention of the basic 35 hour 5 day week, with a 6 day week to be ended after the war, a 2 week vacation, and other demands.

Since then, Lewis practically dropped the \$2 demand in favor of portal to portal payment for travel time in the mine.

Working underground in one of the most decisive industries, the miner is among the lowest paid of the war workers. Inflation, taxes, rising prices (food has risen 46% since January 1941 according to heavily conservative government figures—100% would be nearer the truth), and the company store robs him of the little the company pays him.

(Cont. on Page 4, Col. 1)

Samuel Kelly Innocent

(Cont. from page 1)

store, practically without exception, were grabbed, as was Kelly. In May, 1942 he was "tried" in Hustings Court. It is regrettable that space does not permit my giving the whole record. Suffice it to say that the Commonwealth introduced six witnesses. Three of these turned out to be the best witnesses for Kelly, stating that they had been fellow employees of his at the A and B for years, and that they had never seen him take out any clothing except that with which he was charged. It was definitely established that Kelly had no key to the premises. The only piece of clothing that was identified by anyone as coming from the A and B and being later found at Kelly's shop was a woman's coat that had been recently cleaned, and Kelly's business was mainly cleaning and pressing! The main witness for the Commonwealth, Lapkin, was so discredited by the questioning of the judge that he finally was forced to remain silent when asked, by the judge, how he could identify the clothing found in Kelly's shop as his own. Among the clothing taken from Kelly by the police were overalls, which have never been handled by the A and B! Nevertheless Kelly was given three years in the State penitentiary.

The case then went to the Supreme Court, which on June 8, 1943, affirmed the decision of the lower court, saying that the burden was on Kelly to establish that he had not taken the clothes!

Odell Waller

On July 2, 1942—one year ago—American capitalism murdered Odell Waller, Virginia Sharecropper who was framed up on the charge of killing his landlord, Oscar Davis.

The nationally spotlighted case was first brought to the attention of the public by the Revolutionary Workers League, which learned of Odell in Columbus Ohio, where he was being held for extradition. For nine months the RWL in conjunction with the Labor Defense Congress defended Waller in the lower court, and publicized the case. Finally the "liberals" and other political organizations, joined in the defense on the legal field.

Waller was murdered because he fought back against the vicious sharecropping robbery. He refused to permit his wife and his mother to be evicted and trampled upon. He demanded the wheat and tobacco that was coming to him. For that he was murdered.

The working class, and particularly the Negro section of the class, will long remember this frame-up. In the midst of the "war for four freedoms," the Democratic New Deal Governor of Virginia refused to pardon or commute Odell Waller's sentence, despite the lack of evidence and despite all the protests from the AFL and CIO and outstanding liberals and revolutionary organizations. President Roosevelt refused to intervene at all, giving the lie to his pretensions as a friend of the oppressed Negroes.

Odell Waller is dead, but like Sacco-Vanzetti, the Haymarket victims and others, he is a symbol of capitalist tyranny. He is another reason why capitalism must be overthrown so that humanity may be able to gain its daily bread without class oppression fear and frame-up.

LABOR DEFENSE CONGRESS TAKES CASE

In the meantime Brother Kelly had approached the Labor Defense Congress with regard to taking over the case. This the LDC did, retaining its national counsel, Thomas H. Stone, for that purpose and associating him with Mr. E. A. Norrell, Kelly's former counsel, and a well known Richmond attorney who has been connected with most of the important fights against Negro oppression for the last ten or fifteen years. A petition for rehearing was immediately filed. Virginia law gives the absolute right to apply for a rehearing within thirty days and this was done well within the time. Another section of the Code gives the judge the right to admit to bail in certain circumstances "and for any other cause." But no other cause existed for Kelly and he was hustled off to jail although his bondsman was in court and additional bail was ready if necessary.

Samuel Kelly is behind bars today ostensibly for a crime that he did not commit, but in reality for the greatest of all "crimes," that he fought for the oppressed. It would be a real crime if the working class let him stay there. Already the Baptist Ministerial Conference of Richmond (Negro) has agreed to cooperate with the LDC in Kelly's defense, has elected seven delegates to a united front conference, and has stated that it will cooperate in raising one thousand dollars for the defense. The local NAACP has also endorsed the case, as has the Executive Board of the Richmond Civic Council, a federation of organizations embracing practically the entire Negro population.

WHAT TO DO

Kelly can only be released by the mass pressure of the workers and the Negro people. He has good lawyers, but reliance upon court room tactics will never get him out. Several things can and should be done by every working

class organization. 1. Get in touch at once with your local Labor Defense Congress branch. 2. Form united front committees at once on the widest possible scale. 3. Arrange meetings for the Kelly defense. 4. Send all funds available to the Labor Defense Congress, 1232 St. Paul St., Richmond, Va. 5. Send demands for the immediate admission to bail of Samuel Kelly to Honorable Preston W. Campbell, Chief Justice Supreme Court of Appeals, Abingdon, Va.

SAMUEL KELLY MUST BE RESTORED TO THE RANKS OF THE MILITANT WORKERS!

FLASH—When interviewed today by your correspondent in jail, Kelly, courageous and imperturbable said "My fight is the concern of all the workers and oppressed. I am absolutely innocent of the charge against me. This is the first time in a life of fifty years that I have been behind the bars and they had to frame me to do that. Because I fought for the workers, Negro and white, because I would not fall for this 'four freedom' stuff, I am here. This can not and will not make me falter one minute, but, smiling, "I really think I can do more good on the outside."

THE WORKING CLASS CAN NOT AND WILL NOT LET SAMUEL KELLY DOWN!

One of the most vital links in the drive of American imperialism for world hegemony is the merchant marine. Due to its economic and geographic position the United States must build and nurture a merchant marine which can best serve the profits of imperialist trade. With this in view the Government is spending millions of dollars for the training of sea men who will have the proper outlook to man these ships. One of the educational steps is to ship the government trainees out on non-union ships and so create a cleavage between them and the

militant seamen's unions.

At Sheepshead Bay, Brooklyn, New York, a base has been built which has the capacity to train 20,000 seamen at one time.

Here, workers from all over the country most of whom joined to escape the army brass hats find the same set up but on a smaller scale. Just as in the Army and Navy the main and cardinal point which is stressed is the discipline of the men and the complete attempt to subordinate the individual and all independent thinking to the needs and whims of the officer in charge. This is accomplished through daily marching drills, and threat of extra hours of work or the loss of liberty to anyone who does anything contrary to the numerous rules. The strenuous physical conditioning program serves also as a disciplinary aid as there is no strength left for protest.

American imperialism has a long term perspective. In this vital sector of her economy she cannot afford to permit hundreds of mutinies and desertions, neither now, nor when the leftward movement in Europe, Asia, and yes, even America gains momentum.

WORKERS RESENT TOO LITTLE TRAINING WITH TOO MUCH DISCIPLINE

The whole training program has been accelerated as the needs of the war have demanded. All courses have been cut 50% and these semi-trained workers are being shipped to ports unknown within approximately 2½ months after enrollment. Formerly each trainee was given two weeks of liberty before being shipped out, now these have all been cancelled. The result is that when a trainee thinks he is about to be shipped out he utilizes his next weekend liberty to make a trip home and stays A.W.O.L. There are approximately 700 such cases every day in this one center. Upon returning he is either shipped out immediately of given 3 or 4 liberty restrictions and as much as 200 hours

of extra work and punishment.

There is a general uncoordinated mass resentment among these boys and men to their conditions and when these workers find themselves the target of dozens of submarines and airplanes this resentment becomes more and more accelerated.

In the Merchant Marine as in the Army, Navy and all branches of the war machine the workers find themselves in their unwanted positions due to the war of the imperialists for profits and the system which breeds such needs—the capitalist system of private appropriation of socialized production. For all workers, whether they're ploughing, mining, standing on the assembly line, crouching in foxholes, or sailing the ships there is one problem and but one solution—to end the imperialist war the system which creates those wars must be destroyed—and the working class can then establish the only type of Government which will never need a war—a Workers Council Government, a society where production will be for USE not for profits!

It's A Great System! For The Bosses

WAGES VS. PROFITS

Wages are frozen at 15% above the January 1941 levels. Miners, railroad workers and hundreds of thousands of others have been refused increases, but the good capitalists don't seem to have a ceiling.

If Johnny work-all-your-life wants a raise from \$18 to \$25 a week (the national average wage is \$32.50 a week) that will cause inflation—the Little Steel Formula must be used as a means of keeping him in his place but when the big boys get a raise in salary—that is OK. There is no "formula" against the following increases — Mr. Dickerman of the American Locomotive Co. got \$77,239 in 1941, \$114,091, for the year 1942; J. W. Thomas, of the Firestone Tire and Rubber Co. got \$98,437 for 1941, and \$120,000 for 1942; W. T. Holliday of Standard Oil got \$90,000 for 1941, and \$120,000 for 1942; L. B. Mayer of Loew's Inc. got \$704,425 for 1941, \$949,766 for 1942, etc. etc. etc. in every industry.

Every official of big business has had salary raises running in many cases up to and over 100%, plus the added income called "profit." That is what the Little Steel Formula has presented to the capitalist class at the expense of the working class.

The authoritative Wall Street Journal, organ of finance capital, states that profits for 1943 will be around 25 billion dollars. That compares with 19½ billion last year, 15½ billion the year before, 9 billion in 1940 and 7 billion in 1939. In other words profits have almost quadrupled in four years.

Even if you deduct the new and higher taxes, profits this year will still be 50% above 1939.

information I'll send across. If any of the comrades should come to this city have them visit me, I'll be always pleased to see them.

Once again, thanks for the files,

Comradely yours,
MAC.

Revolt Is The Right Of The Slave

Letter From Detroit

Eyewitness Account Of Rioting

Editor, Fighting Working

There is Hell to pay in this town tonight, you probably read a distorted version of what is going on in the papers. That's expected. Besides that the cops only make a half hearted attempt at protecting the Negro.

One incident that I have seen was a Negro get off a street car and was immediately chased by white hoodlums and caught. The riot squad was across the street at the time. A few of them casually walked across just in time to be too late.

It only takes a minute to slug, kick, step on, and jump on the unconscious form, then the "brave cops" come and disperse the mob. This is typical of most all the affrays that occur.

The Negroes are hardly going out of their own neighborhood except to go to work. They get yanked out of the street cars and automobiles, their autos tipped over and burned. I saw a fellow take some tools out of one of these cars and take off an unburned tire unmolested.

Of course anything can happen to a white going thru a colored neighborhood but unlike the whites the Negroes are not cruising around in gangs looking for trouble.

The Negroes have asked that some of them be deputized to patrol their district, they don't trust the white cops and rightly so. But no soap. It doesn't work that way. This suits the bosses fine. The workers will stew in their own juice later. The friction is wanted by the factories. When the big strikes come, sooner or later some of the Negroes will scab.

True enough the trouble started on Belle Isle as a result of a fist fight but one of the exaggerated stories that was going around was that "a sailor and his girl were killed by niggers." (Negroes). Later a soldier and his girl were added. Finally it was a soldier, sailor and a marine and their girls were killed by "niggers" (Negroes) on the Isle. This false story was the one that made the rounds that incited the earlier action.

Many like incidents took place after that and are still going on. But it is not as the papers would have you believe. The Negro is only trying to defend himself. The newspapers here print mostly what happens to the whites and hardly a word of the abuse and punishment that the Negro is taking.

Detroit Michigan
A. C.

From A Scottish Worker to the Rwl

July 1943,
Scotland.

Dear Comrades:

I wish to thank you for the files you sent me. They arrived a day ago and I have spent most of my time reading them. The official trotskyst publications have a quite large circulation here; the Cannon and Shactman press arrives regularly but the Fighting Workers and the International News are the only papers carrying on the traditions of October.

In fact at the present moment yours is the only press in the world an honest revolutionary Marxist can turn to for guidance. Words cannot express, how after reading your papers and comparing them with the centrist rubbish, the enthusiasm I feel that at least one voice still expresses a consistent Marxist position.

As I said in my previous letter I would like to open an account with you but currency regulations forbid, but if you care to I can still do so and settle with you at the first opportunity. I know that is asking a great deal of you but I am anxious to read your literature and to circulate it and if possible get some of its reprinted.

I'll send a cross-section of the workers press from here and if you wish procure files for you. Any particular paper you want or any

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Editorials

Wall St. Wants "One World"

Everyone is reading Wendell Willkie's book, "One World." Why not? The book is being pushed by one of the best advertised and financial campaigns that could be organized. The book is paraded as "something new," "something fresh," "something with depth," etc.

The fact is, however, that one of Wall Street's darlings has panned off on the public one of the biggest pieces of FICTION of this century.

After all, what does Willkie "prove"? This is one integral world he says, united from one end of Asia to the other end of the Americas. Outside of the travelogue aspects of the book and the praise heaped on the present allies of the House of Morgan whom Mr. Willkie serves (and, of course, indifference to those people who are not in good graces at the moment with Mr. Lamont)—outside of these things the book has no other message.

But what is startling in all this? Over seventy-five years ago Marx and Engels pointed out that, economically speaking, capitalism was enveloping the work and making ONE WORLD out of this globe. Over twenty-five years ago Lenin dealt in great detail with the dynamics of the WORLD-WIDE character of imperialism.

Wall Street's barefoot boy has at last "discovered" this fundamental scientific fact. He used is not scientifically but merely as a fig-leaf for American Imperialism—and particularly the House of Morgan—to "organize" this "one world." Thus in gentle terms, Willkie proposes nothing more astounding or "refreshing" than the Wall Street dictum of American domination of the whole world.

But Willkie really doesn't even exhaust the problem of "one world." It is quite true that ECONOMICALLY the world is becoming more and more united in the productive process. But Marx, Engels and Lenin showed beyond a shadow of a doubt that economic developments engender poli-

tical antagonisms which make of this planet not one world, but TWO separate and distinct worlds. **A WORLD FOR CAPITALISTS OR WORLD OF WORKERS**

If one wanted to define the character of the world it is precisely this "TWO world" character which is decisive for history. It is quite true that Mr. Willkie deplores the miserable conditions of the Turks and Arabs, he bemoans the horrible 5,000% inflation in China, but he refuses to point out the real truth of the situation: that between the one world of International Finance Capital and its colonial satellites (Chiang Kai Shek, the Bey of Tunis, and dozens of others), and the oppressed colonial masses (as well as the exploited at home), there is an irrepressible breach.

There are two irreconcilable worlds—all practical politics (i.e. revolutionary politics) is centered around this axiom. Mr. Willkie knows the truth of this statement; his bosses, Messrs Lamont, Leffingwell, Stettinius, et al, certainly know it. But now is not the time to emphasize this fact. American bourgeois democracy is merely looking at the "bird in the bush"; it can afford as yet to speak gently of a harmonious oneness between the two worlds.

But bourgeois democracy paves the way for fascism and the war will bring forth an open and shameless imperialistic dictatorship by America. Mr. Willkie (together with Mr. Roosevelt) is merely acting out the first act. Stronger hands with firmer fists will enter the scene in the second act. But Mr. Willkie is, in advance, trying to deaden the hostility of the exploited, trying to impress the proletariat and middle class with his—i.e. Morgan's—"gentleness" and "humaneness."

For the exploited, for the workers and peasants of the world both of the East and West there are TWO WORLDS. Either a victory of the exploiters in the imperialist war (whether New York or Berlin) or a victorious social revolution—that is the outlook.

TURKISH NEUTRALITY HINDERS ALLIED PLANS

Two large British Armies stand poised in Syria and the Middle East ready to strike against the Balkans—Greece, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Rumania, Hungary. Between these armies and their objective stands Turkey, the big question mark of the present phase of the Imperialist War.

An invasion of the Balkans at this moment will net the greatest results of any proposed line of march, as far as the Allied Imperialists are concerned.

With or without the Turkish entry on the side of the United States the invasion of the Balkans is possible. With Turkey it will make the invasion an easy matter. Without Turkey it is possible but much costlier.

One thing is sure, Turkey will not now join the Axis. If Turkey remains neutral, however, during an allied invasion in the Balkans the neutrality will aid the axis. A major job of the United Nations at the moment is to push Turkey into the fire and use her soldiers as cannon-fodder and as one of the bridges to Europe and for a sea lane to the Black Sea. Turkey's entry into the war will mean that Roosevelt and Churchill have gone a long way on the question of the role of the Soviet Union in that area. For only suitable commitments on this question will bring forth the Turks to fight for "democracy."

The opening of the Dardanelles would make a vast change in the shipping situation and would make it possible to attack the Germans in the Crimea and other Black Sea ports and shorten the route to the Soviet Union.

VICTORY BY THE RED ARMY STILL ALLIED NIGHTMARE

More than that, however, an invasion of the Balkans would put an Allied Army close enough to the Red Army to act as a barrier not only to the Axis but to the Soviet forces as well. This is a major part of the Allied strategy—keep the Soviet Union and the coming European Revolution within controllable bounds. Conquest of the Balkans, thus, would serve not only to cut Hitler off from oil, wheat and other supplies, but it would be a major political victory for the United Nations. And the cost of such a campaign would be relatively small.

Other avenues of European invasion include a thrust at Western France, Southern France, and by Sea to Greece. Other than the Balkan thrust, conquest of Western France would pay the greatest dividends, because it would not only start the ball rolling towards Berlin but because it would seal up Germany's submarines—now operating primarily from Western France, and make Allied shipping and the Allied blockade quite effective.

Similarly the development of the Revolution WITHIN Europe will likewise affect the Anglo-American plans.

INTERNATIONAL WORKING CLASS ACTION NEEDED FOR SUCCESSFUL REVOLUTION IN EUROPE

Only one thing is certain—Social Revolutions are coming very soon within the "European Fortress." The main danger to these coming uprisings is the united counter-revolutionary role of the Allied Armies and the native "Darlanists" bourgeoisie, who will make deals with America and Britain AGAINST THEIR OWN WORKING CLASS, just as Laval did with Germany. It goes without saying that bourgeois democracy will unite with fascism rather than permit the revolution of the working class.

The Proletariat within Europe

Pattern For Race Riots

Race riots will continue. They're too vital a part of capitalism, which couldn't exist without its intense racism and nationalism. In periods of stress the capitalists always fall back on race riots, because they sop up the resentment of the masses and channelize it away from the source of oppression.

ALL MINORITY GROUPS VICTIMIZED WHEN PROFITABLE

In the depression of 1873 the bonanza farmers and industrialists of California provoked the race riots against the Chinese, merely to allay the bitterness of the thousands of unemployed. A decade or so later, similar riots occurred against the Japanese, because these important farm workers were getting so "haughty" they were buying their own land, and what is worse they were doing a good job of competing with the Imperial Valley overlords.

Intermittently in California there have been riots against the Hindus, the Filipinos and the Mexicans. All of these agricultural workers were imported in the first place to work at coolie wages on the "Factories in the Fields." When their usefulness was over, or when the spirit moved the California Capitalists, riots were provoked against these innocent and oppressed workers.

The so-called "Zoot-Suit" riots of last month are easily explained on economic grounds. The agricultural capitalist are importing dozens of thousands of Mexicans to work the farms—at 30c and 35c an hour. But many of these workers are drifting to the cities to work for \$1 an hour in the big factories. To drive them back to the farms, Imperial Valley provoked the race riots. They were neither spontaneous or unorganized. The regular anti-labor machinery, augmented by a few thousand dollars and a few hundred gallons of whiskey, did the job so smoothly that it looked like something quite natural.

At the end of the first world war there were many anti-Negro riots. The Northern capitalists took the line to "their" workers that "after all it isn't our fault that you're about to be unemployed," it's those colored folk who came up from the South and took your jobs." Race riots were very effective in maintaining the infamous Open Shop policy of the National Association of Manufacturers. In fact, nationalism was a cornerstone of that policy. The NAM instructed its members to hire so many Hungarians, so many Croatians, so many Italians, so many Swedes, etc. Mix them up and play one against the other—that was supposed to be the

greatest guarantee against a Union Shop. And it worked for quite a few years.

RIOTS FOSTERED TO BREAK UP WORKERS SOLIDARITY

Now the war has come. The cost of living is rising sky high. There is tension in the air. In the months of April and May great strikes broke out. Talk in Detroit centered on spreading the strike and making it general. What better weapon to take the steam out of a strike movement, than a good race riot? Anti-Negro sentiment takes the heat off the bosses and puts in on the backs of an innocent and horribly oppressed section of the working class, the Negroes. It also causes dissension within the Unions.

Let no one be fooled that the movement was spontaneous. The connection between the Black Legion in the thirties and the police and the Ford-General Motors-Chrysler group was well known. The police again showed their hostility to the Negroes by murdering a score of them; the biggest part of the slaughter was the result of police gunfire.

Ford is a notorious racist, an anti-semitic and anti-everything but Henry Ford. General Motors has been condemned on more than one occasion for its discriminatory policy. It's safe to say that these gentlemen wouldn't overlook such a "good" thing as a race riot. It's absolutely certain that without the subsidies of these big manufacturers the Ku Klux Klan, the Black Legion, Gerald Smith, and the other Michigan Fascists, couldn't live for one moment.

FACE SAVING INVESTIGATIONS A PURE FAKE

There will undoubtedly be "investigations" of the Detroit riots. But the "investigations" are already fixed. They will not bring out the true murderers and goons, only a few minor (and maybe not even that) thugs who work for the big boys. Because the big boys are the most respected men, the greatest powers of the system. The real powers behind the race riots are the capitalists and their government, which condones riots and whitewashes them.

So long as we have capitalism we will always have anti-Negro, anti-Jewish, anti-Catholic, and anti-Foreign-born pogroms. Our American capitalists fall back on such things just like Hitler has his anti-Jewish phobia, and the Russian Tsar had his Cossack pogrom against the Jews, and the French and British their extermination raids against the Negroes.

It's all part of one pattern of madness, war, blood, starvation and misery—capitalism!

Second Front Against Axis Or Against Social Revolution In Europe?

The big question—now that the Allies have invaded Sicily—is how far will the "Second Front" go? Will it reach the shores of France and the Balkans? Will it be an all-out offensive to take Germany and Italy out of the war in 1943? Or is a longer time period envisaged?

One thing is certain. The next military steps will be linked to the development of the Social Revolution in Europe. Undoubtedly

Sicily is only a beginning point, the first bridgehead. But if the bridgehead will be immediately extended depends on the European masses, in the first instance. An all out offensive would certainly begin if there were signs of a social crack-up within Italy or Germany or any other part of Europe.

Many roads of invasion are open.

will start with intense nationalist feelings, probably even with a welcome to the invading imperialists. But they will learn very soon the international unity of imperialism—axis and allied—against the aims and struggle of the workers. The help of the American, and the British working class, will be a *sine-qua-non* for the success of these Revolutions.

The Revolutionary Workers League, reared from its inception in the basic international principles of Marxism, pledges in full its forces for a vigorous struggle against allied intervention against the coming proletarian revolutions.

AGAINST THE IMPERIALISTS AND THEIR PUPPER GOVERNMENTS-IN-EXILE! FOR WORKERS COUNCILS AND THE SOCIALIST UNITED STATES OF EUROPE!

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Coal Miners Need Rank And File Leadership

(Cont. from page 1)

No wonder the miners are bitter; no wonder they struck. Had Lewis not run with the tide he would have been swept aside in the flood of resentment.

The top labor faker in the country knew his prestige was low, his position shaky, after the January wildcat anthracite strikes. Taking leadership of the struggle was his only chance. But three times he throttled and derailed it, until a large part of its strength and militancy was dissipated, until the government could step in and clamp down. He fulminated against the War Labor Board, he threatened the operators—and he called off the strikes. Under the guise of leadership, the Lewis bureaucracy betrayed the miners, and with them the hundreds of thousands of workers everywhere who were looking to them for an example in destroying once and for all the War Labor Board and its wage-cutting policies.

LEWIS IS NOT THE ISSUE

Not only to the bosses and their press, but to the officialdom of the AFL and CIO, the issue was: for or against Lewis. The real issue—the needs and demands of the miners—was pushed into the background. By doing this the labor skates built up Lewis' prestige in the working class, but even this evil was preferable to these class collaborationists to the worse evil of a showdown fight supporting the miners against the WLB, the operators and the government.

The Stalinists and Trotskyites followed suit in making Lewis the issue. The war-mongering Stalinist strikebreakers opposed Lewis; the phrase-mongering Trotskyites supported Lewis. To the Trotskyites Lewis is a progressive! These people are unable to distinguish between the workers' struggle and the fakers who betray it.

Roosevelt, labor's "friend," exposed himself and his WLB in all their hypocrisy as nothing but the most vicious enemies of labor. Roosevelt demanded the workers stop the strike, he never thought of demanding that the operators make any concession.

So rapidly was Roosevelt losing labor support that he could not afford to sign the Smith-Connally bill. But his veto message openly stated his agreement with its main points, and that he would sign it except that its 30 day cooling off period might foment instead of prevent strikes.

He expressed full agreement with its "praiseworthy purpose." "I am unalterably opposed to strikes in wartime" and for "truly strengthening the hands of the government in dealing with such strikes."

A WELCOME DEFEAT

By a pretty play he vetoed the bill, so technically he is not responsible for it. But he made no fight against it. He sat quiet until the last minute, and then made a wishy-washy statement. Not one administration man sought to defend the veto message which practically asked Congress to pass it "over his head." About 20 of his "pro-labor" people were conveniently absent for the week-end.

Roosevelt differs with the open reactionaries on what METHOD to use to control labor. But when it comes to a showdown, he goes to the right. That is why he was bankrupt when confronted by an open clash.

Roosevelt's proposed substitute for the Connally Act—work or fight—may temporarily be dropped, but we can expect some such conscription plan in the future as the class tension sharpens. The

proposal shows what the Commander in Chief thinks of the armed forces—a penitentiary and punishment for workers. In this, at least, millions of conscripted workers will agree with Roosevelt.

The Connally Act will sharpen the resentment in labor ranks and give new impetus to the wave of strikes nationally. It will relieve labor of the no strike pledge of its officialdom. And it will not settle the miners strike, though it may drive it underground.

The power and militancy of the miners struggle will force concessions from the operators and their WLB and President. The operator's desire to end federal control of the mines will play a large part in these concessions.

NEED PROGRESSIVE GROUPS

The miners have already proven, saddled though they are with a bureaucratic treacherous officialdom, that only by the most militant struggle can their needs and demands be forced to the attention of the capitalist government. To win their demands they need a stronger and healthier organization, a progressive leadership controlled by the rank and file. They need a leadership that can see and prepare for the struggles to come, and raise such demands as workers control of production, and workers inspection of the operators books. They need a leadership democratically based on the local mine committees, and connected up with a national shop steward movement.

Justice Under the Capitalist System

While the entire capitalist press, radio, movie, congress, President, etc., are screaming "Injustice!" at the 540,000 "traitors," "saboteurs" and "fifth Columnists"—that is, the miners who are demanding an end to their miserable conditions of poverty and hunger, a conspiracy of the Anaconda Wire and Cable Co. to add five million illegal dollars to its swollen profits, ended in court as a "very serious mistake."

Five officials of the company were proven guilty of a 5 million dollar conspiracy to manufacture fake communication wire for the battlefronts.

So that the faulty wire could pass inspection they had deliberately faked wire inspection tests by secret testing panels, "fixed" testing equipment, etc., and by transferring inspection labels from tested to untested wire.

Before the exposé great quantities of the defective wire were sold to the Soviet Union to be used for signal work on Soviet battlefields. Undoubtedly the fraud has cost the lives of a number of Red Army men and endangered countless others.

PROFITS ARE ALWAYS LEGAL NO MATTER HOW OBTAINED

We would expect that these conspirators, indirectly guilty of murder, would be given the severest sentences—life imprisonment, jail with hard labor, or worse.

But what punishments did they get? A few fines and suspended sentences. That was all. Not one second will these capitalists spend in jail!

The scandal doesn't end here. For fear that some workers might have gotten the impression through the press, radio, etc., that these capitalists are criminals, the judge went to great pains in a long, exhaustive verdict to convince the

Centrists Capitulate In Face Of Struggle

Mine Strike Exposes Bankruptcy Of Socialist Workers Party

"The miners, first of all, should draw the lesson of their fight, and come out for an Independent Labor Party based on the trade unions." (Fourth International, May 1943, p. 132—Cannonite organ) "...Lewis'... progressive, militant stand in the current coal negotiations, his resourcefulness and talent in manipulating the coal operators and the government labor officials, is contrasted by all workers to the pitiful exhibition of treachery and ineptitude of the AFL and CIO representatives on the War Labor Board." (4th Int'l, April 1943, p. 106).

Big Business 'On Relief'

It seems that Big Business is "on relief." All they do is ask Uncle Sam to kick in with some money, and presto the millions start flowing.

Aluminum Company gets a 50 million dollar "lift" to a monopoly in Canada. About ten billions in new plants and equipment are given to Ford, General Motors, U.S. Steel and others.

The government gives 100 million dollars to petroleum products companies to cover "excess transportation" costs. It gives 25 millions to coal operators for the same reasons. The poor copper barons get 80 million dollars to "encourage production," and 52 million dollars to "cover certain losses."

The rubber companies get hundreds of millions to produce rubber. Is it any wonder there are "no available funds" to continue The National Youth Administration projects; to build proper protection against the ravages of floods; to give the blind, the aged and the handicapped a subsistence pension; to maintain the nursery schools; to pay trained attendants for the hospitals of the poor; to give deserved pay raises to overworked federal employees who don't rate an alphabet degree?

Smith-Connally Slave Act

(Cont. from page 1)

helped make possible the passage of the Connally Act. Then, true to form, they turn around and blame their crimes on the miners who are fighting the fight of all labor.

LABOR HAS ITS OWN WAR

You can never satisfy fascism by appeasement. But our Munichmen want us to follow a policy of appeasement with capitalism, the hag that breeds and nurtures fascism.

Labor will lose many battles in its war against capitalism before it wins in the end. But it will never win until it breaks with its Munichmen—its Greens and Murrays and Browders and their like—and their appeasement policy that leads to defeat and disaster.

public that "These men are not saboteurs or disloyal citizens. They made a mistake."

If you are a scheming capitalist convicted of a serious crime, you are forgiven for your "mistake"; if you are a poverty-stricken miner striking against the capitalist for a decent living wage, you are a "saboteur."

Such is the class meaning of justice in capitalist society.

For years, Marxists have said that the main obstacle in the path of working class victory was the lack of a revolutionary Marxist party. Implicit in this concept is recognition of the fact that the working class would follow such a party. The living reality behind this phrase is that the party will be built out of class struggles now occurring—not out of some future upsurge. Certainly the events in Spain, China, India, Yugoslavia, even France and Italy, not to mention the Russian workers' heroic defense of the First Workers' State, have demonstrated the will of the working class to put an end to war, capitalism and imperialist exploitation.

MILITANT ACTIONS OF WORKING CLASS CHOKED BY LACK OF REVOLUTIONARY LEADERSHIP

The miners' strike in the United States indicates the awakening consciousness engendered by the war here. While capitalist authorities fulminate about "lack of morale" they are at an even-increasing tempo breaking down further the morale. War scarcity, high living costs, open intervention of the state in favor of the capitalists cannot help but produce opposition to the war. The work of the Marxists consists in recognizing the phenomenon and basing their strategy on it.

This May 1st saw a striking contradiction. While half a million workers downed tools in opposition to the effects of the war on their economic conditions, there was no large-scale conscious political demonstration against the war anywhere. That the miners were not alone in their struggle is evidenced by the wave of strikes (Detroit, Akron) following the coal strike. The will to struggle exists. The party to give this will a political expression does not.

It is a striking commentary on the whole labor movement that May Day was thus observed in spite of and against the reformists, centrists and ultra-lefts. The growing unrest indicates that with a strong revolutionary political leadership the workers could have made of this historic day of struggle a powerful protest demonstration against the imperialist war.

How sadly lacking is appreciation of the realignment within the class is brought out very clearly by the Cannonite position on the mine strike. Here were 500,000 workers who defied government threats and ultimata. And here the SWP busily engaged in whitewashing the leadership, discovering potentialities of a labor party therein, and offering not one word of criticism or directives in relation to the strike.

Lewis right now is capitalizing on this absence of revolutionary leadership. He can step into the lime-light and appear as the only fighter precisely because no one challenges him. And the SWP in referring to his "militant, progressive stand" is helping this leadership to remain unchallenged.

They are defeatists (in relation to the working class) because they have no concept of the depth of feeling in the mass, no confidence in its ability to struggle. In fact, the rank and file miners went way ahead of the SWP last winter when they set up a Tri-District Committee against Lewis. Yes, there was a rank and file revolt! What has the SWP to say about that now? Not one word. This re-

veals more sharply than anything else that they do not base themselves on the working class. They recognize primarily the labor fakers who are at their head.

CALL FOR LABOR PARTY REPRESENTS EXIT FROM CLASS STRUGGLE

For good reason, too. To build a labor party in this epoch one must have dealings with these same labor fakers. One must hail Murray's and Green's sellout decision to lobby for lower prices as awakening political consciousness. One must support Lewis' "militant, progressive stand." Any other course such as basing their program on the needs and wants and developments of the rank and file would lead straight to a revolutionary solution. This, as centrists, they cannot achieve.

True, they give a sketch of Lewis' past smelly record. They even mention the role and composition of the British Labor Party—aristocracy of labor—built on crumbs gleaned from colonial superprofits. (4th Int'l, April 1943, John L. Lewis and Roosevelt's Labor Policy). But in typical centrist fashion they turn right around and give Lewis the OK. They come out for a "real party of Labor" here. The ability to learn by experience, to help the class to learn, is nowhere apparent.

In fact they are so busy seeing a dawning political consciousness in the timeworn lobbying practices of the bureaucrats, that they nowhere see the actual dawning political consciousness of the masses. Strikes in this wartime period are no mere economic phenomena. They willy-nilly assume a political expression. And when auto workers boo their leaders for surrendering double-time for the war, when they refuse to be intimidated by threats of "axis agents," when the coal miners also are not intimidated by government threats, here is the dawning political consciousness. Here are the seeds of anti-war protest, of political demonstrations. Those who can't recognize this have automatically resigned from the revolutionary struggle.

BUILDING A WORKING CLASS PARTY NOW IS THE MAIN TASK

The consciousness of the mass will always lag behind that of the revolutionists. The specific purpose of the revolutionists is to give revolutionary direction to the mass discontent now and later the war weariness. To wait for revolutionary demonstrations from the masses as the basis of action on the part of the political organization is to expect the mass and not the party to give leadership.

The U. S. is no exception to the era of wars and revolutions. The present war is causing economic and political crises. Increasing discontent of the masses accompanies this and aggravates it. These are the fore-runners of civil war. To ignore these signs or to try and direct them into reformist channels is to capitulate to the bourgeoisie in the face of the coming tasks. An organization, like the SWP, which does not see the full revolutionary political significance of workers' struggles in this period and which does not accordingly give them a revolutionary analysis and direction cannot represent the interests of the working class.